Preface
This is a curated collection of media images—examples of what historians call “primary sources.” The images concern Mormons and Mormonism in U.S. politics and the public sphere, from founding prophet Joseph Smith to the 2012 presidential run of Mitt Romney. I use the word “media” broadly to encompass books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines, newspapers, photos, stereocards, films, posters, postcards, ads, cartoons, sheet music, and websites. My collection considers both outside views of Mormons—including anti-Mormon propaganda—and depictions promulgated by Latter-day Saints themselves.

Think of this e-book as a visit to a museum, where you look at framed pictures, and read curatorial placards. This is not a pictorial essay, much less a monograph. As much as possible, I want the pictures to “speak for themselves,” with minimal editorial comment. The problem is that historical images don’t really speak to us; they speak to people in the past. I’ve tried to provide context for the often strange, inflammatory, bigoted, and racist images collected here. For fuller context, I’ve provided a list of suggested works as an appendix.

As you would at a museum, feel free to wander the rooms. If you like, view the chapters out of order, or skip the first few sections if you are already familiar with the origins of Mormonism. I dispatch a lot of church history up front. My collection becomes more topical and picture-driven as it goes along.

Another caveat: This visual archive, though large, doesn’t represent a true cross-section of images of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its members. And it bears repeating that historical pictures don’t necessarily represent historical reality. You will see lots of inaccuracy, exaggeration, and distortion alongside authenticity. These are representations of Mormons and Mormonism, not clear windows into a people and a faith.

Nonetheless, these images are important because they illuminate antecedents to current debates about religious pluralism, and the place of religion in U.S. politics. These debates long predate post-9/11 controversies about Islam, and the disputed religious beliefs of politicians such as Barack Obama, George W. Bush, Sarah Palin, Mike Huckabee, Rick Santorum, and Mitt Romney. They go back much further than John F. Kennedy, America’s first (and so far only) Catholic president.

Today we speak of societal “debates” (gun control, immigration, abortion, health care, and so on). In the nineteenth century, Americans spoke of societal “questions” such as slavery, monopoly, silver—and also Mormonism. In 2012 the “Mormon Question,” as it were, revolved around presidential politics; in the second half of the 19th century, it revolved around territorial politics.

The question was twofold: How could the post-Civil War federal government reconstruct Utah society and disrupt Mormon power to the extent that Congress could admit Utah Territory into the Union? Also, how could American Protestants rescue Mormon “victims”—especially women—from a
religion that seemed to violate Constitutional as well as Christian principles?

Long after the LDS Church repudiated polygamy—the main precondition for Utah statehood, which came in 1896—Mormons remained outside the American mainstream, and outside the family of Christianity. This sojourn in the cultural wilderness lasted roughly until the Great Depression.

Over the 20th century, the LDS Church rationalized and bureaucratized the religion (through its “Correlation Department”), and overhauled its image with the help of a global missionary program, the Mormon Tabernacle Choir (“America’s Choir”), and a modern PR office. The corporate church now represents itself as a mainstream Christian religion that stays out of politics (not counting liquor and gambling laws in the state of Utah)—with one big national exception. The LDS Church does take sides in debates about gender law. It helped to defeat ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and it helped to secure passage of Proposition 8, which banned same-sex marriage in California. A religion once infamous for its deviant norms of marriage and sexuality has become a stalwart defender of “traditional family values.”

Meanwhile, many individual practicing Latter-day Saints (mostly men) since the 1960s have enjoyed high-profile careers—figures as varied as Jack Anderson, Brent Scowcroft, Harry Reid, Glenn Beck, J. Willard Marriott, Stephen R. Covey, Jon Huntsman (Sr. and Jr.), the Osmonds, David Archuleta, Danny Ainge, Steve Young, Ken Jennings, and Stephanie Meyer. American Mormons (like American Jews, but for different reasons) now possess political and cultural power disproportionate to their population size.

In the course of a hundred years, then, Mormons went from being “un-American” to hyper-American. Despite the lingering sense of unease many feel about this “mysterious” and “secretive” religion, it’s remarkable how far Mormons have come in the public sphere—especially remarkable given the vitriolic anti-Mormonism (arguably worse than historic anti-Catholicism) that once permeated American culture, not to mention the fact that the federal government literally criminalized the practice of Mormonism in order to break the political power of the LDS Church in Utah Territory.

Today, Mormons are as likely to face criticism from the atheistic and secular left as the religious right. Two main issues dog the Church—and, by extension, Mormon political figures: the historic ban on men of African ancestry being ordained to the priesthood; and the temple ritual of proxy “baptisms for the dead.” Although Mormon polygamy remains an embarrassment—a dead practice kept in the public eye thanks to fundamentalists and TV producers—it’s no longer a major political issue.

From the 1850s through the early twentieth century, the hot-button Mormon issues were quite different—polygamy at the top of the list, on equal standing with theocracy. There were additional major controversies that seem quite remote today, including the
Mountain Meadows Massacre, blood atonement, and white slavery. If you’ve never heard of those things, that speaks volumes about the rehabilitation of the Mormon public image.

In the religious sphere, Latter-day Saints still struggle to convince certain American Protestants—especially Southern Baptists and born-agains—that they belong in the Christian fold. It’s telling that the ultra-conservative Catholic Rick Santorum dominated the evangelical vote in the early 2012 GOP primaries, while Mitt Romney cleaned up with Catholic Republicans. However, by Election Day, many prominent evangelical leaders—including Mike Huckabee (who had previously asked, “Don’t Mormons believe that Jesus and the devil are brothers?”) and Billy Graham—rallied behind the GOP standard-bearer.

“There is bigotry against Mormons,” asserted Ralph Reed in August 2012. “It’s on the left.”

To the surprise of many, Romney’s religion ended up being a non-issue in his head-to-head campaign against President Barack Obama. By Election Day, Mormonism had apparently completed its long transition in public consciousness from fake religion to cult religion to heretical religion to alternative Christian religion.

Today, Mormons are much more in control of their image than a century ago. There were, of course, Mormon painters, illustrators, and photographers in the nineteenth century, but most of their work was created for home consumption, and there were precious few Latter-day Saints in positions of media power outside of Utah.

For heuristic purposes, I would propose this rough periodization of Mormon image-making in the U.S. public sphere, bracketed by prophetic administrations: 1) From Joseph Smith, Jr., to Joseph F. Smith (1830–1901), when outsiders largely defined the (overwhelmingly negative) visual image of Mormons. 2) From Joseph F. Smith to David O. McKay (1901–1951), when the LDS Church reacted defensively to anti-Mormon visual stereotypes, including cinematic images, and set up a rudimentary public relations program. 3) From President McKay and the television through President Gordon B. Hinckley and the internet (1951–2008), when “the brethren” in Salt Lake City presided over a permanent, professionalized, proactive PR program. 4) The current era, dominated by the Web, in which images generated by Mormons, ex-Mormons, non-Mormons, and anti-Mormons swirl together, often making reference to one another; and in which lay members at their internet-connected devices do as much work as media relations officers in the LDS Church Office Building to shape the image of Mormonism (sometimes at the invitation of the brethren, sometimes to their chagrin).

The media fascination with Mormonism naturally ebbed after the defeat of Mitt Romney by Barack Obama in November 2012. But as history shows, this was not the first “Mormon Moment.” Nor is it likely to be the last.
MORMON FACTS (2012)

Official name: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

Founder: Joseph Smith, Jr. (1805–1844)

Year Book of Mormon printed and LDS Church founded: 1830

Year Joseph Smith pronounced revelation about plural marriage: 1843

Number of women sealed to Smith: likely at least 34

Year that Brigham Young’s majority faction of the Church began arriving in Utah: 1847

Year Utah became U.S. Territory: 1850

Year Church publicly endorsed plural marriage: 1852

Number of women sealed to Brigham Young over his lifetime: probably 55

Of the minority of Mormon men in Utah’s territorial period who practiced polygamy, the estimated percentage who had “only” two wives: 66

Year Church publicly renounced plural marriage: 1890

Year of Utah statehood: 1896

Year Church actually stopped solemnizing polygamous marriages: 1904

Estimated number of fundamentalist Mormons in polygamous families: 30,000–50,000

Total baptized members worldwide claimed by Church: 14.4 million

Total baptized members in U.S. claimed by Church: 6.3 million

Congregations in U.S.: more than 14,000

Active missionaries: ~55,000

Typical starting age for proselytizing missionaries: 18 for men, 19 for women (previously 19 and 21, respectively)

Estimated percentage of eligible young Mormon men who serve missions: 30

Number of temples: 136 and counting

Total value of Church assets: undisclosed

Total value of Church humanitarian assistance, 1985–2010: $1.3 billion

Tithing required to be a Church member in good standing: 10 percent of gross income

Year Church announced revelation allowing worthy male members of African descent to be ordained to the priesthood: 1978

Number of LDS General Authorities (out of 109) of African descent: 1

Estimated percentage of U.S. Mormons who are white: 88

Year Church first promised to stop its members from performing proxy baptisms for deceased Jews: 1995

Estimated percentage of U.S. adult population that self-identified as Mormon: between 1.4 and 1.7

Estimated percentage of U.S. Mormons who felt there was “a lot of discrimination” against their religion: 46

Estimated percentage of U.S. public that considered Mormonism a Christian religion: 53

Estimated percentage of U.S. voters who were “uncomfortable” with Barack Obama’s and Mitt Romney’s religions: 19 and 13, respectively

Estimated percentage of Americans who said they would not vote for a Mormon presidential candidate: 18 (compared to 17 percent in 1967)

Estimated percentage of Americans who learned “not very much” or “nothing at all” about the Mormon religion during the 2012 presidential campaign: 82

Estimated percentage of U.S. Mormons who lived in the western region: between 71 and 76

Estimated percentage of Utah’s population that was LDS: 57 or 58

Reported percentage of Utah state legislators who were LDS: 90

Percentage of Utah voters who cast their presidential ballot for Mitt Romney: 73

Estimated percentage of U.S. Mormon adults who self-identified as Republican: 59

Estimated percentage of Mormon voters who voted for George W. Bush in 2004 and Mitt Romney in 2012: 80 and 78, respectively
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CHAPTER 1

Founding Impressions

Images showing Joseph Smith, the founding prophet of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and his closest successor, Brigham Young.
The founder of the LDS Church, Joseph Smith, Jr., was an American folk genius. He came of age in Palmyra, New York, near the Erie Canal. In the 1820s the area became known as the “burnt-over district” because so many born-again preachers blazed through. Young Joseph—a farm boy with a knack for spiritual pursuits, including the use of magic rocks to seek buried treasure—was excited and troubled by competing revivals. He prayed for guidance. Like many seekers at the time, Smith said he received a visitation from the Lord Jesus Christ. Smith’s visions continued the rest of his life. He learned that he had been chosen to found a new church that was really an old one—the original one true church of Christ. John the Baptist and later Peter, James, and John descended from heaven to confer the “keys” of the ancient priesthood to the farmer-prophet. On other occasions Smith met Moses and Elijah. But Smith’s most regular visitor was the Angel Moroni, who showed him where to find the ultimate buried treasure, a bound collection of engraved metal plates that contained a scriptural record. Smith translated the plates using a seer stone and published the text as the Book of Mormon in 1830, the same year he organized the LDS Church.

Even in an age religious innovation, this new religion stood out. It boasted a prophet who received continuous revelation, a scripture that offered proof of his revelatory powers, and nothing less than the restoration of the ancient priesthood and the primitive church. Over the next decade and a half, Smith added even more: a temple ceremony, plural marriage, a radical theology of the afterlife, and a blueprint for a communitarian economy.
The first published image of Mormonism set the tone for the next hundred years. The woodcut frontispiece from *Mormonism Unvailed* (1834) depicts the Devil giving the hoof to Joseph Smith. The illustration makes the Mormon prophet appear both buffoonish and diabolical. The associated story was apocryphal, but the “true story” of Joseph Smith—featuring angelic visitors, golden plates, and magical instruments—to this day strikes many non-believers as a “singular imposition and delusion.” In the 1830s and 1840s, critics also used words like “humbug,” “counterfeit,” and “jugglery” to describe the doings of Smith, the “Mormon oracle.”
Early Protestant critiques of Mormonism—usually styled as exposés—focused squarely on the “imposture” of Joseph Smith, the “modern Mohammed.”
Today, like the 1840s, people make sense of Joseph Smith’s claims in a limited number of ways. There are three leading interpretations (not mutually exclusive):

1) He was in fact a prophet.

2) He was an impostor, con-man, charlatan, etc.

3) He was delusional, deranged, mentally ill, etc.

The upper image, from a 1843 exposé, shows Joseph Smith as a contemptible shamer. The caption reads, “The Prophet Pronouncing the Greek Psalter to be a Dictionary of Egyptian Hieroglyphics.”

The lower image, from a 2003 episode of South Park, depicts Joseph Smith as a ridiculous phony, perhaps the dominant interpretation today.
Joseph Smith showed a lifelong interest in dead languages, evidenced not only by the Book of Mormon, but the Book of Abraham (above) from the Pearl of Great Price—a less famous, but more interesting Mormon scripture that Joseph Smith derived from some Egyptian funereal papyri he purchased, along with four mummies, from an antiquities dealer.
The 1873 picture on the left depicts the “First Vision,” when, circa 1820, Joseph Smith met God and Jesus (separate personages) in what is now called the “Sacred Grove” (the woodlot behind the Smith family farm near Palmyra, New York). Today, the First Vision is essential to Mormon iconography and proselyting. In the early days of the Church, the image of the First Vision was less important than the Angel Moroni, the heavenly visitor who led Smith to the “golden plates.” The middle picture is by Mormon folk artist C. C. A. Christensen. The 1867 picture on the right is obviously anti-Mormon, and not just because of the infant demons. In Mormon cosmology, angels are people; they don’t have wings.
Mitt Romney is the first Mormon to win a presidential nomination, but not the first to run for president. Joseph Smith announced his candidacy in 1844, as seen in this image from a Mormon newspaper. Smith’s run was a reflection of his late-period hubris, and also his understandable frustration with U.S. law enforcers, who, in his mind, had failed to uphold the First Amendment’s protection of religious freedom. In Missouri, “mobbers” had driven Mormon settlers from the state with the consent of the governor. Smith’s platform included giving the president the “full power to send an army to suppress mobs.”

Jackson County, Missouri, had been consecrated by Smith as the location for “the gathering.” In essence, early Mormons were Christian Zionists. “It sounds strange to hear of a church having a ‘location,’” commented Charles Dickens. “But a ‘location’ was the term they applied to their place of settlement…” In Missouri, Mormons planned to build the temple of the New Jerusalem—the place where the Second Coming would commence. More than any figure associated with the Second Great Awakening, Joseph Smith cared about the geographic component of religion. Other sects determined the time of the Second Coming; Latter-day Saints determined the place. The Prophet of the Restoration burned with anger about the expulsion of his people from their Chosen Land.
Joseph Smith, Jr., was a “prophet, seer, and revelator,” and he gained even more titles. In secret, through ceremonies of marriage and adoption, he enlarged his family, gaining more wives and more sons, becoming a spiritual “king.” According to leading LDS historian Richard Bushman, Smith “did not lust for women so much as he lusted for kin.” In Nauvoo, Illinois—the city-state that the Mormons built out of Mississippi River swampland after being driven out of Missouri—Smith became city mayor, municipal justice, and militia general. Smith envisioned his mini-theocracy as a precursor to the establishment of the “Kingdom of God” in America. For non-Mormon neighbors, this all seemed like an anti-republican and dangerous—even tyrannical, despotic—gathering of secular power in the hands of a religious figure. Matters came to a head in 1844, when the Nauvoo Expositor, a dissident newspaper, printed its inaugural issue, including allegations of the prophet’s then-secret practice of polygamy. When Smith rashly compelled the city council to order the destruction of the printing press as a “public nuisance”—a gross violation of Constitutional principles—he set himself up for his arrest and downfall.
Burning of the Newspaper Office.
Early on, Latter-day Saints developed an identity as a “peculiar people.” They also developed a complementary identity as a persecuted people. From the late 1830s through the early 20th century, the Mormon collective psyche nurtured a persecution complex, and not without reason. As seen to the left, Joseph Smith was tarred and feathered—more than once. As seen on the following page, Mormons were driven out their initial “Zion” or “promised land”—Jackson County, Missouri—with the support of an 1838 “extermination order” from the governor.

Speaking sociologically, a little bit of persecution is good for *ethnogenesis*, or creating a people. “They always have and ever will thrive by persecution,” wrote a government official in Utah Territory in 1855. “They know well the effect it has had upon them, and, consequently, crave to be persecuted.” However, too much persecution can lead to dissension. At various points in the nineteenth century, violence and coercion against Mormons and the LDS Church led to internal social and religious crises.
A scene from the 1838 “Mormon War” in Missouri. For generations, Haun’s Mill was for Mormons what the Alamo was for white Texans.
Like so many charismatic religious figures, Joseph Smith met a violent death. In 1844 vigilantes stormed the county jail in Carthage, Illinois, where Smith awaited trial. After taking multiple bullets to the chest, the Prophet fell from a second-story window, crying “O Lord, my God!” In the tumult following “the martyrdom,” the LDS Church splintered. Various would-be prophets vied for control as anti-Mormon violence spread. Hundreds of believers followed an apostle who chose Beaver Island in Lake Michigan as his gathering place. Thousands more, including Joseph Smith’s family, didn’t follow any new leader to any new place. In the 1850s, many of these recalcitrant believers coalesced under the banner of “reorganization.” The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints recruited a prophet with a familiar name. Under Joseph Smith III, the RLDS Church disavowed polygamy and “Mormonism.” Now called the Community of Christ, the church downplays the Book of Mormon, and ordains women to the priesthood. In other words, it has become Protestantized. The Community of Christ still controls Joseph Smith’s gravesite, and some other symbolic properties that the LDS Church would love to own. In the late twentieth century, the Utah-based church reconstructed a portion of historic Nauvoo as a heritage/pilgrimage site—a Mormon version of Colonial Williamsburg. The Church has even rebuilt the Nauvoo Temple (with an anachronistic Angel Moroni added on top). In the time of the “exodus” to Utah, the temple had been sacked and burned by vandals, and later reduced to rubble by a tornado, as seen in period illustrations.
The Mormon church as such dates to 1845–46, when Nauvoo’s majority faction, 12–15,000 strong, lined up behind the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Its president, Brigham Young, approved the idea that Zion could be relocated to the Rocky Mountains. “I hope we will find a place, where no self-righteous neighbors can say that we are obnoxious to them,” he told his followers. “I exhort you brethren not to be self-important.” Young, a carpenter from backcountry Vermont, was the right man at the right time. In the history of religion, very few sects have outlived their charismatic founders. Wisely, Young did not attempt to fill the void. “Brother Brigham” portrayed himself not as the new Joseph Smith but as the Prophet’s right-hand man. Smith had been uniquely fey, as he had to be. Creating a religion—a new order—takes magic and disorder. Managing a large church requires different skills. Stern, pragmatic, and quite often scary, Brigham Young, the “Lion of the Lord,” proved deserving of the job.
After his advance party arrived in Salt Lake Valley in July 1847, Brigham Young reported “tha[t] he knew that this is the place. He knew it as soon as he came in sight of it and he had seen this vearey spot before.” After establishing a stake in the new promised land, Young returned to Midwest to gather the flocks. He rose to the office of the prophet in 1847, and issued a general epistle to all the Saints (including many working-class converts in England and Denmark) to “gather” in the Great Basin. The American Moses was leading his chosen people to a faraway land—Mexican territory, in fact—because of the failures of state and federal governments to uphold the Constitutional right of religious freedom. Almost immediately thereafter, the U.S. gained this land as part of the spoils of the U.S.–Mexico War. Mormon settlers promptly organized a U.S. territory, and elected Brigham Young as governor. After the LDS Church went public about plural marriage in 1852, Governor Young’s image took a beating. Through nonbeliever’s eyes, he looked like Joseph Smith, only worse: not just a impostor, but a debauched impostor; not just a municipal threat but a territorial and constitutional threat. Young, who had initially recoiled from polygamy, became its most ardent champion, to the shock and amusement of outsiders. In the railroad era, tourists in Great Salt Lake City could purchase postcard images of the prophets’ wives, and read guidebooks with floor plans of his family compound, the Beehive House and the Lion House.
Brigham Young’s relations with women was a matter of great prurient interest. Graphic artists imagined him fleeing from the responsibility of so many wives; or, taking the responsibility of bedding all of those wives very seriously; or, conscripting his wives to take up arms against the United States.
A drinker and a smoker who could swear up a storm, Young preached to his people: “I want hard times so that every person that does not wish to stay, for the sake of his religion, will leave.” He pursued an economic policy of communal agrarianism in the face of Utah’s inhospitable terrain and climate. He declared that the semi-arid Great Basin was a “good place for making Saints.” “With us,” he said, “it is the Kingdom of God or nothing.” For those who wanted to seek riches in the gold fields, good riddance, he said. Go to California and be damned. “Gold will sink a man to hell.”
Until his death in 1877, Brigham Young’s power over Mormon affairs was supreme. To outsiders, such authority seemed monopolistic—like an cephalopod with overreaching tentacles—or monarchical (and thus un-American), as the sheet music to “The Mormon King” illustrates. By contrast, Latter-day Saints believed that they practiced an improved version of the U.S. Constitutional model. Under Mormon “theodemocracy,” Young presided over a religious electorate who regularly sustained his decisions with a ritual vote of confidence.
Images showing the peculiar relationship between Latter-day Saints and American Indians in the nineteenth century.
According to the Book of Mormon, the Indians of America were “Lamanites”—a fallen branch of Israel that had been cursed with dark skin. With help, these benighted people of the covenant would be redeemed, after which they would help the Latter-day Saints usher in the Last Days. When Mormons, a fellow “Chosen People,” were driven from their “Zion” in Missouri, allegations against them included “Indian tampering.” Rumors of nefarious alliances with Indians would dog the Latter-day Saints for decades to come. Joseph Smith did in fact work to create soft diplomatic relations with tribes in Missouri and later Iowa (across the river from Nauvoo). And in private, he anticipated plural marriage with Indian women. Expelled from Missouri, Joseph Smith recognized that the day of prophecy—for Indians and Mormons—had been deferred. In 1844, days before his martyrdom, the prophet looked forward to finding refuge in the Rocky Mountains, where the Lamanites would serve as a shield.
The Mormon-Indian connection goes back to Joseph Smith’s teenage imagination. “In the course of our [family’s] evening conversations,” his mother recalled, “Joseph would give us some of the most amusing recitals which could be imagined. He would describe the ancient inhabitants of this continent—their dress, their manner of traveling, the animals which they rode, the cities that were built by them, the structures of their buildings, with every particular of their mode of warfare, their religious worship as particularly as though he had spent his life with them.” Some years later, as a serious adult, Smith produced the Book of Mormon (1830). This 584-page work purported to be a record of ancient inhabitants of North America.

On its original title page, Joseph Smith announced one of the main purposes of the Book of Mormon: “to shew unto the remnant of the House of Israel how great things the Lord hath done for their fathers; and that they may know the covenants of the Lord, that they are not cast off forever....”
Many nineteenth-century Christian groups proselytized to Indians, but Mormons had the loftiest expectations. Once redeemed, the “remnant of Jacob” would take the lead in building the New Jerusalem, the site of the Second Coming. Repentant “Gentiles”—i.e., converts to Mormonism—would work with the Lamanites as assistants. The remaining Gentiles—i.e., all of the unconverted—would be annihilated in the apocalypse. In addition to earthquakes and floods, Mormons anticipated an army of Lamanites—the “strong arm of Jehovah,” the “battle-ax of the Lord”—crushing their enemies like a lion among sheep. The United States would be destroyed in the process. In the midst of this re-creation, the “seed of Israel” would reclaim their former glory, including their fair skin.

No one knew the exact timeline. Before any army could be raised, the Lamanites would have to “blossom as the rose.” The short-term goal was simple conversion. In Utah, Mormons struggled to turn Joseph Smith’s beliefs into practice. Indians didn’t act according to the religious script written for them.

Smith had reserved a paradoxical place for Indians in Mormonism. They were cursed to be inferior yet promised to be superior. They were destined to save the world yet they couldn’t save themselves. These future Christian Israelites didn’t know who they were, didn’t know their own lineage. Despite their ignorance, these dark-skinned heathens belonged to the Mormon fold as spiritual if not actual kin. Early Mormons saw themselves as “grafts” of Israel. By converting, Latter-day Saints acquired “believing blood.” Later, influenced by British Israelism, the Saints would claim to possess literal Hebraic bloodlines. Either way, they had reason to regard Indians as extended family. When Mormon-Indian relations didn’t turn out as expected, some racist Latter-day Saints concluded that Utah’s Indians did not descend from the Lamanites but rather the Gadianton Robbers, a depraved subpopulation described in the Book of Mormon.
In the 1850s, Brigham Young served as Utah Superintendent of Indian Affairs as well as territorial governor. His attitude toward Indians/Lamanites vacillated between disdain and respect. Young believed that the present generation of Indians had to die out before a righteous generation could rise up. As he once phrased it: “They have either got to bow down to the Gospel or be slain.” In defensive situations, Young was always prepared to “meet them with death, and send them to hell.” But after two early episodes of inconclusive warfare in Utah, he decided it was preferable to wait for deaths than to inflict them. Given the ravages of disease, he did not expect to wait long. In the meantime, he hoped to gain goodwill by giving away foodstuff. It was the religious duty of the Saints to treat “friendly” Indians with kindness and forbearance, Brother Brigham preached in 1853. He often repeated the line, “It is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them.” The “Mormon Chief” regularly sat for meetings with Ute and Shoshone leaders. In 1857, when Washington sent an army to quell a rumored rebellion in Utah, the governor bragged about his influence over Utah’s Indians. In negotiations, he asked local natives to ally with the Mormons against “the Americans.” Above: A cartoon from 1858 portraying Young as a chief of savages attacking a U.S. citadel.
This 1871 illustration from Harper’s shows a Mormon boy gazing in admiration at the “ludicrous” figure of an “Indian fop.”
The image of Mormons allied with Indians persisted long after Brigham Young’s dream of an independent Mormon kingdom died (and long after the prophet worked to push local Utes to a distant reservation). In this *Harper’s* cartoon from 1882, Thomas Nast imagines a “polygamous barbarian” entreatying his war-weary friend to “much kill pale-face.” The drunk Indian wears a U.S. peace medal, a government-issued blanket, and hands dripping with blood. Dead bodies of U.S. soldiers litter the scene.

In period publications, Mormons were more than occasionally called “white Indians.” As late as 1915, novelist Jack London imagined a scene in which a frontiersman fears a tribal-sect alliance: “They ain’t whites,” he pipes out, “they’re Mormons.”
The image of bloodthirsty savages attacking innocent white settlers was one of the most powerful images of nineteenth-century America—the basis of Buffalo Bill’s celebrated performance career, and a regular feature of dime novels, history books, and folklore. Illustrations of the Mountain Meadows Massacre added white savages/religious barbarians to the familiar anti-Indian iconography.

On September 11, 1857, in southwestern Utah, Mormon settlers and some Paiute Indian accessories killed a wagon train of Arkansas emigrants bound for California. The killers spared only the smallest children. The Mountain Meadows Massacre remains the single worst blot on Mormon history.
Explanations for the massacre are necessarily complicated. The California-bound Baker-Fancher party had the misfortune of passing through Utah in 1857, even as a federal army marched westward to quell a supposed Mormon rebellion (the “Utah War”). In this time of rumor and fear, Brigham Young acted to shut down the major wagon trails with the help of allied Indians. Under war orders from Salt Lake City, settlers stockpiled food instead of selling supplies to emigrants.

Mormonism was also in the midst of the “Reformation,” a millenarian moment when Young and other leaders inspired zealotry with unbridled talk of foreign enemies, “blood atonement,” and “avenging the blood of the prophets,” as well as Lamanites blossoming as a rose.

For the Arkansas families who composed the Baker-Fancher party, it didn’t help that Parley P. Pratt, a beloved Mormon apostle, had recently been murdered in their home state. It is also possible that the emigrants unwittingly spread anthrax through their livestock, leading local Mormons—already in an inhospitable mood—to accuse them of poisoning wells. Purportedly some of the emigrant men talked trash about Mormonism and the martyred prophet Joseph Smith.

In short, whether or not local Mormon leaders acted under direction of Brigham Young—evidence for such an order has never been found by historians—they had various reasons to believe they were religiously justified in plotting and executing a cold-blooded massacre.
THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE.—MURDERED BY SUPPOSED FRIENDS.
After a lengthy cover-up, John D. Lee became the sole fall guy for the massacre. After confession, trial, and conviction in federal court, a firing squad executed Lee as he sat blindfolded on his coffin at the site of the massacre. The year was 1877. In death, Lee preceded Brigham Young—his spiritual father by token of a temple sealing ceremony—by only a few months. Lee accepted his role as scapegoat with both loyalty and bitterness. At his gravesite, the Lee family later erected a marker that reads, “Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.”

Next page: Depiction of the original victims’ memorial at Mountain Meadows. According more than one historical report, when Brigham Young visited the monument in 1861, he said something like “Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord—and here I am and I have repaid a little,” and ordered followers to tear down the rock mound.

Page after next: Another illustration of the original memorial, and a photograph of the derelict pile of rocks that passed for a monument as of 1930. Two years later, Utah Mormons erected the first historical plaque, which used the passive voice to say that an emigrant wagon train “was attacked by white men and Indians.” In 1990, descendants and relatives of the victims met in Southern Utah with high-ranking representatives of the LDS Church in an unprecedented act of reconciliation. Unfortunately, the new granite marker preserved the obfuscating passive voice, and even removed the actors; now the Baker-Fancher party “was attacked en route to California.” In collective memory, Indians have now largely vanished from the massacre.
SCENE OF THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS’ MASSACRE.

“Vengeance is Mine, I will repay—saith the Lord.”
THE MONUMENT.

"Here 120 men, women, and children were massacred in cold blood."

IN MEMORIAM

IN THE VALLEY BELOW
BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 7 AND 11, 1857,
A COMPANY OF MORE THAN 120 ARKANSAS EMIGRANTS
LED BY CAPT. JOHN T. BAKER AND CAPT. ALEXANDER FANCHER
WAS ATTACKED WHILE EN ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA.
THIS EVENT IS KNOWN IN HISTORY AS THE
MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE.

MOUNTAIN MEADOWS
A FAVORITE RECRUITING PLACE ON
THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL

IN THIS VICINITY, SEPTEMBER 7-11, 1857 OCCURRED ONE
OF THE MOST LAMENTABLE TRAGEDIES IN THE ANNALS
OF THE WEST. A COMPANY OF ABOUT 140 ARKANSAS AND
MISSOURI EMIGRANTS LED BY CAPTAIN CHARLES FANCHER,
enroute to California, was attacked by white men and
Indians. All but 17, being small children, were killed.
John D. Lee, who confessed participation as leader,
was legally executed here March 23, 1877. Most of
the emigrants were buried in their own defense pits.
This monument was reverently dedicated September 10, 1932
by the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association
and the people of Southern Utah.
In 2007, Hollywood released a violent feature film about the massacre—with an added Romeo-and-Juliet love story—under the title September Dawn. After 9/11, some people perceived the date of Mormonism’s darkest moment (September 11) as cosmic rather than coincidental. September Dawn was passed over by audiences, panned by reviewers, and reproached by the LDS Church. Commenting to the New York Times, a Church spokesman said, “While no one knows fully what happened at Mountain Meadows nearly 150 years ago, we do recognize that it was a terrible tragedy for all involved. The Church has done much to remember those who lost their lives there. We want to honor, respect and recognize them.”

The general perception among historians of the American West is that the Church has not come fully clean about the massacre, despite making progress. When historian Juanita Brooks, a believing Mormon, courageously published The Mountain Meadows Massacre in 1950—still in some ways the best book on the subject—she was ostracized by her faith community. In 2008, a committee of authors from the Church’s own Historian’s Office issued a worthy follow-up to Brooks, the quasi-official Massacre at Mountain Meadows, published with the imprimatur of peer-reviewed Oxford University Press. The book, written in a contrite rather than defensive tone, signaled a more mature and transparent approach to history, and represented an offer of rapprochement to the historical community. At the same time, the authors portray the massacre unequivocally as a local affair, with little space given to alternative interpretations. Brigham Young is absolved. The narrative conveniently ends on September 13, 1857—two days after the crime, thus sidestepping the cover-up. Massacre at Mountain Meadows also downplays the Indian/Lamanite element of the story.
Roger Ebert revives 5-year-old review of Mormon massacre film for 9/11

I submit that my review of the movie about the Mormons' massacre of a wagon train is written fairly. bit.ly/OcXKgs

Remember “September Dawn,” that movie that came out in 2007 about a mid-19th century massacre of settlers by Mormon fanatics? No? Well, Roger Ebert does, and on 9/11, he wants you to remember it too. We’re not sure who was questioning the fairness of his zero-star review, exactly, but Ebert tweeted today that he stands by it and provides a handy link.
Images showing why the Mormon stronghold in Utah Territory presented political and moral challenges to the ruling Protestant Republican establishment.
3.1 STATE OF DESERET

After the U.S.–Mexico War, Mormons petitioned to enter the Union as an enormous new state—the State of Deseret, which stretched from the crest of the Colorado Rockies to the shores of Southern California. Congress was disinclined to allow Mormons to control so much land. With the Compromise of 1850, Utah became a smaller territory, not a full-fledged state like California. Over the decades, as Mormons repeatedly tried and failed to win statehood for Utah, Congress continued to shrink the boundaries of the territory.

Congress also overruled the name “Deseret.” Until 1850 it had been customary for the national legislature simply to affirm local usage for territorial and state names, which were mostly taken from the place-name of a major river as derived from an Indian language. But “Deseret” wasn’t Indian; it wasn’t even American. The word came from the Book of Mormon, which Joseph Smith had translated from “Reformed Egyptian,” in which “Deseret” means “honeybee.” (The beehive, the state symbol of Utah, suggests industry and order, two qualities prized by Mormons.) In 1872, at one of their many constitutional conventions, Mormon delegates debated the wisdom of retaining “Deseret” when this name “might be made a basis of prejudice.” Others worried that the name could be confused with “desert.” Sentiment prevailed. The delegates stuck with “Deseret” because it referred to honeybees, whereas the alternative brought to mind an “insect-infested, grasshopper-eating tribe of Indians.”
Examples of the iconography of the short-lived State of Deseret. Left: Paper money notarized by Brigham Young, and minted coins bearing the Deseret Alphabet—a unique Mormon orthographic system. Above and below: Both sides of the proposed state flag.
Two more usages of Deseret Alphabet: A reader for children from 1868 (above), and instructions for voting a straight ticket for the candidates of the People’s Party, the political arm of the LDS Church, at Salt Lake City municipal election in 1876.
3.2 THE “UTAH WAR”

In summer 1857, U.S. President James Buchanan ordered a large armed force—2,500 men—to depose Brigham Young as territorial governor, and to install a non-Mormon. Buchanan acted rashly on the exaggerated complaints of “runaway officials”—federal appointees who had left the territory in frustration with behind-the-scenes theocracy (what historians call the “ghost government” of Deseret). The paranoid style of Mormon rhetoric encouraged the worst suspicions in outsiders. Correspondingly, the deployment of government troops added fuel to Mormon zealotry. Having been driven from their homes in Missouri and Illinois, Mormons responded with defiance to the perceived federal invasion. The Nauvoo Legion engaged in scorched-earth guerrilla tactics like burning government supply trains (left). The “Utah War” ended in 1858 with a détente. Under the new normal, Mormons lived with a “Gentile” governor and a permanent army presence. The troops constructed Camp Floyd in Cedar Valley, southwest of Great Salt Lake City.

Historians have come to different conclusions about the “Utah War.” Most consider it a costly policy mistake—“Buchanan’s Blunder”—because it mutually inflamed antagonisms, and set back Mormon-federal relations. However, revisionist historians argue that Brigham Young was disloyal and rebellious, and that without Buchanan’s show of federal force, the Mormon prophet would have continued with his millenarian plans to establish a theocratic state within the United States. Without the correction of 1857–58, the course of Mormon history might have led to a bigger—and bloodier—showdown with the government.
In 1857, when President Brigham Young announced that President James Buchanan had dispatched troops to put down the Latter-day Saints, he blustered to his followers that “they constituted henceforth a free and independent state, to be known no longer as Utah, but by their own Mormon name of Deseret.”
In 1858, Harper’s comically imagined scenes before and after the military invasion of Utah. Above: Mormon war leaders prep for battle before their many wives. Below: A “frightful scene of carnage and desolation” as Mormon women swoon before the real men of the U.S. army, while their erstwhile patriarchal protectors cower in chains.

Next page: Salt Lake City is on a short list of American cities—e.g., Berkeley, 1969—that have been occupied in a state of emergency. In March 1858 Brigham Young implemented the “Move South,” a temporary relocation of the Mormon capital to Provo. Soon afterward the federal army under Albert Sidney Johnston did a “triumphal” march past the prophet’s deserted compound.
Triumphal Passage of United States Troops through Salt Lake City.
One satirist was inspired by the Utah War to write an mock-epic poem, *The Mormoniad*. 

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**Pe Dedication.**

Buchanan, James ye Fyrste! Thou art a Bricke,
A perfecte Bucke! And, Brigham Younge, thou art,
(Soe manie Mormonesses breake thy Heartes,)
If not, indeede, a downrighte Lunatick,
A Perfect Bricke-Batt, Buck! And therefore I,
With your benign Permission, would be glad
To dedicate to You Mormoniad,
An Epic, which, like You, shall never die!
Y — both of Ye — brave Men, be Perfect Brickes;
And therefore, in this Fane of my beginninge,
I fain would putt You as ye Underpinninge—
Ye Bucke of Love! Ye Bucke of Politicks!
Therefore, O James, a Pension grant for Life!
And, Brigham, thou vouchsafe ye Barde a Wife!

July 4, 1858.

Pe Author.
James Buchanan’s “Utah War” played into the sectional conflict in Washington. Buchanan, the last Democratic president before the Civil War, had won a three-way race in 1856 that included John C. Frémont, the first standard-bearer of the Republican Party. The insurgent Republicans called themselves the party of “free labor” (anti-slavery but not initially abolitionist). The GOP also made a firm stand against Mormonism. The original party platform from the 1856 convention included this ringing line: “It is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—Polygamy, and Slavery.

*Left:* A cartoon from 1881 captioned, “Complete the Work Begun by the Republican Party Twenty Years Ago.” A gladiator wielding national authority prepares to slay the twin-headed monster, having already decapitated one head (on the ground, marked “slavery”). The Mormon Tabernacle looms in the background.

*Over:* A 1856 Currier print for the Republicans lampooning the Whig and Democratic candidates. Buchanan’s helpless hands rest on “polygamy & slavery.”
Mormons were all-purpose political bogeymen. This Currier & Ives print from 1860 depicts Abraham Lincoln—the Republican candidate—being led into a lunatic asylum by his deranged followers, including, improbably, Latter-day Saints. The bearded Mormon says, “I want religion abolished and the book of Mormon made the standard of morality.”
During the Civil War, the Republican-dominated Congress passed its first anti-Mormon legislation, the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act of 1862. In addition to prohibiting plural marriage in U.S. territories, the law specifically disincorporated the LDS Church, and restricted the Church’s ability to own property. Mormons simply ignored the act, and, given the Civil War, the federal government could do nothing about it.

Political antipathy to Mormons was not restricted to Republicans. Lincoln’s Democratic friend and ally John Alexander McClernand, an Illinois congressman turned Union army commander, said in 1860:

As to polygamy, I admit, nay, I charge it to be a crying evil; sapping not only the physical constitutions of the people practicing it, dwarfing their physical proportions and emasculating their energies, but at the same time perverting the social virtues, and vitiating the morals of its victims. It originated in the house of Lamech, the second murderer, and in the family of the fratricide, Cain. It is often an adjunct to political despotism; and invariably begets among the people who practice it the extremes of brutal blood-thirstiness or timid and mean prevarication. The ancient Egyptians, and the Greeks and the Romans, were strangers to it during the period of their greatest prosperity and power. It is a scarlet whore. It is a reproach to the Christian civilization; and deserves to be blotted out.

After the Civil War, many political commentators became disillusioned as polygamy persisted in the age of emancipation. This illustration from 1884 shows a withering tree of U.S. democracy in the shape of President Grover Cleveland—the only Democratic president during the long period of GOP control following the war. A sick branch labeled “Mormonism” grows next to “Slavery.”
Left: A series of cartoons from 1883 urging Uncle Sam to solve the “Mormon Question”—the “great sin of the century”—by drawing the sword and saving the enslaved women of Utah. Mormon male authority is drawn variously as a thuggish slavedriver, a Blue Beard (walking over a female slave with his foot on the Constitution), an armed raptor in an eyrie, and a cave-dwelling monster.

Over: A Harper’s editorial cartoon from 1881 in reference to the news that the Supreme Court had overturned the conviction of a Mormon bigamist on the grounds that his wife’s testimony was inadmissible. Brother Jonathan (the alternate name for Uncle Sam) stands next to Lady Justice, her eyes revealed to show her anger, and tells the excessively bearded Utah patriarchs: “Nearly twenty years ago I wiped out slavery; now it is about time to attend to you.”
A DISTINCTION WITHOUT A DIFFERENCE.

Justice. “As the laws now stand, Mr. Jonathan, we can punish a Gentile bigamist, but in the case of a Mormon polygamist they appear to be inoperative. Is this right?”

Mormon. “I am not a criminal. Polygamy is a part of my Church creed. No interference of State with Church, you know. I—”

Jonathan. “Stop, sir! Your plea is but a sham, to cover a heinous crime that should be tolerated no longer. If the laws are inadequate, they must be seen to. Nearly twenty years ago I wiped out slavery; now it is about time to attend to you.”
How would the United States finally solve the problem posed by Utah Territory? In the 1850s, the federal government had sent in troops, and installed non-Mormon territorial officers. In the 1860s, it built another army outpost, Fort Douglas, directly above the Mormon capital; and passed a strict anti-bigamy law. And yet Latter-day Saints continued to practice polygamy with impunity, and the LDS Church continued to control all aspects of life in Utah, including its courts, its schools, and its elections. To outsiders, it seemed like ecclesiastical despotism. As the United States developed its western lands in the post-Civil War era, the fate of Utah became a leading social and political issue, the subject of endless debates and proposals from Republican lawmakers and Protestant reformers. Collectively these debates were called the “Mormon Question” or “Problem” or “Situation” or “Puzzle.” To describe the nature of the problem, American Protestants used more pejorative terms, including Mormon kingdom, Mormon monarchy, Mormon empire, Mormon caliphate, Mormon machine, Mormon conspiracy, Mormon menace, Mormon cancer, Mormon octopus, Mormon spider, Mormon devil-fish. The hallowed U.S. principle of religious freedom did not, they argued, apply to Mormonism, because it didn’t qualify as a religion. In the words of a 1860 report from the House Judiciary Committee, the framers of the Constitution “did not mean to dignify with the name of religion a tribe of Latter Day Saints disgracing that hallowed name, and wickedly imposing upon the credulity of mankind.”
Above: To opponents of Mormonism, Utah Territory was like a carrion crow in the eagle’s nest of American republicanism.

Left: In this 1871 cartoon, corruption in Washington abets despotism in Utah. Brigham Young says to President Ulysses S. Grant, “I must submit to your laws—but what shall I do with these?” Grant, whose administration was infamous for nepotism, replies, “Do as I do—give them offices.”
One possible solution to the “Mormon Problem”: splitting Utah Territory down the middle and giving the land to adjoining states and territories—a kind of political “eviction.” The man in the defensive posture by the Mormon Tabernacle is John Taylor, president of the LDS Church from 1880 to 1887. In fact, Congress repeatedly shaved off edge pieces of Utah Territory to give to Nevada and Wyoming.
The popular antipathy for Mormons was even expressed at the piano in parlor rooms of middle-class American Protestants. The lyrics to “Down with the Mormons” (1870) call on the Union army (“the boys in blue”) to raise the battle flag once more, and put out the tyranny of Mormonism, the one remaining stain on the republic now that “the bondsman is free.” Onward, Christian soldiers: put down the “vile brand,” the “shame of our land,” the “pests of our shore.” “Down with the Mormons! Wipe out the stain!”

Over: In more decorous mode, Protestants wrote a small library of lectures, pamphlets, and books on the Mormon Question.
THE MORMON MENACE

A DISCOURSE
BEFORE THE
NEW WEST EDUCATION COMMISSION
ON ITS FIFTH ANNIVERSARY
AT CHICAGO NOVEMBER 15 1885
BY
GEORGE WHITFIELD PHILLIPS
PASTOR OF PLYMOUTH CHURCH
WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS
REGIMENT

THE MORMON PUZZLE;
AND HOW TO SOLVE IT.

BY
REV. R. W. BEERS, A.M.,
PASTOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, HASTINGS, MO.

"A disposition to preserve, and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my standard of a statesman."—EDMUND BURKE.

FUNK & WAGNALLS, PUBLISHERS,
CHICAGO: NEW YORK: LONDON:
TIMES BUILDING, 15 & 20 ASTOR PLACE, 44 FLEET STREET.
1887.

THE MORMON PROBLEM.

An Appeal to the American People.

WITH AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING FOUR ORIGINAL STORIES OF MORMON LIFE, BASED UPON FACT, AND A GRAPHIC AND THRILLING ACCOUNT OF THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE.

BY REV. C. F. LYFORD,
MINISTER OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AND FOR FOUR YEARS A MISSIONARY IN UTAH.
AUTHOR OF "TITHING," "THE PRIESTHOOD," AND "BRIGHAM YOUNG'S RECORD OF BLOOD."

"I see above the law, and so do the people."—BRIGHAM YOUNG.

New York: PILLIPS & HUNT.
CINCINNATI: CRANSTON & STOWE.
1886.

THE MORMON PROBLEM.

BY
WALTER H. BARKOWS,
PASTOR OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN SALT LAKE CITY.

Boston: Reprinted from the Home Missionary of December, 1886.
The promise to clean up the mess in Utah became such a political platitude that it was lampooned in a 1881 cartoon, “The Same Thing Over Again,” about the recent State of the Union address. President Chester Arthur pastes his agenda over a board with prior annual messages to Congress from fellow Republican presidents Hayes and Grant that presumably include the same laundry list of proposals: civil service reform, a permanent U.S. navy, “the poor Indian needs attention,” and “the Mormons must go.”
Images showing that many outside observers perceived Utah Mormons as being non-white—and not truly American.
This 1879 illustration from *The Wasp*, a San Francisco newspaper, depicts Mormon polygamists, Chinese laborers, Indian tribes, African-American freedmen, and Irish immigrants as burdens to the United States. This pairing of white Mormons with “undesirable” people of color (which, believe it or not, included the Irish) was common in the second half of the nineteenth century. A Mormon who lived through the Nauvoo years remembered being called a “little Nigger Mormon” by “Gentile” children.
After the Civil War, many Americans looked to the future development of the West as a bright alternative to the blood-stained memory of the conflict between North and South. From the point of view of Protestants from the American East, three major social problems delayed western progress: Chinese immigrants in California, Mormon settlers in Utah Territory, and Native Americans on large reservations. Each population deviated from U.S. norms. Unmarried Chinese men and polygamist Mormon patriarchs ran counter to family norms; certain Native Americans, like Mormons, practiced polygamy; tribal Indians and Latter-day Saints also practiced forms of communalism believed to be incompatible with capitalism, private property ownership, individualism, and citizenship. Politicians and pundits regularly made dire statements about the “Mormon Question,” and how it related to the “Chinese Question” and the “Indian Question.” In each case, Protestant moral reformers worked in concert with state and federal officials to forcibly Americanize these deviant population groups; or, to deport them or segregate them when Americanization was deemed impossible. It is no coincidence that the Dawes Act (which led to the break-up of most large reservations), the Chinese Exclusion Act (which turned Chinese into the original illegal aliens), and the Edmunds Act (which criminalized polygamy, and disenfranchised convicted polygamists) all date to the 1880s. Likewise, it is no accident that the last territories in the continental U.S. to achieve statehood were Utah (1896), Oklahoma (1907), and Arizona and New Mexico (1912). To put it crudely, Utah had too many Mormons, Oklahoma had too many Indians, and Arizona and New Mexico had too many Indians and Mexican-American Catholics.
Mormon immigrants from England and Denmark—converts who typically made the trip under Church sponsorship—were indisputably white, but the specter of polygamy made the process look like white slavery to observers like Thomas Nast, the leading cartoonist in America.

Mormon immigration brokers were even depicted as Shylock figures—unscrupulous men with “Jewish” noses who seemed happy sell white women down the river to Salt Lake City.
In 1913, the evangelical magazine *The Record of Christian Work* published this notice, “Mormon propaganda,” in reference to the surprising success of LDS missionaries in Polynesia. Using alarmist—and frankly confusing—racial language, white Protestants expressed concern about the influence of crypto-Muslim Aryan-American Mormons on Hawaiians and so-called Orientals.

In 1904, a *Life* magazine cartoonist depicted a “Mormon Elder-Berry” (modeled after LDS Church president Joseph F. Smith), and the fruit of the elder—his children. By implication, the long-bearded polygamist has at least nine young wives, each of a different nationality—the suggestion being that Mormons are foreign in both their sexual and cultural predilections.

The Mormon propaganda is making distinct headway in Hawaii, chiefly among native Hawaiians and the Oriental population. This is perhaps the only point where this American Mohammedanism has got a grip on other than Aryan populations. Russian and Portuguese plantation workers are also being influenced. Bishop Wells, of the Episcopal Church, believes that there is here a genuine menace to the life of the islands.
The original anti-Mormon exposé, John C. Bennett’s *History of the Saints* (1842), likened Joseph Smith to “his master and model, Mahomet” in the secret regulations he has formed for directing the relations of the sexes.” American Protestants couldn’t believe that “licentious Oriental courts” existed in a civilized, Christian country. The mountain fortress of Utah shielded the “customs of Constantinople.” Even political moderates like Nevada congressman Thomas Fitch, who actually opposed a strict federal anti-polygamy law, acknowledged “the deep disgrace to the nation that the barbarous social practices of the Asiatic should be unblushingly pursued among a Saxon people in this noon of the nineteenth century.” In 1887 Frances Willard, president of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, arguably the most powerful American woman of the nineteenth century, reemphasized this theme. “Turkey is in our midst,” she warned. “Modern Mohammedanism has its Mecca at Salt Lake, where Prophet [sic] Heber C. Kimball speaks of his wives as ‘cows.’ Clearly the Koran was Joseph Smith’s model, so closely followed as to exclude even the poor pretension of originality in his foul ‘revelations.’” A writer for *Scribner’s Monthly* on the “false claim of Mormonism” called polygamy “one of the most odious relics of Asiatic despotism.” In 1860, when British Orientalist and polymath Richard Francis Burton needed a new adventure—having already snuck into Mecca in disguise—naturally he visited the “City of the Saints.”
Left: A playbill from a Boston theater in 1872, where the titular Mormon “Blue Beard” appeared alongside ethnic caricatures of Turks and Chinese in a “Burlesque Extravaganza.”

Above: An absurdly misleading “illustration” of the “women of Mormonism” from 1882.

Over: A satirical cartoon from 1884 imagining the “perfect Paradise” of Mormon polygamists.
“Surveyed from a distance, [Great Salt Lake City] wears a distinctly Oriental appearance,” wrote one author in 1879. “So we of the Far West who have only dreamed of the East, imagine how Damascus may look.” To many observers, it did not seem accidental that the Mormon people, the “great anomaly in American history,” ended up in the Great Basin. Rumors of a landlocked drainage system had floated around for decades before the 1840s, but many explorers couldn’t accept it. The idea seemed “Asiatic,” not American. People kept looking for the river that should have been there, some hidden tributary of the Columbia, some long arm of San Francisco Bay. Not until John C. Frémont circumnavigated the inland West on his Second Expedition were these geographical fantasies put to rest. In 1844 Frémont completed his “circuit” and pronounced the existence of a “rare and singular feature—that of the Great interior Basin.”

The Basin is actually a collection of basins, each with its own terminal lakebed. Utah’s Wasatch Mountains drain into the Great Salt Lake. In the 1880s and 1890s, railroads turned “America’s Dead Sea” into Utah’s leading natural attraction. Their allies and frequent employees, the travel writers, consistently invoked the Holy Land in their descriptions of Utah. Publicists encouraged tourists to see Mormons as latter-day Hebrews or as latter-day Sodomites. If polygamists appealed to voyeurism, the Great Salt Lake appealed to Christian nationalism. In a tourist booklet from 1891, the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad reproduced a map of “Deseret” (the old Mormon name for Utah) alongside a map of “Canaan,” with the words “Promised Land” superimposed on both. The map of Palestine was inverted, enlarged, and exaggerated to suggest a perfect correspondence between the Great Salt Lake (and its freshwater tributary, Utah Lake) and the Dead Sea (with its freshwater tributary, the Sea of Galilee).
4.3 THE MORMON RACE

We are not accounted as white people and we don’t want to live among them. I had rather live with the buffalo in the wilderness. —Heber C. Kimball (1845)

To many observers of the 1850s through the 1870s, Utah Mormons weren’t really white—not culturally, and not physically. De Bow’s Review, a leading voice for pro-slavery Southerners, published an article in 1861 on the “Depravity of the Offspring of Polygamy among the Mormons.” The author compared Latter-day Saints to “those oriental and tropical races practicing polygamy.” Anti-Mormon racists could cite the “evidence” of Dr. Roberts Barthelow, an army doctor who had been stationed at Camp Floyd, outside Salt Lake City, in 1858. Dr. Barthelow proposed—in a report published by the Senate, and widely reprinted in medical journals—the existence of a new “Mormon race.” In essence, Barthelow argued that multiple generations of polygamous inbreeding had degenerated Mormons to the point that they no longer counted as white people. The deviance of polygamy had produced deviant physiology—a social condition marked by “the preponderance of female births; by the mortality in infantile life; by the large proportion of albuminous and gelatinous types of constitution; and by the striking uniformity of the facial expression.” What did this Mormon countenance look like? “The yellow, sunken, cadaverous visage; the greenish-colored eyes, the thick, protuberant lips; the low forehead; the light, yellowish hair, and the lank, angular person, constitute an appearance so characteristic of the new race, the production of polygamy, as to distinguish them at a glance.” In short, Mormons, who called themselves a “peculiar people,” were scientifically peculiar.

A few period images, like the one to the left, make light of what Barthelow described as “hereditary victims”—stunted, retarded, almost simian children.
Mormons were not the only fair-skinned people depicted as less than white—and less than fully human—by the WASP establishment in nineteenth-century America. To the left is a detail from an anti-Mormon cartoon from 1871. To the right is an anti-Irish cartoon from 1882.
Anti-Mormon commentators were liberal in their racial condemnations. “Polygamy belongs now to the indolent and opium-eating Turks and Asiatics, the miserable Africans, the North American savages, and the Latter-day Saints,” wrote one traveler in 1854. Never mind that Utah in the second half of the nineteenth century was one of the most “Anglo-Saxon” places in North America, with a settler population drawn predominantly from New England, Great Britain, and Denmark. Mormons were perceived as traitors to the white race.

After the Civil War, anti-Mormon racist logic made its way to the Supreme Court. In the 1878 Reynolds ruling that struck down the constitutionality of plural marriage as a free exercise of religion, the chief justice wrote that “until the establishment of the Mormon Church, [polygamy] was almost exclusively a feature of the life of Asiatic and of African people.” The justice compared the odium of Mormon polygamy to Sati, the historic Shaivite practice of self-immolation by a widow.

The cartoon to the left, published in Life magazine, references the moment in 1900 when Congress refused to seat Utah’s elected representative B. H. Roberts because he had three wives. The LDS Church officially stopped performing plural marriage ceremonies in 1890, but that left the problem of preexisting marriages. In the cartoon, the “Sultan of Sulu” declares, “I should be ashamed to draw a salary from the benign Government at Washington if I had less than thirty wives and three hundred concubines. … There is nothing like keeping up the standard of polygamy to a proper level. Brigham Young, and Joseph Smith, and other Patriarchs in that glorious religion, Mormonism, did honor to the sacred institution. They had wives to burn. Down with your petty, three-wife, Latter Day degenerates!”
Another iteration of the comic image of the Mormon man with too many wives—this one from 1870. The pictured patriarch has flouted the laws and customs of anti-miscegenation as well as monogamy. By placing the husband next to wives of African, Chinese, and other “colored” ancestries, the cartoonist draws attention to the questionable whiteness of Mormons.
Images showing divergent perceptions of Mormon women as political actors or patriarchal victims in the post-Civil War era.
Mormonism, like all modern versions of Christianity, is a patriarchal religion. Arguably the LDS Church is more androcentric and male-empowering than any other Christian faith because it offers the priesthood—not a position, but the restored power of the biblical “Melchizedek Priesthood”—to lay male members. In any case, American Protestants of the nineteenth century did not accept Mormonism as either a true form of Christianity or an acceptable form of patriarchy. It seemed inconceivable to outsiders that civilized women would willingly be part of a polygamous society. The alternative explanation: LDS elders duped their female converts, or abducted wives, or purchased them, and then ruled over their bondwomen with the threat of violence.
In the wake of the Civil War, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution, the United States repudiated chattel slavery, and promised the Freedmen (the name for ex-slaves in the South) the freedom of contract, including the right to marry and divorce. Now that Republicans, the party of Union, had defeated unfree labor, they turned their attention to unfree marriage.

*Left:* A magazine image from 1882—the year that the Republican controlled Congress debated and passed the anti-polygamy Edmunds Act—that referenced the former shameful era when slaveowners auctioned off human property in Washington, D.C. By implication, the Utah patriarch was little different than the Southern master of old.

*Next page:* Examples of post-Civil war attacks on Mormon polygamy as a form of enslavement. Female Protestant reformers, despite lacking suffrage, directed their considerable moral suasion to political figures. No less a figure than Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, likened the station of women in Utah to the former nightmare of southern slave-pens, auction-blocks, and whipping-posts; and called on Protestant women to appeal to politicians and God to break the yoke of Mormon women and hasten their deliverance.
THE WOMEN OF MORMONISM;

— OR —

THE STORY OF POLYGAMY

As Told by the Victims Themselves.

PREFACE

BY MRS. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

In these pages, a woman, a wife and mother, speaks the sorrows and oppressions of which she has been the witness and the victim.

It is because her sorrows and her oppressions are those of thousands, who, suffering like her, cannot or dare not speak for themselves, that she thus gives this history to the public.

It is no sensational story, but a plain, unvarnished tale of truth, stranger and sadder than fiction.

Our day has seen a glorious breaking of fetters. The slave-pens of the South have become a nightmare of the past; the auction-block and whipping-post have given place to the church and school-house; and the songs of emancipated millions are heard through our land.

May we not then hope that the hour is come to loose the bonds of a cruel slavery whose chains have cut into the very hearts of thousands of our sisters—a slavery which debases and degrades womanhood, motherhood, and the family?

Let every happy wife and mother who reads these lines give her their sympathy, prayers, and aid to free her sisters from this degrading bondage. Let all the womanhood of the country stand united for them. There is a power in combined enlightened sentiment and sympathy before which every form of injustice and cruelty must finally go down.

May He who came to break every yoke hasten this deliverance!

Harriet Beecher Stowe.
Left: An example of a stock figure from late nineteenth-century anti-Mormon graphic art—the innocent bondmaid who dies (or commits suicide) from the trauma of plural marriage.

Over: Two publications from the first decade of the twentieth century show that the Protestant idea of the “moral bondage” of Mormon women (if not their actual enslavement) persisted in the post-polygamy era.
TO THE

WOMEN OF AMERICA,

Whose Sympathies are ever active in behalf of their
Suffering and Oppressed Sisters.

THIS VOLUME
IS RESPECTFULLY
DEDICATED

In the hope that it will interest them in the condi-
tion of the Women who are living in
Moral Bondage in Utah.

THE TRAGEDY
OF THE
MORMON WOMAN
BY MARIAN BONSALL

THE HOUSEKEEPER CORPORATION, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
In the post-Civil War era, the United States greatly enlarged the franchise, granting all black men the right to vote. Seizing the moment, white suffragettes pushed harder for full enfranchisement. But Utah presented a quandary. Since women there were physically and/or mentally “enslaved,” the women’s vote would be the brethren’s vote doubled.

Left: A 1869 cartoon imagining the result of female suffrage in Utah: Brigham Young’s “tribe” would vote straight-ticket for the Democrats. In 1882 Congress passed a Republican law that disenfranchised men convicted of felonious marriage. Right: A cartoon from that year shows a Union solder barring a Mormon polygamist from voting. The sign on his bayonet reads, “No Ballot for Slaveowner.”
Mormons were in fact very progressive about female suffrage. At the territorial level, Utah granted women the right to vote in 1870, second only to Wyoming. As shown in this illustration from 1879, many Mormon women resented being depicted as dupes and slaves, and marched in political parades in favor of polygamy. In the 1870s the LDS Church mounted a campaign not just to defend plural marriage, but to promote it as a social good—an arrangement that produced healthier children and happier women. According to defenders of Mormonism, a consensual polygamous society offered every woman the blessings of marriage and motherhood, and discouraged prostitution, thus saving many women from sex slavery.
In the polygamy era, Mormon women participated in a female auxiliary, the Relief Society—now one of the oldest women’s organizations in the world. The society printed a magazine, the *Woman’s Exponent*, and paid for women to train in medical school, among many other empowering activities. To counter the Protestant view of the Utah bondwomen, a poster from 1884 (left) showed “representative women of Deseret”—a collection of genteel, educated women, many of whom happened to be in polygamous marriages. At the top, under the crown, sits Eliza R. Snow, poetess and long-serving president of the Relief Society. Snow carried the singular distinction of having been sealed in marriage to Joseph Smith and Brigham Young.

*Our enemies pretend that in Utah, woman is held in a state of vassalage—that she does not act from choice, but by coercion—that we would even prefer life elsewhere, were it possible for us to make our escape. What nonsense!*

—Eliza Snow (1870)
The great suffragists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony visited to Salt Lake City in 1871, shortly after Utah women achieved the right to vote. Invited to speak in the Assembly Hall at Temple Square, Stanton made the most of her privilege. As she recalled, “I gave a brief history of the marriage institution in all times and countries, of the matriarchate, when the mother was the head of the family and owned the property and children; of the patriarchate, when man reigned supreme and woman was enslaved; of polyandry, polygamy, monogamy, and prostitution.” As Stanton expected, “the doors of the Tabernacle were closed to our ministrations” after this convocation, but she felt satisfied that she and Anthony had aired five hours of “such free talk as those women had never heard before.”

Stanton did not mentally emancipate Mormon women to the satisfaction of men in Washington, D.C. In 1887 Congress passed the Edmunds-Tucker Act, a draconian anti-polygamy law that, among other things, disenfranchised the women of Utah Territory. By the logic of Republicans, Mormon women had “failed” to vote down polygamy and vote themselves free. While the bill was being debated, Mormon women held a “great mass meeting” to protest Congressional “tyranny and indecency” (see left). They were scandalized that the all-male national legislature would, in the age of emancipation and suffrage, revoke their freedom of democracy.
In 1896, after the LDS Church promised to give up polygamy, Utah joined the Union. With statehood, the women of Utah regained their right to vote in state elections. Left: A 1896 cartoon from the *Washington Post* called “The Apotheosis of Suffrage” pictured Stanton and Anthony beside St. George Washington, with heralds labeled “Wyoming” and “Utah.” At the annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association that year, Anthony rejoiced that the Beehive State had completed a “trinity of true republics at the summit of the Rockies.” Right: In 1919, when U.S. women finally achieved full franchise, Utah Senator and LDS apostle Reed Smoot (back row, mustache) watched a signing ceremony.
Images showing how the federal government forcibly assimilated Mormon-controlled Utah Territory, and how Utah Mormons haltingly re-entered U.S. politics.
Before the 1880s it was very hard to secure a grand jury indictment of a polygamist in Utah, and harder still to gather enough admissible evidence to win a conviction in court, given that Mormons controlled the judicial system. The sensational trial of Thomas Hawkins (above), the first Mormon polygamist to face indictment, was a disappointing success for anti-polygamy crusaders. In 1871 Hawkins was convicted under Utah’s adultery law rather than the federal anti-bigamy law.
In this 1873 cartoon, a Union soldier pushes Brigham Young into divorce court, saying, “This polygamy business is played out.” Mormons begged to differ, and placed their hopes in federal court. They viewed their practice of “celestial marriage” or “the Principle” as a Constitutionally protected religious practice. The LDS Church agreed to field a First Amendment test case in 1875. Young handpicked a defendant—his personal secretary, George Reynolds—to stand trial for federal bigamy charges. *Reynolds v. United States* went all the way to the Supreme Court, where the Mormons lost. The justices ruled that Americans were free to have any kind of religious belief, but they weren’t necessarily free to act on every belief. For the time being, Mormons disregarded the ruling. However, the *Reynolds* decision emboldened the Church’s opponents, who urged Congress to pass and enforce stricter anti-polygamy laws now that the nation’s highest court had removed the judicial defense of Mormons.
Two calls for action from the 1880s. Left: A Thomas Nast cartoon that conjoins monogamy and republicanism. The statue of Cupid at the Capitol has written, “Let the Union have one union law,” with an drawing of a marriage ring ceremony for full effect. The anti-American Mormon polygamist rejects both concepts of union: “I’ll live in defiance of both,” he says. Above: The pro-union, pro-monogamy dedication to a book about Mormon women, “as told by the victims themselves.”
With the Reynolds decision, the LDS Church began to lose control of its own future. Apostle George Q. Cannon was outraged:

Our crime has been: We married women instead of seducing them; we reared children instead of destroying them; we desired to exclude from the land prostitution, bastardy and infanticide. If George Reynolds is to be punished, let the world know the facts. Conceal them not under the thin veil of hypocritical pretence. Let it be published to the four corners of the earth that in this land of liberty, the most blessed and glorious upon which the sun shines, the law is swiftly invoked to punish religion, but justice goes limping and blindfolded in pursuit of crime.

President John Taylor was more intemperate. At a General Conference in 1879, he prognosticated:

God will lay his hand upon this nation, and they will feel it more terrible than ever they have done before; there will be more bloodshed, more ruin, more devastation than ever they have seen before.

And he fulminated about the political enemies of the Church:

We do not want them to force upon us their drinking saloons, their drunkenness, their gambling, their debauchery and lasciviousness. We do not want these adjuncts of civilization. We do not want them to force upon us that institution of monogamy called the social evil. We will be after them; we will form ourselves into police and hunt them and drag them from their dens of infamy and expose them to the world. We won’t have their meanness, with their foeticides and infanticides, forced upon us.

Taylor was wrong. Within a few years, federal agents would be staging anti-polygamy raids, and filling the territorial prison with high-ranking church leaders. Taylor and Cannon (left) had to go on the lam—what Mormons called “the underground”—to avoid imprisonment. The prophet died in hiding.
In the 1880s Congress applied the screws with two strict anti-polygamy laws, the Edmunds Act (1882) and the Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887). In essence, these laws criminalized Mormonism by outlawing theocracy and polygamy—two core principles of the religion.

The Edmunds Act made bigamous cohabitation (which was much easier to prove than plural marriage) a misdemeanor. It also disenfranchised convicted polygamists and made them ineligible to hold political office. Polygamists and cohabitationists were disqualified from jury duty, and anyone who supported polygamy, regardless of practice, could not serve as a juror in an anti-polygamy trial. Washington dismissed the election officers in Salt Lake City, and appointed an outside board of commissioners to oversee voter registrations and elections.

The Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887) upped the pressure. In the financial realm, it dissolved the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company (a loan institution that helped members of the church come to Utah from Europe), took away the right of inheritance from illegitimate children, and created a legal mechanism to seize the property of the Church (which had already been disincorporated by the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act of 1862). In the realm of family law, Congress required all married couples to have civil licenses, and removed the common law protection of spousal privilege so that wives could be compelled to testify against husbands.

To top it off, Edmunds-Tucker also disenfranchised Utah women; demanded an anti-polygamy loyalty oath from voters, jurors, and elected officials; replaced local judges with federal ones; dissolved the superintendent of school; and abolished the Nauvoo Legion (territorial militia).

In short, the 1880s witnessed a full-force federal attack on local rights/state rights, as orchestrated by the Republican Party with the encouragement of Protestant reform groups. Utah Territory joined Indian reservations and ex-Confederate states as internal polities reconstructed by the federal government. Over one thousand Mormon men were indicted; hundreds were convicted.

During the 12-year crackdown known as “the Raid,” Mormons learned to fear federal agents. It became second nature to hide family members in cellars and attics and canyons, and to dissemble and lie under oath. To escape the law, many polygamous families decamped for Canada or Mexico (where they were welcomed as immigrant settlers by president-dictator Porfirio Díaz). Many more families broke up. In effect, legal measures meant to unshackle women created single mothers.

Next page: The career of George Q. Cannon in the 1880s personified the Mormon downfall. As illustrated by the famed Thomas Nast, Congress voted in 1882 to bar Cannon from serving as Utah’s territorial delegate. Playing with the apostle’s name, Nast portrayed Mormons as violent agitators who wanted to blow open the doors of the Capitol with their “Mormon cannon.” A follow-up cartoon shows Lady Liberty delighted that a cannon malfunction had blown up the Mormons instead. Finally, a photograph circa 1888 shows Elder Cannon as a convicted felon, serving time at the territorial penitentiary.
Minus polygamy, nineteenth-century anti-Mormonism resembled anti-Catholicism. Scaremongers warned of a direct threat to U.S. democracy by hordes of credulous non-Protestant foreigners who indoctrinated their young in parochial schools and who blindly obeyed a non-Constitutional authority (prophet or pope). Above: From 1871, one of Thomas Nast’s most famous cartoons, which shows an amphibious assault of cardinal crocodiles, as the Vatican presides over the ruins of a U.S. public school system that flies an upside-down flag. Over: An unpublished cartoon by Nast that used the same reptilian imagery; the shell of the turtle is the dome of the Mormon Tabernacle. Final page: A 1884 cartoon from Puck that depicts Mormonism’s effect on civil society as an octopus with entangling tentacles (including ones that reach into a Catholic church and into Ireland).
Religious liberty is guaranteed. But can we allow foreign reptiles to crawl all over us?
How long will this destructive monster be allowed to live?—Opper.
Arguably the federal government had greater success reconstructing Utah than the U.S. South. The LDS Church capitulated to federal pressure in the early 1890s by dismantling its political party and surrendering its control of Utah’s public schools. Most famously, President Wilford Woodruff (left) instructed followers to stop (or, more precisely, to suspend) the consecration of plural marriages. A reluctant pragmatist, Woodruff meant his 1890 edict, popularly known as the Manifesto, to be a delaying tactic. On the basis of a revelation given to Joseph Smith, many Mormons expected the Millennium to begin in 1891. Renewed expectation accompanied the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple on 6 April 1893, precisely forty years after the groundbreaking. The biblical timing was no accident: the completion of the temple seemed to fulfill Isaiah’s prophecy. Christ would soon walk on the Earth; the doctrine of plural marriage would be reinstated; and the Saints would return to Missouri, the Promised Land. But the move never happened. Utah achieved its long-denied statehood in 1896, and Woodruff died shortly thereafter. In retrospect, the completion of the temple signaled not the rebirth of Mormon Zionism but its demise.

Above: U.S. flag with 44 and 45 stars, before and after Utah statehood.
During the height of the federal anti-polygamy campaign, Mormons were depicted anti-American desecrators. Left: A 1885 magazine illustration likened President Grover Cleveland to a timid dogcatcher afraid to tackle a bulldog terror (Mormonism) that chews up the flag. Right: A cartoon from the same year shows Uncle Sam reeling in horror at the sight of the U.S. flag being flown at half mast on the Mormon Tabernacle. The accompanying caption reads, “If those fellows will half-mast my colors it behooves me to rise upon my dignity with a club.”

Church historian and sometimes politician B. H. Roberts recalled the event that inspired these drawings: “On the 4th of July, 1885, the United States flag was raised at half-mast at the City Hall, in Salt Lake City, and over some other buildings, among them, Z.C.M.I., Deseret News Office and Tabernacle. This action was designed to express sorrow at the subversion of those principles of religious and civil liberty in our Territory for which the founders of our government had fought and died. This act was construed to be an insult to the flag, and to portend treason and rebellion. The wildest excitement prevailed; and threats of violence were indulged in by the enemies of the Saints.”
In 1896, to celebrate Utah statehood and to demonstrate national patriotism, the LDS Church draped the interior of the Tabernacle with a gargantuan U.S. flag. The following year, for the golden jubilee of the arrival of the Mormon pioneers in Utah, the Church flew that same flag on the side of the Salt Lake Temple.
In 1903 the Utah legislature voted to elect Reed Smoot, a Republican who was also a high-ranking member of the LDS Church hierarchy, to the office of senator. Almost immediately, Protestants initiated a grassroots campaign to convince the U.S. Senate to expel the Mormon from office. Ministers and Protestant reform groups, including the powerful Women’s Christian Temperance Union, mobilized Americans to write literally millions of petitions to their senators. The Reed Smoot case became the great political scandal of the day—and it lasted for four years. A special Senate committee conducted hearings to packed galleries, and subpoenaed LDS Church president Joseph F. Smith to testify in their chamber. The committee’s two-year investigation produced some 3,500 pages of documentation. The national press closely followed the investigation, thus providing a pulpit and echo chamber for Protestant adversaries of Mormonism.
During the Smoot hearings, it came out that the LDS Church, in spite of the 1890 manifesto, continued to secretly consecrate polygamous marriages in Canada and Mexico, and that many of its leaders, including President Smith, clandestinely cohabited with multiple wives in violation of federal law. To placate the Senate, Smith renewed the Church’s commitment to monogamy—the so-called “Second Manifesto,” which promised excommunication to anyone who solemnized or entered into new plural marriages—and forced the resignations of two open polygamists from the Church hierarchy. In effect, the Smoot hearings brought about the true end of LDS polygamy, and set the stage for Mormon fundamentalism.

The Senate committee also looked into alleged anti-American temple covenants. When questioned about the temple ceremony, a topic that believers considered too sacred to talk about, Mormons deflected, obfuscated, or simply lied under oath. Protestants weakened their cause by repeating the most exaggerated and salacious allegations against Mormons. Most members of the all-male Senate belonged to one or more “secret societies,” so the idea of making an oath in a temple or lodge didn’t seem as strange as it does today.

Although a majority of the investigative committee voted to expel Smooth, they failed in 1907 to secure a two-thirds majority in the full chamber. Many high-ranking Republicans, notably Teddy Roosevelt, rallied in support of Smoot. This show of loyalty cemented a bond that still lasts between the LDS Church and the GOP, the same party that previously led the anti-Mormon political crusade. Despite gaining some friends in high places, the LDS Church suffered from the Reed Smoot affair. The slow-arriving victory was a public relations disaster.
Left: From 1900, a typical anti-Mormon political book, written by a Southern Baptist. Right: From 1903, the first year of the Smoot case, an example of a new kind of anti-Mormon publication based on legislative and judicial evidence.
The Smoot hearings had political precedents. In 1882 Congress vacated the congressional seat of George Q. Cannon, the apostle and polygamist who had served as Utah’s territorial delegate. And in 1898, when B. H. Roberts, another polygamist and LDS Church general authority, won election as Utah’s representative, Congress refused to seat him.

Left: A Protestant missionary magazine carried news about B. H. Roberts and the Mormon threat to traditional marriage (with a call for a constitutional amendment defining marriage as a union between one man and one woman) alongside dispatches on the problem of polygamous “Mohammedans” and Hindus in colonial Africa, India, and the Philippines. In the imagination of American Protestants, Utah corresponded to the “Dark Continent,” and Utah Mormons were akin to dark-skinned heathens who needed to be rescued from their ungodly traditions, and taught proper governance.
From 1904: Reed Smoot as a puppet of the Mormon hierarchy. The charges against Mormonism, as written in cloth:

“Polygamy”
“Mormon Rebellion”
“Resistance to Federal Authority”
“Mountain Meadows Massacre”
“Murder of Apostates”
“Blood Atonement”
During the Smoot hearings, a Baptist magazine and the anti-Mormon Salt Lake Tribune printed cartoons that portrayed LDS Church president Joseph F. Smith as an un-American political autocrat. According to the Baptists, the modern two-party system in Utah was an invention of the hierarchy, and a farce, since all Mormons voted the same—the way their prophet wanted. On the page of the Tribune, supplicants labeled “Democratic politician” and “Republican politician” bowed cheek by jowl to Smith, the King of Utah.
A 1905 map from the same Baptist magazine: The northern and southern trans-border extensions of the “Mormon Monarchy” represent polygamist colonies in Alberta and Juárez, where many Mormons (including Mitt Romney’s grandfather) had moved to escape federal prosecution.
The post-polygamy generation of Mormons had to figure out a new compromise between old-time religion and modernism—a process Mormon historians call the “Great Accommodation.” In the wake of the first and second manifestos of 1890 and 1904, Latter-day Saints moved haltingly closer to the American mainstream in the face of continuing political attacks by Protestants.

For a decade or two following the Reed Smoot affair, mainstream commentators continued to question the political loyalties of American Mormons, and the compatibility of Mormonism with U.S. democracy. Baptist missionaries denigrated the LDS faith as “modern Mohammedanism” in its “endorsement of the practice of polygamy, and its ideas of heaven,” not to mention the Book of Mormon’s “marked resemblance to the Koran.” In terms of public image, it didn’t help that the long-lived leadership of the LDS Church maintained polygamous unions and families (if not cohabitation) long after the they disallowed new plural marriages. Not until George Albert Smith in 1945 did Mormons have a truly monogamous prophet.
Pearson's, a major general interest magazine, published a piece on the disloyalty and "political menace" of the LDS Church in 1910. When the magazine declined to publish a rebuttal letter from a Mormon leader, he self-published it in pamphlet form. By contrast, publishers were happy to print the words of authors like Frank J. Cannon, apostate son of high-ranking apostle George Q. Cannon, who warned of the "national menace of political priestcraft."
During the jingoistic period immediately before and after the United States entered World War I, political anti-Mormonism resurfaced. In “all-American” towns such as Muscatine, Iowa, citizens turned out to hear speakers talk ominously of the “Mormon viper” in Utah, the “twin sister of the monster” in Berlin (left).

Next page: In 1907, before Germany became the enemy, Life magazine carried an approving cartoon in reference to the news that Prussia had outlawed Mormon missionaries. After the war, in 1918, the same magazine published two more cartoons on German-Mormon themes. One portrayed Latter-day Saints as fair-weather patriots who only supported the United States in times of war; the other likened post-war Germany to polygamous Utah.
GERMANY IS ANTI-MORMON.

WELL, WE'VE GOT TO GIVE THE MORMONS CREDIT. THEY'RE WITH US IN THE PINCH.

THE LAST STRAW
POLYGAMY
Images showing that Mormons functioned as lurid figures in popular culture before and after the LDS Church’s renunciation of polygamy.
In the United States and especially Britain, media outlets of the late nineteenth century depicted Mormon-controlled Utah as hell upon earth, a nest of vermin, a cave of despair, a den of iniquity, a chamber of secrets—a vile (but tantalizing) place of polygamy, incest, obscenities, murder, imposture, vile scenes, diabolical schemes, and licentious abominations.
THE GREAT SALT LAKE

HELL

EXPOSED.

BY W. JARMAN, EX-MORMON PRIEST, FROM SALT LAKE CITY.

PRICE, ONE SHILLING AND SIX-PENCE.
PRICE ONE PENNY.
THE MOST COMPLETE AUTHENTIC EXPOSURE EVER PUBLISHED OF THE
SPIRITUAL COURTSHIP
AND
MARRIAGES OF THE MORMONS.

THE GATES OF THE
MORMON HELL OPENED,
EXHIBITING THE LICENTIOUS ABOMINATIONS AND
REVELLINGS OF THE HIGH PRIEST OF THE
LATTER-DAY-SAINTS,
REV.
BRIGHAM YOUNG
AND HIS 90 WIVES;
AND THE VILE SCENES ENACTED BY THE ELDER AND
APOTHESES WITH THEIR MANY SPIRITUAL CONCUBINES
IN THE
SECRET CHAMBERS OF THE HAREM, OR INSTITUTION OF
Cloistered Saints,
PRIVATELY ATTACHED TO THE TEMPLE DEVOTED TO PUBLIC WORSHIP
THE DIFFERENT DEGREES OF MEN ALLOWED TO INDOLE IN A "PIL-
BEUTY OF WIVES AND THE SUPERIOR PRIVILEGES OF THE
FRIEHOOD, THEIR OBSCENITY AND DIABOLICAL
SCHEMES FOR EFFECTING THE HOMICIDE MARRIED
AND SINGLE FEMALES, AS INSTANCED
IN THE
AWFUL FATE OF MARTHA BROTHERTON OF MANCHESTER
And numerous other Young Women, "Form of Declaring Love
when a Spiritual Wife is adopted, and the Shocking Masonic Cer-
monies that follow. Her Temptation with the Forbidden Fruit by an
elder-Dressed as a Devil! His flight out of the window, and res-
quenishment by Brigham Young, who blasphemously personates
ALMIGHTY GOD, pretends to save her from Satan and introduces
her into a hidden room, called "Paradise," used for infamous purposes.
Forcing her from her Sacramental Marriage and Sins, with a most out-
ragous scene of
DISROBING AND WASHING THE NEW SPIRITUAL WIFE IN A TUB
How so many Wives with One Husband are made to harmonize,
The Mormon Elders' Doctrines, pretended Miracles, and Battles with
Devils, and other acts of Imposture, Crime, and Suffering, under the
Ruse of Religion.

LONDON—HEWITT, WYCH STREET STRAND.

MORMONISM IN UTAH—THE CAVE OF DESPAIR.
In popular depictions of female life among the Mormons, the hellish practice of plural marriage inevitably led to violence by wives against wives.
In a peculiar theological position invented by Joseph Smith, early Mormons believed that the atonement of Jesus Christ covered up all sins except murder. To receive redemption, a killer would have to offer up his own blood. In other words, Smith proposed spiritual retribution through capital punishment. During the “Mormon Reformation” of the 1850s, when Latter-day Saints anticipated the imminent Second Coming of Jesus Christ, and the establishment of theocracy, Brigham Young elaborated Smith’s position. He created a climate of fear and obedience by preaching “blood atonement” over the pulpit. If a Saint committed an “unpardonable sin,” warned Young, he or she must voluntarily submit to mortal reparation. Most historians argue that Young used this threat primarily as a means of social control. However, there are counterexamples, like the violent fate of the dissident “Morrisites” (left). Because Young combined legal and religious authority, he appeared to outsiders as a spiritual vigilante. Anti-Mormons charged that Brigham Young routinely sent his “avenging angels” to instigate blood violence against enemies, and to “use up” apostates (right). At the very least, Young created a climate of fear in which violent episodes like the Mountain Meadows Massacre could occur. Today, the LDS Church all but denies its theologically inspired history of violence.
Mormon historians disagree over the rates and kinds of violence in frontier Utah as compared to other western regions. Reputable scholars such as D. Michael Quinn and Will Bagley have argued controversially that a top-down culture of violence permeated Utah in the Brigham Young period, and that religious crimes were systematically underreported if not covered up, and rarely prosecuted. For example: During the Utah War, Brigham Young sanctioned the killing of Richard Yates, a trader who sold gunpowder to advancing U.S. troops. In 1871 Brigham Young was indicted as an accessory to this murder based on the testimony of “Wild Bill” Hickman, who had recently been excommunicated. Hickman confessed to knocking out Yates’s brain with an axe (upper left), and implicated Young. Despite indictments for several crimes (including unlawful cohabitation), the Church president always managed to escape prosecution in Utah courts. With the help of anti-Mormon journalist J. H. Beadle, Hickman went on to produce a heavily embellished memoir (next page) called Brigham’s Destroying Angel. Despite the prophet’s less than saintly record, historians today generally dismiss the view, common at the time (lower left), that Young and his henchmen operated like a Mormon mafia, carrying out hits and collecting blood money as a regular function of Church business.
As sensationalized in the media, frontier Utah witnessed several high-profile unsolved crimes of political violence against antagonists of the LDS Church.
The image of the LDS “destroying angel” goes back to the original insider’s exposé of Mormonism, John C. Bennett’s, *The History of the Saints* (1842), which included this imagined scene from the Nauvoo Temple of “the Destructives” in “female apparel, wearing a snow-white robe and scarlet girdle.”
The term “destroying angel” was primarily associated with the Danites (aka “Sons of Dan,” “Daughters of Zion”), a shadowy Mormon paramilitary band that operated in Missouri. Although the Danites existed only briefly as an organization, certain members, notably “Wild Bill” Hickman and Orrin Porter Rockwell, remained important figures in Nauvoo and frontier Utah. Thanks to tell-all books, pulp novels, and films, the Danite nightrider became one of the most indelible images of anti-Mormonism. The Mormon vigilante figure grew more and more outlandish over time. In the silent film *A Mormon Maid* (1917), armed religious police enforce Brigham Young’s autocracy in Klan-like costumes marked with the all-seeing eye of God.
Mormons go to church on Sundays like other Christians; they meet in multi-purpose buildings that are open to the public. In addition, the Church operates temples—the holiest of holy places—that are closed on Sundays, and closed to all people except the most believing Mormons (adult tithe-paying members who have passed a rigorous spiritual interview to obtain an ID card called a “temple recommend”). The Mormon temple ceremony—which shares many elements with the Masonic temple ceremony—is the most sacred part of LDS practice, and, as such, has been the subject of voyeuristic imaginings that believers consider blasphemous.
It was easy for nineteenth-century Mormons to dismiss salacious images of Satanic temple worship \((\text{above and following page})\). But with the Reed Smoot hearings, it became hard to deny the actual script of the temple ceremony, which the U.S. Senate published as part of its investigations. Lawmakers were particularly troubled by covenants made by temple-goers. One was the “oath of vengeance,” in which Mormons, in honor of the memory of the martyred Joseph and Hyrum Smith, promised to ask God in prayer “to avenge the blood of the prophets upon this nation,” and to teach the same to their children. Another was the “blood oath” or “penalty” section of the endowment ceremony, in which Saints promised not to reveal the secrets of the temple; otherwise, “we agree that our throats be cut from ear to ear and our tongues torn out by their roots”; “we agree to have our breasts cut open and our hearts and vitals torn from our bodies and given to the birds of the air and the beasts of the field”; and “we agree that our bodies be cut asunder in the midst and all our bowels gush out.” In the 1920s the LDS Church modified these metaphorical oaths, toning down the violent imagery. However, not until 1990 did the Church eliminate this entire ceremonial sequence, including an accompanying hand gesture representing the “execution of the penalty.” At the same time, the Church did away with other “minor” elements of the endowment that bothered many modern Church members, including a pledge of obedience by wives to husbands, the wearing of veils by women, and a dramatic/cinematic portrayal of a Protestant preacher as a hireling of Satan.
THE ATONEMENT OF BLOOD,
What non-believers pejoratively call “secret,” faithful Mormons call “sacred.” Speaking in public about the holy ceremonies of the temple remains the ultimate taboo. When Deborah Laake described what happens inside temples in her 1993 memoir Secret Ceremonies, the LDS Church promptly excommunicated her. In 2009 the Church denounced as sacrilege HBO’s depiction of the temple ceremony in an episode of the polygamy drama Big Love, a controversy reported in flippant style by TV Guide, one of the highest circulating magazines in America.
In the early 20th century, white native-born American Protestants became convinced that innocent European women were being kidnapped by the thousands, forcibly taken to America, and forced to work in brothels—a moral panic encouraged by muckraking journalists, urban reformers, and Progressive politicians. Filmmakers and novelists cashed in on the excitement. The hysteria culminated with the 1910 Mann Act (White Slave Traffic Act), which made it a felony to transport women “for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery, or for any other immoral purpose, or with the intent and purpose to induce, entice, or compel such woman or girl” to immoral acts. The Mann Act also functioned as an immigrant surveillance program. The nativist white slavery movement had a Mormon precedent. As far back as the 1880s, Protestants linked the alarming success of LDS missionaries in England and Denmark with polygamy, one of the “twin relics of barbarism.”

Over: A 1883 magazine spread showed missionary “wolves” sizing up their helpless Scandinavian “lambs.” Above left: A Thomas Nast cartoon from 1885 showing a Mormon thug guarding a room of moral filth where white slaves work. Above right: The final paragraph of a 1913 British book on Mormonism that commends Germany for expelling LDS missionaries, who ostensibly worked as procurers of sex slaves.
Alongside Victorian images of Mormons trafficking in white slaves and conducting sex rituals in their temples, anti-Mormon artists spread images of Utah patriarchs—"home rulers"—behaving like slaveowners of the Old South.

Next page: Ann Eliza Young, the ex-wife of Brigham Young ("Wife No. 19," the "rebel of the harem") became a celebrity by writing and lecturing about her former "life in bondage."
MRS. ANN ELIZA YOUNG
19th Wife of Brigham Young.

The first question asked by everybody is this:

"If Mrs. Young is so cultivated and able a woman as to write and deliver Lectures that rank with the best, why did she become a Mormon, and marry Brigham Young?"

Answer.—SHE WAS BORN AND EDUCATED IN THE MORMON CHURCH, and consequently had no choice in the matter. She never knew any other religion until after her marriage with the Mormon Prophet.

Subjects of Mrs. Young's Lectures.

"My Life in Bondage."
"Polygamy as it is."
"Peculiarities of the Mormon Religion."
"The Past, Present, and Future of Utah."

Mrs. Ann Eliza Young lectured, April 27, in Wesleyan Hall, before the Methodist preachers' regular meeting. She was cordially received and frequently applauded. At the close of the lecture, Rev. Dr. Pierce, editor of "Zion's Herald," offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

Resolved, That we have listened with interest to the intelligent development of the abominable corruption, wickedness, and cruelty of Mormonism given in Mrs. Young's autobiographical lecture, and that we commend her as a reliable, able, and eloquent speaker to the community, and trust the amazing revelations she makes will arouse the moral sense of the public against this horrible, immoral, and illegal form of socialism.

Resolved, That we proffer our thanks to Mrs. Young for her very valuable and interesting lecture.

No lady speaker has so completely won the sympathy, respect and endorsement of the Press, Pulpit and People of the Union as has this brave woman, the heroine of the day—THE REBEL OF THE HAREM.

She has just won the greatest success in California ever achieved by a lecturer there, being compelled to lecture SEVEN TIMES IN SAN FRANCISCO, in answer to a popular demand. She returned to Boston, and on the 21st of December lectured in Tremont Temple, in Redpath's Course (her eighth lecture in Boston), to as highly cultivated and critical an audience as she will ever stand before in this country, and won their heartiest sympathy and applause.
Because Mormons were both notorious and mysterious, they served as handy villains for American and British fiction writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The two most common genres were westerns and urban crime fiction. Publications ranged in quality from penny tracts to dime novels to cloth-bound novels by well-known authors such as Robert Louis Stevenson and Jack London. In Victorian Britain, authors borrowed from the conventions of erotic, pornographic, and crime fiction. Scenes of kidnapping, torture, rape, and murder were standard.

Next page: In the original Sherlock Holmes story by Arthur Conan Doyle—"A Study in Scarlet"—the great detective outwits a bearded Mormon baddie. In the U.S., the pulp western novelist Zane Grey sold hundreds of thousands of copies of his anti-Mormon novels Riders of the Purple Sage, The Rainbow Trail, and Heritage of the Desert.
ZANE GREY’S NOVELS

May be had wherever books are sold. Ask for Grosset & Dunlap’s list

THE LIGHT OF WESTERN STARS
Colored frontispiece by W. Herbert Dunton.
Most of the action of this story takes place near the turbulent Mexican border of the present day. A New York society girl buys a ranch which becomes the center of frontier warfare. Her loyal cowboys defend her property from bandits, and her superintendent rescues her when she is captured by them. A surprising climax brings the story to a delightful close.

DESSERT GOLD
Illustrated by Douglas Duer.
Another fascinating story of the Mexican border. Two men, lost in the desert, discover gold when, overcome by weakness, they can go no farther. The rest of the story describes the recent uprising along the border, and ends with the finding of the gold which the two prospectors had willed to the girl who is the story’s heroine.

RIDERS OF THE PURPLE SAGE
Illustrated by Douglas Duer.
A picturesque romance of Utah of some forty years ago when Mormon authority ruled. In the persecution of Jane Withersteen, a rich ranch owner, we are permitted to see the methods employed by the invisible hand of the Mormon Church to break her will.

THE LAST OF THE PLAINSMEN
Illustrated with photograph reproductions.
This is the record of a trip which the author took with Buffalo Jones, known as the preserver of the American bison, across the Arizona desert and of a hunt in “that wonderful country of yellow crags, deep canons and giant pines.” It is a fascinating story.

THE HERITAGE OF THE DESERT
Jacket in color. Frontispiece.
This big human drama is played in the Painted Desert. A lovely girl, who has been reared among Mormons, learns to love a young New Englander. The Mormon religion, however, demands that the girl shall become the second wife of one of the Mormons—Well, that’s the problem of this sensational, big selling story.

BETTY ZANE
Illustrated by Louis F. Grant.
This story tells of the bravery and heroism of Betty, the beautiful young sister of old Colonel Zane, one of the bravest pioneers. Lifts along the frontier, attacks by Indians, Betty’s heroic defense of the beleaguered garrison at Wheeling, the burning of the Fort, and Betty’s final race for life, make up this never-to-be-forgotten story.

Grosset & Dunlap, Publishers, New York
This page and over: detective stories for young adults exploited sensationalist imagery of Mormons, including secret underground chambers (good for the trafficking of female victims) and mysterious figures in ceremonial robes and hoods.
7.6 CINEMATIC MORMONS

Saturday and Sunday
VICTIM OF THE MORMONS.
Three reels disclosing the nefarious practice of a so-called religious sect, in the kidnapping and imprisonment of a beautiful girl.

LIMA THEATRE

TODAY
A Thrilling 3-Reel Subject
THE VICTIM OF THE MORMONS
A Story of Suffering and Torture by the Mormons

THE MOVING PICTURE WORLD

Greatest Box-Office Feature Of the Day
“A VICTIM OF THE MORMONS”
Sensational 3-Part Picture, about 3000 feet. Over 60 Scenes.
State Rights for this remarkable exposé of Mormon practices selling rapidly. Write or wire quick if you want this feature—special 3-sheet and 1-sheet posters.
Great Northern Special Feature Film Co.
1 Union Square, New York
During the silent era of cinema, “Mormons”—that is, male religious fanatics who kidnap and subjugate young women—functioned as stock villains. Moviemakers in Europe and America turned old novelistic imagery into new moving images, and in the process set back LDS public relations by decades.

Titles from what might be called the “Mormonsploitation Moment” included the Danish-produced *Victim of the Mormons* (1911); *The Mormon* (1912); the French-produced *The Marriage or Death* (1912); *The Danites* (1912); *A Study in Scarlet* (1914); *A Mormon Maid* (1917); *Riders of the Purple Sage* and *The Rainbow Trail* (1918); the British-produced *Trapped by the Mormons* (1922); and *Married to a Mormon* (1924).

Caught off guard in 1911–12, and still reeling from the Reed Smoot case, the LDS Church worked feverishly behind the scenes, appealing to censorship boards, industry officials, and politicians to prevent circulation of “libelous” films. Utah Governor William Spry lobbied in support of the Church.

In 1916, upon hearing pre-production news about *A Mormon Maid*, a LDS leader addressed a letter to the *New York Times* (unpublished): “I wonder how long the open season is to be on for this stale and much overplayed viewpoint towards the ‘Mormons’? I mean the viewpoint that makes them serve as a ready first-aid to any lurid writer, novelist, or scenario king who wants to use gore freely. … Why must this wholesale slandering of a people go so merrily on?”
THE BEST ADVERTISED

"A MORMON MAID"

TRADE SENSATION OF THE YEAR

"A theme that will evoke considerable comment. Carries manifold advertising possibilities; a wonderfully strong plot with moments of greatest dramatic power. Perfectly suited to the requirements of the state rights - Motion Picture News Man."

VIVID INTENSE DRAMA

"Notable, spectacularly, an absorbing story, well acted and well produced. Should prove a strong attraction." - Moving Picture World

HAS FOR A BACKGROUND A NEW FIELD

"A thrilling picture, sensational and artistic in atmosphere at suspense throughout." - Exhibitors Weekly

A STUPENDOUS, THRILLING EXPOSE OF A HIDDEN CHAPTER OF AMERICAN LIFE

Mae Murray

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Longacre Building

New York

CONTROLLED BY

"THE MORMON MAID IS A BLOW TO MORMONISM. NOTHING WE HAVE SEEN IN THE SILENT DRAMA EQUALS IT." - THE BILLYBOARD

"THE MORMON MAID IS A FEATURE THAT CAN BE BOOKED FOR A THEATRE CATERING TO ANY CLASS OF AUDIENCE." - DRAMATIC MIRROR

Its surprise dénouement is dynamic!

"This production has the very great advantage of an entirely novel setting. Cast is excellent and the photography and lighting effects are of unusual beauty." - Morning Telegraph

ITS BIG SCENES ELECTRIFY WITH EXCITEMENT.

"A Mormon Maid is a Mormon. The only thing left to do is kill the Almighty."

In Answering Advertisements, Please Mention the MOVING PICTURE WORLD.
Of these silent productions, *A Mormon Maid* is the most interesting today. As produced by Famous Players–Lasky and Cecile B. DeMille (a friend of LDS apostle David O. McKay), the film was meant to replicate the success of *A Birth of the Nation* from the year before. Like D. W. Griffith’s epic, *A Mormon Maid* tells a quasi-historical American story starring hooded figures on horseback. But instead of KKK Klansmen (the heroes of Griffith’s film), *A Mormon Maid* features evil Danites—Mormon paramilitary police who wear the all-seeing eye of God on their white robes, looking something like Masonic Klansmen. The film is a western melodrama. It begins with a white family of three at their frontier homestead. Without provocation, bloodthirsty Indians attack the log cabin. The father, mother, and daughter escape death thanks to the deliverance of Mormon pioneers who happen to be en route to Utah. The pioneers bring the refugees with them. In Salt Lake City, Brigham Young compels the father to take a second wife (an indignity that drives the first wife to suicide), while Young’s main henchman lustfully designs a plot to gain the daughter. Despite its lurid content, and its sacrilegious depiction of temple ceremonies, *A Mormon Maid* was intended to be more balanced than the films of 1911–12. It includes one monogamous Mormon hero along with the villains, and depicts Latter-day Saints as “properly” antagonistic to Indians, not allied.

This still from *A Mormon Maid* shows how the filmmakers applied dark makeup to the hands of the main Mormon villain—the equivalent of blackface—to further signify his vileness, and to draw a connection between Mormon men and African American men, who for centuries have been associated in popular imagination with the crime of raping white women.
According to popular image, all Mormon patriarchs in the pioneer period grew menacing hair. This notion owes a lot to Orrin Porter Rockwell (*left*), the bodyguard to Joseph Smith. A member of the Danites, Rockwell was arrested (though not convicted) for the attempted assassination of Missouri’s anti-Mormon governor. The “Destroying Angel” of Mormonism asserted that Joseph Smith had given him a personal prophecy: “Cut not thy hair and no bullet or blade can harm thee!” In his roles as Mormon hit man and Utah sheriff, hairy Rockwell earned almost as much fame as full-bearded Brigham Young, and attracted celebrity seekers and yellow journalists. Upon his death, the anti-Mormon *Salt Lake Tribune* claimed that the steely-eyed gunman with flowing locks had participated “in at least a hundred murders”—a gross exaggeration. Whatever the real count, the Mormon Samson lived out his prophecy. Never convicted, he died peacefully of natural causes in 1878 while under court indictment.
Rockwell’s paterfamilias, Joseph Smith, consciously cultivated the look of a genteel, well-groomed man (left) as he grew in authority. Apostle George Q. Cannon remembered:

In the days of Joseph, to appear like a Prophet a man should, according to the popular idea, wear a long beard, long hair, and dress in an outlandish style. If he did not wash himself and clean and pare his nails, it would be all the better. He should not smile and be merry. When he spoke, his voice should be deep and solemn; when he walked, his tread should be slow and measured. If he lived in a cave it would suit many people better than if he lived in a house. He should be different from other men in every respect.

Of course those who had these ideas of what a Prophet should be, were much disappointed in Joseph... He wore no beard, did not have long hair, and was very cleanly in his person; he dressed with taste, had a pleasant face, a sweet smile, a cheerful and joyous manner, and was natural. He was the very opposite of what a religious bigot would think a Prophet ought to be; and he never took pains to be otherwise.

Smith’s successor, Brigham Young, undid the Prophet’s image campaign. From 1850s to the 1950s, Americans rightly associated LDS authorities with beards, and they wrongfully used the symbol of the cave-man beard to persecute Latter-day Saints.

Next page: Two 1883 cartoons of Blue Beard—the character from a famous French literary folktale who serially murders his wives—guised as a Mormon; and a 1885 illustration of an ultra-bearded Mormon patriarch with fangs, dragon wings, a fake halo, and a trophy belt of female victims.
In the early twentieth century, hirsute Mormon villains appeared in anti-Mormon articles written by Protestant missionaries (left), and in Hollywood silent films (above).
Images showing how Americans for generations have made a sport of laughing at Mormons.
In nineteenth-century America, Mormons were sources of amusement as well as perturbation. The figure of the Mormon daddy—a man overwhelmed by too much of a good thing—brought ready laughs. Here are two such illustrations from Mark Twain’s best-selling travelogue *Roughing It*.

Twain took away a copy of the Book of Mormon from his Utah travels, and actually read it. The humorist famously described the “Mormon Bible” as “an insipid mess of inspiration. It is chloroform in print. If Joseph Smith composed this book, the act was a miracle—keeping awake while he did it was, at any rate.”
Left: Over time, the image of the Mormon patriarch with menacing hair gave way to a competing image of the Mormon patriarch with comical hair. To the left is a panel from a 1865 magazine story in cartoon strip form. It narrates the visit to Utah by Artemus Ward—the most popular comic journalist in America before Mark Twain.

During the era of polygamy raids, the impresario P. T. Barnum received a letter from a prisoner in the Utah Territorial Penitentiary who worked in the barber shop, and who shaved the “curly locks and flowing beards” of newly incarcerated bigamists. “I have saved the whiskers of the most noted and prominent Mormons, such as Apostles, Presidents, Bishops, etc., and manufactured them into a watch guard about six feet long, nicely finished with buttons or knots. Thinking you might wish to purchase it, I give you the first offer.”

Over: In the post-Manifesto era, the “Mormon beard” came to stand for the persistence of old ways in the face of modernity. For cartoonists, the beard was a perfect match for outmoded technology like the horse-drawn cart, or a comic contrast to modern technology like the Studebaker Big Six touring car (see the images on the following page, dating from 1907 and 1920, respectively).
The most frequent target of bristly ridicule was Joseph F. Smith, LDS Church president from 1901 to 1918.
“Stately Lombardy poplars line the streets of the settlements and surround the ranchmen’s homes, a characteristic of all Mormon settlements,” wrote an outdoor adventure author in 1911. “Later I came instinctively to think of the poplars as inverted beards of Mormon elders and to wonder whether the Mormons chose this as their shade tree because it so resembled the beards of the aforesaid elders, or whether the elders so admired the trees, or so wished to harmonize with their surroundings, that they trimmed their beards to match the trees.”
In 1907, Harper’s reported on the “revolt against the whisker” by American men. Through snarky descriptions and exaggerated illustrations, the article created a visual typology of once fashionable, now ridiculous Gilded Age man-tufts: Geometrical Retroussé Dusters, the Gubernatorial Involuted Breeze-inviter, the Birds’ Nesting-ground, the Walrus, and so on. The author of the comic piece proposed a tariff on offensive beards. The “Mormon elders’ face mat”—a shaven upper lip paired with a wild bush of whiskers—would cost $500.
In the prior era of fashion, it was almost impossible to visually distinguish a “Mormon” from a “Gentile” based on his facial hair. To the left is Orson Pratt (1843–1881), one of the original members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, intimate of Joseph Smith, prominent Mormon intellectual, polygamist—and owner of one of the most unruly beards in Mormon history. On the right is Eli H. Murray, a decorated veteran of the Civil War appointed by Washington to be the anti-Mormon governor of Utah Territory (1880–1886), who sported epic lamb chops.
Because of its succession system based on seniority, the LDS Church after Brigham Young effectively became a gerontocracy with the inevitable generation gap in all things, including hair styling.

*Left:* Family portrait, circa 1900, of George Reynolds—Brigham Young’s longtime personal secretary, the man who went to prison on bigamy charges after volunteering to be the Supreme Court test defendant—and his clean-shaven scions.

*Right:* Reed Smoot, who went on to become LDS apostle and Utah senator, sporting a fashionable mustache, circa 1890. The image on the following page shows the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in 1900, with Smoot and the other young members looking far less shaggy than their senior-ranking authorities.
This 1897 magazine featured the adventures of Frank Merriwell—a popular character in juvenile fiction who embodied the virtues of Muscular Christianity—in Utah among the Mormons. The cover art contrasts wholesome, clean-cut, athletic boys of the YMCA with a vaguely Hasidic-looking Mormon polygamist, whose beard and long hair signal his backwardness. Evidently, the patriarch has never confronted a bicycle. “Avaunt, ungodly Gentiles!” cries Elder Holdfast. “Remove from my sight those inventions of Satan!”
Times change. Today, when Mormons refer to “the ‘Y,’” they mean Brigham Young University, the Church-owned research university in Provo, Utah, with its comprehensive Division I athletics program—the LDS equivalent of Notre Dame University. As part of its strict honor code, Brigham Young forbids its male students from growing long hair or any kind of beard. Students with eczema may apply for a Church-approved, dermatologist-issued “beard card” that allows them to grow a “neatly-trimmed beard.”
Once again, Mormons run counter to prevailing fashion: the beard is back. The conspicuous absence of facial hair—and tattoos—on LDS students and missionaries now marks them as bodily different.

At the 2012 Academy Awards, it was hard to find an A-list male actor without a stubble, a mustache, or a full-grown beard. Some months before, in Brooklyn, the borough of cool, every other hipster began sporting a mountain-man beard under his mini fedora. Even Boy Scouts of America—a conservative organization that maintains close relationships with religious groups, including the LDS Church—deployed beards in its 2011 “Be One with the Wild” campaign.

Every LDS prophet from Brigham Young to the goateed George Albert Smith sported some kind of whiskers. Then, in the 1960s, as beardedness became part of the American youth counterculture, the Church went clean-shaven. The last LDS leader with facial hair was Elder Joseph Anderson, a low-ranking mustachioed general authority from the 1970s.

In U.S. politics, facial hair remains a no-no. The last presidential candidate with a beard was Charles Evans Hughes, who lost to Woodrow Wilson in 1916. The last major candidate with any facial growth was the mustached Thomas E. Dewey, who lost to FDR and again to Harry Truman (1944, 1948).

In the 2011–2012 election season, the New York Times repeatedly returned to the topic of Mitt Romney’s “most distinctive physical feature”—his preternaturally dark and perfectly coiffed hair. Like his father, George Romney, who ran for president in the 1960s, the GOP candidate—the most visible Mormon in the world—has never in his life grown a beard.
Once upon a time, sheet music publishers could reliably turn to the theme of Mormonism—that is, polygamy—for novelty songs. Here are three examples—two from 1871, another (middle) from 1917. “If You Saw What I Saw” concerns an easterner who, after taking a western road trip, settles down in Utah. “I know one wife is mighty fine,” the narrator sings, “But not as nice as having nine... There are tall ones, fat ones, little ones, too, Believe me, boy, there’s plenty to do.”
Nineteenth-century minstrel shows were the opposite of contemporary political correctness. In the vaudevillian imagination, Mormons belonged alongside “Niggers” and “Orientals.” The playbill on the right features a song called “Hunting for a Happy Home in Harlem (Mormon’s Song).”
A coon named Ephraim skipped town one day
Nobody knew just why he went away
Until one night a friend got a note
It was from Ephraim, this is what he wrote:

I’m out in Utah, in the Mormon land
And going to stay, because I’m living grand
I used to rave about a single life,
Now every day I get a brand new wife.

I’ve got a big brunette, and a blonde to pet
I’ve got ’em short, fat, thin and tall
I’ve got a Cuban gal, and a Zulu pal
They come in bunches when I call
And that’s not all —
I’ve got ’em pretty too, Got a homely few
I’ve got ’em black to octoroon
I can spare six or eight, Shall I ship ’em by freight?
For I am the Mormon coon.

(1905)
American operetta composers turned to Utah for inspiration in “Deseret” (1880), The Mormons (1895), and The Mormon Wife (1901). The New York Tribune overeagerly described “Deseret” as “the first really successful American opera.” The New York Times showed more restraint: “‘Deseret’ … is said to be an attempt to portray the comical side of Mormonism in song. Though Artemus Ward and other humorists have seen plainly the farcical as well as the tragical elements in the subject, its treatment in operatic form is something new.” The Times characterized the libretto as “more in the spirit of fun than of satire.”

The Girl from Utah was the first modern musical comedy about Mormons. It opened in London in 1913, and premiered on Broadway the next year with added songs by Jerome Kern, including his first hit, “They Didn’t Believe Me.” The plot concerns a girl (from Utah) who runs away to London to avoid the unwanted attention a stalking polygamist; she finds safety and true love in the arms of a (monogamous) Englishman.
Mormons were more or less absent on Broadway from the 1930s to 1993, when the celebrated drama *Angels in America* premiered. The first Mormon-themed musical in recent memory is *The Book of Mormon* (2011), written by Trey Parker and Matt Stone (of *South Park*) and Robert Lopez (of *Avenue Q*). This satire received rapturous praise from the entire cross-section of media tastemakers (from National Public Radio to *The Daily Show* to *Entertainment Weekly* to the *New York Times* and *The Economist*), won the Tony Award for best musical, and became a breakout box-office hit. The show adheres to 1950s Broadway conventions—tunefulness, campiness, and uplift—with the addition of modish vulgarity. For example, one of the songs features the chorus “Fuck you, God!” in “African” speak. The plot concerns LDS missionaries in Uganda. In the play, Mormonism—which stands in for all religion—is risible but harmless; the script does not mention polygamy at all. In historical context, *The Book of Mormon* is light, sweet stuff: mockery of Mormons stripped of anti-Mormonism. Yet the satire fits into a long neo-colonial tradition of pathologizing Africans; and, by placing clownish Mormons alongside black performers hamming up “African-ness,” it perpetuates minstrel stereotypes from the nineteenth century.
In the age of personal computing, the World Wide Web, and high-speed cable, humorists have found new venues with potential audiences in the millions. Here is a sampling of internet-based visual humor (“webcomics”) regarding Mormons. Note that the clean-shaven missionary has replaced the bearded bigamist as the main figure of Mormon caricature.
MORMONISM 101

Essentials: 1. Child bride; 2. Year’s supply of food

Mormonism’s 150th

Mormonism is 150 years old this year. How are Mormons celebrating the anniversary?

- 28% Waiting patiently to die to experience “pleasure” for first time
- 34% Rocking back and forth extra-fast on porch swing
- 19% Making polygamy legal again for a few weeks
- 11% Hitting all the Salt Lake City nightspots
- 22% Playing Osmonds records at medium volume
- 4% Denying selves one extra thing
MORMONS
OOGA-BOOGA! Great Space Lizard, come down from Jupiter!

KOLOB
OR BUST!
ROMNEY 2012

They say they are from Earth, and that they are “morons.”
That’s Mormons.

Galactic Voyager
Know the Difference

Mormons

Moomins

Founded 1830
Normal looking face
Normal eyes and ears
Practices polygamy
Wears sacred underwear
Loves Jesus

Founded 1945
Gentle, round appearance
Large eyes and small ears
Monogamous relationship
With Mamamoomin
Sometimes wears a top hat
Loves adventures
MORMON PORN

Being mormon, I can't look at porn or nudity.
So I have to get creative.
That's why I invented "bubbling".

fakeposters.com
A Mormon contribution to the 2012 internet meme “What People Think I Do / What I Really Do.” The final picture is an insider’s joke. Being a member of a LDS ward (congregation) means attending an endless succession of group activities organized and staffed by volunteers. Setting up and taking down collapsible chairs for ward functions is one of the most common forms of faithful labor for Mormon men.
Images showing Mormon bids to integrate into the U.S. cultural mainstream from the late nineteenth through the early twenty-first century.
Among non-Mormons today, Brigham Young is far more famous than Joseph Smith, the founder the LDS Church. Remarkably, the image of Brigham Young is also more positive than that of the first Mormon prophet. Instead of an un-American potentate, Young is likely to be portrayed as a western colonizer or even a pioneer of religious freedom. People remember the multitudes of wives, of course, but they have generally forgotten Brigham Young’s other transgressions—his rebellion against federal authority, his complicity in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, his exclusion of blacks from the priesthood, and his belief that God and Adam were one and the same.

The rehabilitation of Brigham Young’s image started in 1893, when the new state of Utah bravely put up an exhibition at the Columbian Exposition—the world’s fair held on the 400th anniversary of Columbus. The Utah organizers erected a statue (left) of pioneer Brigham Young.

When the LDS Church upgraded Brigham Young Academy in Provo, Utah, to the status of university in 1903, the school kept its name. In the post WWII-period, BYU completed a massive expansion, becoming a research university with a comprehensive Division I NCAA sports program. Today, when Americans hear “Brigham Young,” they may think of football or basketball before polygamy or pioneering.
The folklore of place provides another way of thinking about the shift in image from Mormon caliph to American colonizer. In 1846, with the exodus about to begin, Brigham Young had a dream about the West and “its many beautiful hills.” His record doesn’t elaborate, but oral tradition suggests the miraculous: the spirit of Joseph Smith visited Young and showed him a hill above a valley that marked the gathering place. When Young entered Great Salt Lake Valley, he allegedly recognized the hill from his vision. On July 26, 1847, Brigham and his advisors climbed a minor promontory of the Wasatch Range in order to visualize the layout of their new temple city. They gave the knoll (not much more than a bump) the grandiloquent name Ensign Peak, and made plans to fly a massive Mormon flag from its summit. At the time, they had to make do with a handkerchief—though subsequent folklore would place a flag in Brigham’s hand. Inspired with “fire in my bones,” the pioneer Joel Hills Johnson penned a verse in 1852–53 that became a favorite Mormon anthem. To this day, congregations sing his words:

High on the mountaintop a banner is unfurled.
Ye Nations, now look up; It waves to all the world
In Deseret’s sweet, peaceful land,
On Zion’s mount behold it stand!

In the era of Americanization, Brigham Young’s prophetic mount became a patriotic mount. The modern history of Ensign Peak began in July 1897, the jubilee of the coming of the pioneers. To commemorate the event, community leaders erected a flagpole on the summit and flew the Stars and Stripes in a ceremony meant to demonstrate Americanism. For the newly enfranchised citizens of the 45th state, the story of Brigham Young’s banner waving assumed new significance; storytellers now insisted that Young had hoisted the American ensign. The church-run Deseret News promulgated this revision of the legend, which turned the old one on its head. Instead of a Mormon prophet claiming the land for theocracy, Brigham Young was an American pioneer claiming the land for democracy. In the 1930s, a WPA artist painted a mural on the inside dome of the Utah state capitol that showed Young on the mount with Old Glory (see next page).

Above: A Brigham Young re-enactor on Ensign Peak, 2005.
Compared to earlier Hollywood films about Mormons, *Brigham Young* (1940) was remarkably sympathetic (if not entirely accurate). “I endorse it with all my heart,” said LDS Church president Heber J. Grant. “This is one of the greatest days of my life.”

**From the 20th Century Fox press release:**

Ninety-three years ago Brigham Young and his little band of outcast Saints trekked across the vast plains, over the rugged mountains to the shores of Great Salt Lake. Today their unparalleled story is considered so important it is being reproduced by one of the world’s greatest agencies—the motion picture.

It is claimed that Dean Jagger, the famous New York stage star who plays the role of Brigham Young, is remarkably like that great leader. The resemblance, too, of Vincent Price to Joseph Smith is said to be very striking. It is hoped the film will do full justice to both their memories.
The U.S. Capitol, that citadel of federalism—a building that hosted so many enemies of Brigham Young, and witnessed so many debates and hearings on the tyranny of Mormon-controlled Utah—now contains a statue of the American Moses. Each state is allowed two sculptures in the National Statuary Hall Collection. In 1950 Utah picked Brigham Young for its first choice. (In 1990, it added Philo Farnsworth, inventor of the television.) The sculpture of Young was the work of Mahonri Young, one of the prophet’s many grandchildren.
Even the most censorious opponents of LDS theocracy and polygamy usually praised Mormon pioneers for their success in “reclaiming” a wasteland with irrigation, for making the desert “blossom as a rose.” LDS leaders encouraged the false historical memory that the Mormon pioneers of 1847 had encountered an arid wilderness devoid of people and trees.
In the context of irrigation, outsiders lauded Mormons for their communitarianism, communalism, cooperation, and consensus—all of the same qualities that made the Latter-day Saints such a religious and political threat.

Left: An 1891 illustration from a Utah guidebook for railroad tourists.

Below: Maynard Dixon’s 1940 study for a proposed mural, “The Hand of God,” in which the clouds show God’s approval of Mormon irrigation.
Postcards advertising the great abundance and marvelous size of western agricultural products were common in late nineteenth-century America. C. R. Savage, Salt Lake City’s leading commercial photographer in the pioneer period, produced a comic entry in this genre (far left) that was widely mimicked by promoters of railroad tourism to Utah.
Utah Mormons dress up as pioneers the way that New Englanders dress up as patriots and Southerners dress up as Confederates. LDS teenagers in Utah and Idaho are all but required to participate in at least one summer youth activity involving wagons or handcarts. Reenactments (see left) cluster in July, when about 80 cities and towns in the Mormon heartland stage celebrations. The annual cycle of heritage climaxes on July 24, Pioneer Day—an official state holiday that eclipses Independence Day in many parts of Utah.

Mormon commemoration intensifies on special anniversaries. In 1947, the centennial of the pioneer trek, state and church officials dedicated a large monument at This Is the Place State Park at the mouth of Emigration Canyon, the end of the 1,300-mile long Mormon Trail (see map above). For 17 nights that July, a new epic outdoor play, The Promised Valley, was performed at the University of Utah’s football stadium.
For the 1997 sesquicentennial, a full-scale wagon train reenacted day-by-day the journey of the Pioneer Camp of the Saints, the advance party that arrived in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake on 22 July 1847. This local interest story caught the attention of the national media. In anticipation, the Public Affairs Office of the LDS Church pre-distributed a special pioneer-themed CD-ROM to news bureaus. When the pioneers of 1997 entered Salt Lake Valley, tens of thousands of well-wishers greeted them with cheers and hymns (see left). The trekkers later appeared at Salt Lake City’s annual Days of ’47 Parade (the third biggest parade in America after the Tournament of Roses and Macy’s Thanksgiving Parade). On the evening of July 24, Pioneer Day, the celebration shifted to Provo, where volunteers staged a made-for-TV mega-pageant, “The Faith in Every Footstep Sesquicentennial Spectacular.” This performance showed off the organizational powers of Mormons. The Sesquicentennial Spectacular deployed four stages, 3,000 balloons, 600 flags, 200 confetti cannons, and a cast of thousands, including the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. The pageant went on for two successive nights at the BYU football stadium to a capacity crowd of 65,000, with simultaneous satellite broadcast to hundreds of Mormon churches on the worldwide LDS satellite network, and a tape-delay transmission on BYU’s public television station.
As impressive as it was, the Spectacular probably had a lesser impact on the mental imagery and collective memory of Mormon pioneering than the Church-produced film *Legacy* (1993), a dramatization of the pioneer trek. This Hollywood-style 72mm movie was viewed some five million times during its multi-year run in a specially designed theater adjacent to Temple Square.
Many artists from LDS backgrounds, including Brooklyn-based Rachel Farmer, have played with the image of the western pioneer, a figure that is both generically American and distinctively Mormon.
In the post-polygamy era, physical education was a priority for Mormons. The LDS Church wanted to create a muscular Mormonism to match the global Protestant fad for Muscular Christianity. In 1907, having finally emerged from debt (a consequence of the polygamy fiasco), the Church decided to spend much of its capital on recreational infrastructure. It added “recreation halls” to all of its new congregational buildings, and constructed a state-of-the-art gymnasium—a “Temple of Health”—on the block adjacent to Temple Square in Salt Lake City. In 1910, the Deseret Gymnasium opened to great enthusiasm. The Church’s de facto theologian, B. H. Roberts, asserted from the pulpit of the Tabernacle that exclusive of the spired temples “there is no holier building erected by our hands than this other temple within shouting distance of us, which is devoted to the physical training and development of our youth.” By mid century, Mormons would boast of having the “largest basketball league in the world.”
A few miles west from the gymnasium, a different kind of resort, Saltair, had been open for business since 1893. In addition to bathing, Saltair—the “Coney Island of the West”—offered the “world’s largest dance floor,” as well as midway games, vaudeville shows, and eventually a Ferris wheel and roller coaster. On the outside, Saltair looked like a fantastical Moorish castle on stilts. Financed by the Church shortly after its repudiation of polygamy, the resort purposefully demonstrated the mainstreaming of Utah Mormons. For one generation, Saltair was the Utah’s premier recreational site. In the 1920s, up to half a million fun-seekers took the lake-bound train each year. But then a series of setbacks hit Saltair: fire, drought, depression, war. The resort reopened after WWII but it never recovered its former popularity. It closed for good in 1958.
Starting in the 1910s the LDS Church began its deep relationship with Boy Scouts of America. (By 2012 over 30 percent of all BSA troops would be co-sponsored by the Church.) The most energetic proponent of Mormon scouting was Eugene L. Roberts, BYU’s first director of athletics, and an exemplar of the new Mormonism. Roberts’s recreational philosophy combined Christian utopianism, secular antimodernism, and Progressive scientism. “Civilization has of late progressed all too rapidly,” he wrote in a 1911 piece. He decried the artificial softness of modern urban life and recommended scouting as a countermeasure. Two decades later, Roberts again bemoaned the enervating effects of “Modernism,” and even raised the specter of “race deterioration.” White people were losing touch with the “original man” inside them, he warned. Thankfully, they could reconnect with their inner nature through “primitive recreative activities.” But there was a catch: not all of these “original tendencies” were wholesome; some led to debauchery. Increased leisure time could be both a blessing and a curse, bringing “weakness and strength, peace and despair, heaven and hell. What a responsibility.” The measure of civilization was its ability to harness the primitive impulse without destroying it. This was the “problem of recreation” as Roberts saw it. It would become the paramount social issue in the day “bye and bye” when machines rendered most human labor obsolete, and every day would be like Sunday. The outcome would be “chaos or the millennium.” Unless civic leaders could build a “new social order” to match the advancements of the engineers, nothing would keep Americans “from dying of monotony or from destroying ourselves and our civilization through soft and senseless living.” The answer, said Coach Roberts, was a “new leisure”—wholesome play that inculcated principles of good character. People could not be expected to do this by themselves, though. They needed “teachers of leisure”—people like Roberts trained in “scientific coaching.”
Before moving on to the University of Southern California, Roberts organized the Annual Timpanogos Hike (1912–1970), a community climb of a high peak in the Wasatch Range. At its mid-century apex, the event attracted something like 10,000 participants. The annual hike generated national attention as the biggest hike in America, the greatest community hike in the world, and the largest “pilgrimage” to any mountain over 10,000 feet high (or 12,000 feet, depending on the source). These claims were almost credible. Technically, the hike didn’t qualify as a pilgrimage because there was nothing strictly religious or overtly spiritual about it. And that was the point: the hike exhibited fit, modern, college-educated Mormons engaging in healthy leisure on a non-sacred mountain.
Eugene Roberts (*far left*) also coached the first Mormon Olympian, Alma Richards, who won the gold medal in high jumping at the 1912 games in Stockholm.
Student athletes at Brigham Young University have done much to normalize the image of Mormons. *From left to right:* quarterback Steve Young (great-great-great grandson of Brigham Young), who went on to lead the San Francisco 49ers to a Super Bowl victory; Danny Ainge, who went on to become manager of the Boston Celtics; and Jimmer Fredette, the 2011 player of the year in NCAA basketball.
Other LDS sports figures include Merlin Olsen (Hall of Fame defensive tackle, sports commentator, and actor), Dale Murphy, Ab Jenkins (the “Mormon Meteor,” who set land speed records), Johnny Miller (PGA champion and golf analyst), and Andy Reid (coach of the Philadelphia Eagles).
Starting in the Depression era, Mormons received unprecedented positive press, primarily in regards to their work ethic and economic self-sufficiency. The LDS Church’s tithing-supported welfare program supposedly cared for all needy members. Since Mormons took care of their own, they didn’t have to go on the dole; they didn’t need big government welfare. Although reality was more complicated, the image of the independent, hard-working Mormon—”made in America”—largely replaced the idea of the clannish, quasi-socialist Mormon foreigner.

“At times the Mormons have been labeled a ‘strange people,’ but they are not strange,” opined Readers Digest in 1958. “They are different: more solidly than most minority religious groups they have insisted on their right to pursue happiness in their own way. But the right to be different is the essence of the American dream.”

*Upper:* Graphic art for a glowing profile of Mormons in a general interest magazine from 1952.

*Lower:* President Ronald Reagan visits the cannery in Ogden, Utah—part of the LDS Church’s extensive welfare system—in the company of apostles (and future prophets) Gordon B. Hinckley and Thomas S. Monson in 1981.
Those Queer Mormons
From St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Queer people, the Mormons.

They tried to settle at Independence, Mo., and at Nauvoo, Ill., but they weren’t wanted.

Under the leadership of Brigham Young, they made a perilous trek to Utah where, as everyone knew, nothing would grow, and they made the desert blossom.

It was a tenet of their faith, as well as a means of producing badly-needed man-power, to engage in plural marriages, and this created a national scandal, though the Mormon wives themselves were quite satisfied with the arrangement.

Nineteenth century America had no use for a people like the Mormons, who minded their own business, worked hard from dawn to dusk, practiced the old-time virtues to a puritanical degree and duplicated the kind of human society created by the ancient Jews.

Once more the Mormons are exhibiting queerness. Not one of them is on relief.

A year and a half ago, according to Marc A. Rose, writing in the Commentator, 84,460 Mormons were accepting handouts from Washington, One in every six.

The church leaders, invoking the spirit of Brigham Young, became alarmed. They felt that the dole was sapping the character of the people. They felt that the more prosperous members were losing the fine feeling of responsibility for the less fortunate ones that is a tradition in the church.

So, as a moral measure—to re-establish independence, industry, thrift and self-respect—they launched a great drive to provide work for the unemployed.

Jobs were found in private employment, a private public works program was instituted in which men were paid, not in money, but in kind. The old tithing plan was put into effect, by which each farmer placed a share of his produce in the “Bishop’s storehouse” for the needs of the poor.

In a year, every one of the 84,460 Mormons was off the relief rolls.

America needs more such queer people.

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June 6, 1936
Religion and Social Service

"NO MORE MORMONS ON THE DOLE"
Church to Support All of Flock on Relief With Tithing System

They Take Care of Their Own

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THE SAINTS ROLL UP THEIR SLEEVES

Man may not live by bread alone—but a little helps, the Mormons believe.

Here’s how they make certain their needy brethren never go hungry.

By FRANK J. TAYLOR

In the loading room at Welfare Square, the Mormons’ huge Salt Lake City warehouse, volunteers assemble groceries for distribution to needy families.
Today, Mormon self-sufficiency is primarily expressed in home food storage—a relict of the millenarian impulse in the Latter-day Saint religion. The Church sells “starter kits” and offers tips on a website called “Provident Living.”
The flipside of the image of LDS industry, thriftiness, and providence is the image of monopolistic Mormon wealth. Starting in the early twentieth century, the Church refilled its coffers with profits from businesses like the Utah–Idaho Sugar Company (left). The company grew and processed sugar beets, a major cash crop and source of sweetness in the era before high-fructose corn syrup. The “Sugar Trust” made so much money that Congress initiated anti-trust investigations in 1911.

Next page: A Time cover story from 1947, the centenary of the Mormon arrival in Utah, pictured LDS Church president George Albert Smith with sugar beets sprouting dollar signs, and lots and lots of golden plates. According to the magazine, Utah was overflowing with “milk and honey.”
MORMON LEADER SMITH
After 100 years, milk and honey in the land of the honeybee.
In fact, the LDS Church had a crushing debt burden as late as the 1960s. Only in the last fifty years has the Church become financially solvent, creating a varied portfolio of businesses and real estate ventures, including a $2 billion-dollar shopping mall in Salt Lake City, all shielded from taxation thanks to the Church’s tax-exempt status with the IRS. Because the hierarchy is so tight-lipped about finances—including what happens to the 10% tithing that members give in exchange for good standing and a temple recommend—the media regularly portrays the LDS Church as a secret corporate empire. The Church has been unable to squash the persistent false rumor that it owns controlling stock in the Coca-Cola Company.

While the Church undoubtedly amassed great wealth in the late twentieth century—and fostered a Mormon version of the American “gospel of wealth”—it may not be as rich as journalists make it out to be, given the huge fixed costs related to the construction and upkeep of thousands of church buildings and temples (some of which, like the Washington, D.C., Temple, and the San Diego Temple, are showy edifices occupying valuable property adjacent to major freeways—see next page).
Mormon business prowess elicits admiration and fear. Right-of-center *The Economist* praises the religion’s “striking number of successful businesspeople,” while left-wing *Harper’s* links “Mormon economics” to the nefarious agenda of the Republican party. Best-selling author Stephen R. Covey personifies the business ethic and managerial mindset that defines contemporary Mormon leadership. In 2011 *Businessweek* profiled a series of successful Mormons (see next page), including JetBlue founder David G. Neeleman, and asked, “Does the Mormon faith build better leaders?”
Does the Mormon faith build better leaders?

God’s MBAs

By Caroline Winter
Illustrations by Brandon Bird

Before setting out in orderly pairs to spread their gospel door-to-door, nearly all U.S. Mormon missionaries pass through the Provo Missionary Training Center. Inside the sprawling brown-brick complex, thousands of 19- and 20-year-old men in oversized black suits work alongside women in below-the-knee skirts and brightly colored tops. All of them wear name tags.

For one to three months (depending on the language challenge ahead), their days begin at 6:30 a.m. and end at 10:30 p.m., and include 10 hours of class and study time. On their one day off per week, missionaries-to-be do laundry, write home, and stock up on supplies at the training center store where pre-knotted ties ($15-$20) and key-chain rings with screw-top vials for carrying consecrated oils ($1.50) hang beside highlighters, alarm clocks, and hymnbooks translated into roughly 50 foreign languages. The grounds are under tight security, and no one leaves without permission. This is the last stop for roughly 20,000 young Mormons each year before they’re driven 45 miles north to Salt Lake City International Airport and whisked off to one of more than 150 countries to make converts.

The Provo Missionary Training Center (NTC) and its curriculum are designed to render all trainees equal servants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS), yet many of the men who prepared for their missions here, or at the center’s earlier incarnations, have gone on to become among the most distinguished and recognizable faces in American business and civic life.

There’s Mitt Romney (mission:

...
The following year, Businessweek courted controversy with incendiary illustrations to an otherwise even-handed report on the finances of the LDS Church. A spokesman for the Church condemned the cover art as biased and tasteless. The graphic designers at Businessweek doctored a 1898 print based on a pencil sketch from 1887 by Mormon pioneer folk artist C. C. A. Christensen called “The Youthful Prophet, Joseph Smith, Jr., and Oliver Cowdery, Receiving the Aaronic Priesthood under the hands of John the Baptist, May 15, 1829.”
David O. McKay (center) was the great twentieth-century modernizer of the Church: the first LDS prophet who was neither a polygamist nor a son of a polygamist; the first clean-shaven prophet since Joseph Smith; and the first prophet with a college degree. Tall and handsome, he carried a thick head of hair well into old age. He favored white, double-breasted suits, and liked to quote from Shakespeare and Robert Burns. McKay coined the phrase “every member a missionary,” and during his presidency (1951–1970), the LDS Church expanded and modernized its missionary program. The Missionary Training Center in Provo, Utah (1961), became one of the world’s largest language institutes. McKay embarked on a major building program, including, for the first time, temples outside the United States. Before McKay, Mormonism was a small regional American church of one million members; after McKay, the Church aspired to become a global religion. McKay advanced his goals of modernism and internationalism with the establishment of Bonneville International, a radio and TV conglomerate. Near the end of his life, when the New York Times asked McKay to name his greatest accomplishment, he said without hesitation, “The making of the Church a world-wide organization.”
Under McKay, the LDS Church created a permanent media relations department, and poured new money into advertising, including the ambitious Mormon Pavilion at the 1964 world’s fair in New York City, which featured a replica of the eastern face of the Salt Lake Temple.

*Upper left:* Michigan governor and prominent Mormon George Romney took his son Mitt to visit the exposition. *Lower left:* During the McKay years, Latter-day Saints co-opted the nickname “Mormon,” previously considered a demeaning identifier imposed by “Gentiles.” LDS admen also devised a new slogan for Mormon theology: “Man’s Search for Happiness.”
Starting in 1960, the LDS Church began a comprehensive review of internal procedures. Under David O. McKay and apostle Harold B. Lee, the “All-Church Coordinating Council” streamlined and standardized curricula, church meeting schedules, training sessions, and so on. Autonomous auxiliaries and publications (such as the women’s Relief Society and its magazine) were brought under the control of the priesthood brethren. In 1972, after getting advice from business consultancies, the Church elevated its internal controls program into a permanent “Correlation Department,” a powerful new branch of an already impressive bureaucracy. Even though the Church’s organizational chart was reminiscent of large capitalist corporations, Mormon apologists continued to portray the LDS Church as a latter-day version of the primitive Church of Jesus Christ (see left).
One of the most iconic images of contemporary Mormonism—pairs of young men in white shirts and ties, carrying backpacks, riding bikes—dates to the McKay era. Mormonism has been a proselytizing religion from the beginning, but in the first hundred years or so, missionaries could be “called to serve” at any age, including the prime-of-life years of marriage, parenthood, and career; proselytizers sometimes served alone or in groups rather than in pairs; married couples occasionally even served together. Although unequipped with standard uniforms, standard lessons, standard literature, and standard training, these missionaries often brought considerable life wisdom and maturity with them. All of this changed with the establishment of the Missionary Training Center (MTC), essentially a LDS boot camp for teenage recruits. Today, a male missionary must be between the ages of 19 and 25. Women must wait until 21, but there is no upper age limit.

Left: A statue at the MTC, “Anxiously Engaged,” glorifies the popular (male) image of Mormon missionaries.

Over: An illustration of the “perfect missionary” from an LDS magazine published in England. The picture dates to 1965, when missionary style was shifting from what might be called the senior executive (the clothes here could be from *Mad Men*) to the junior sales representative.
Above: Snapshots of Mitt Romney on his mission in France, 1966–68.
The modern identity of Mormonism demands constant increase. LDS officials encourage the folk belief—that Mormonism is, thanks to the missionary program, the “world’s fastest-growing religion.” As of 2012, the Church claims over 14 million baptized members. The number of active members is much, much lower, but the Church does not advertise that statistic. Exaggeration notwithstanding, Mormondom has grown dramatically as a result of natural increase in Utah and conversions outside. The majority of recent conversions have occurred in Latin America. Since the 1990s, the membership rolls of the LDS Church have included more people outside the United States than within. On the surface, then, Mormonism has metamorphosed from a U.S. religion to a hemispheric one. Mormonism has shed its insularity, which was most pronounced between the 1890s and the 1960s. During those decades, the Church no longer emphasized the Zionist doctrine of “the gathering.” In the McKay era, the Church developed the concept of multiple Zions and began looking outward again. The goal was to become a “world religion.” Growth inevitably brought new challenges. There is a widening gap between “ethnic” Mormons in Utah—from whom Church leadership and funding overwhelmingly draws—and the diverse group of foreign converts.

Above: Two contemporary views of missionaries—in a Mormon novelty store, and in Africa.
Not counting its uniformed missionaries, the most recognizable LDS “sales force” in the religious marketplace is the Mormon Tabernacle, which specializes in milquetoast Americana.

Left: At Mount Rushmore in 1962, the choir participated in the world’s first worldwide live TV satellite broadcast.
To date, the Mormon Tabernacle Choir has performed in nearly 30 countries. Its role as a public relations ministry for the LDS Church began in 1893 at the world’s fair in Chicago. The choir also broadcasts remotely. Since 1929, the 360-person group has been featured on the weekly radio/TV program “Music and the Spoken Word.” With over 4,000 sequential broadcasts, it holds the record for the longest running radio show in history. KSL, a Church-owned affiliate, records the program in the historic Mormon Tabernacle (with its famous organ of nearly 12,000 pipes). Over 2,000 TV and radio stations carry the program, which mixes choral music with ecumenical words of inspiration delivered in the distinctive declamatory style of LDS authorities—a placid avuncular singsong. For decades apostle Richard L. Evans served as host.
“MoTab” has sung at many high-profile patriotic events, including the inaugurations of Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Nixon (left), Ronald Reagan, and George W. Bush (above). The choir also sang at the radio memorials for FDR and JFK, at the American Bicentenary in 1976, and the bicentennial celebration for the U.S. Constitution in 1987.
It may be hyperbolic to say that Mormonism has become a “dominant force” in American pop culture, but certainly Mormons have in recent years exerted a force disproportionate to their numbers.
The Osmonds—especially Donny & Marie, but also the Osmond Brothers in the 1970s, and, later, briefly, the Osmond Boys—are Mormon pop culture royalty.
The latter-day equivalent to Donny Osmond is the guileless Utah teen heartthrob David Archuleta, runner-up on the 2008 season of *American Idol*. During his moment of fame, Archuleta toured the world and recorded five albums. In 2012 he surprised many fans by going off the grid to serve a LDS mission to Chile.
Archuleta was hardly the first Mormon reality TV star. The original was Colleen Kay Hutchins of Salt Lake City (far left), a former BYU homecoming queen who was crowned Miss America in 1952. Another Mormon and former Miss Utah, Sharlene Wells, won the same tiara in 1985 (middle).

In recent years, the most visible “real-life” Mormon on TV was Ken Jennings, the all-time leading money winner in the history of American game shows. In 2004 Jennings earned over $2.5 million during a record 74 game streak on Jeopardy! On a special return appearance in 2011, he lost to Watson, the talking IBM supercomputer equipped with artificial intelligence software.

To add “exotic” color, reality TV producers regularly cast contestants from LDS backgrounds. Mormon TV microphenomena include Julie Stoffer on MTV’s Real World (1999); Survivor runner-up Neleh Dennis (2002) and winner Todd Herzog (2007); The Biggest Loser winners Ryan Benson (2004) and Ali Vincent (2008); Shawn Nelson on The Rebel Billionaire (2004); So You Think You Can Dance winner Benji Schwimmer (2006); Dancing with the Stars winners Julianne Hough (2007) and Donny Osmond (2009); and Jeff Holm, the chosen fiancé on The Bachelorette (2012).
It is hard if not impossible to name a Mormon who has been recognized as a literary genius (Mormon poet May Swenson and ex-Mormon playwright Neil LaBute may have come closest). But in the “lowbrow” realm of fantasy and science fiction, Mormonism has, for whatever reason, produced more than its share of successes, including *This Island Earth* (1952) by Raymond F. Jones, and the Dragonlance universe (novels, comic books, games, films) co-created by Tracy Hickman. The prolific and prize-winning author Orson Scott Card, an outspoken apologist for the LDS Church, has even written a fantasy series inspired by the Joseph Smith story (*The Tales of Alvin Maker*) and a science fiction series patterned after the Book of Mormon (*Homecoming Saga*).
In terms of global audience, Stephanie Meyer is the most influential Mormon author since Joseph Smith. Her four-part fantasy series, *Twilight*, has spawned a successful film franchise, and sold over 100 million copies in nearly 40 languages (compared to some 150 million copies in 80-plus languages for the Book of Mormon, given away for free). Many media critics have interpreted Meyer’s young adult vampire novels as carriers of LDS ideas of chastity, marriage, and sex.
In the realm of inspirational non-fiction, the best-selling authors Linda and Richard Eyre, and Richard Paul Evans, have more transparently spread Mormon ideas about family and spirituality.
In recent years, Hollywood has produced some very sympathetic portrayals of Mormons, including the dramas *Go Toward the Light* (1988) and *The Other Side of Heaven* (2001), and the documentary *New York Doll* (2005). The indie comedy *Napoleon Dynamite* (2004), written and directed by LDS indie darlings Jared and Jerusha Hess, became a modern cult classic for its homage to the time warp of small-town life in the Mormon Culture Region, including the distinctive vernacular “Heck yes!!”
Although dwarfed by the born-again Christian entertainment industry, the market for Mormon pop culture has “matured” to the point of self-produced LDS cinema (“Mollywood”) and film festivals. The fare ranges from (left to right) scripture-themed fantasies to romantic comedies to religious dramas. In the book world, numerous independent LDS publishers try to compete with the Church-owned behemoth Deseret Book.
At least a couple of short films produced by the LDS Church reached mass audiences.

*Left:* Jimmy Stewart and the Mormon Tabernacle starred in the 1980 made-for-TV movie *Mr. Krueger’s Christmas.*

*Right:* A still from *Cipher in the Snow,* a BYU production from 1973 which was widely adopted in American classrooms to instruct children on the dishonorableness of ostracizing and bullying.
In its ongoing bid to change its status from religious minority group to mainstream religion, the LDS Church has courted attention with increasingly sophisticated and expensive advertising. *Left:* A 2011 billboard in Times Square. *Right:* Positive attention in a national magazine in 2012.
Gordon B. Hinckley (1910–2008) was the most media-savvy prophet in LDS history. He was something like a Mormon version of his contemporary Pope John Paul II—likable, affable, cheerful, telegenic. Trained in journalism, Hinckley rose through the ranks of the Church hierarchy as its first public relations director. After becoming president in 1995, Hinckley granted countless interviews, invited Mike Wallace of 60 Minutes to Temple Square, and made regular appearances on Larry King Live. (For his seventh and final marriage, King married a Mormon.)
During the Hinckley era, the LDS Church overhauled its missionary outreach program at Temple Square—the top tourist attraction in Utah—by staffing multi-lingual women (and no men, for market research showed that visitors responded more positively to female missionaries).
For two weeks in 2002, the full attention of the world’s media was turned, for the first time ever, to Salt Lake City, Utah, host of the Winter Olympics. For the occasion, the LDS Church hung a giant banner of an ice skater from the Church Office Building (the tallest structure in Salt Lake City). The global media coverage was generally positive. Overall, journalists conveyed the message that Mormons were “surprisingly normal.”
Left: In 1999, business consultant Mitt Romney was hired as president and CEO of the Salt Lake Olympic Committee, an organization then reeling from a bribery scandal. Romney turned the committee—and the Olympics—around, and used this success to advance his political ambitions in Massachusetts.

Right: Former Massachusetts governor and U.S. presidential candidate Mitt Romney in 2012 on the tenth anniversary of the Olympiad—sometimes called the “Mo-lympics” because of the attention it gave to Mormons.
Genealogists like to repeat the claim made in the *New York Times* in 2001 that “genealogical services are [the Web’s] second-busiest destinations after the sexually oriented sites.” The LDS Church is the world’s leading supplier of genealogical data, and the operator of one of the most popular genealogical websites, FamilySearch. (It is no coincidence that the world’s largest for-profit genealogy company, Ancestry.com of Provo, Utah, was founded by Mormon businessmen.) Professional genealogists make regular trips to the Church’s main genealogy library (located across the street from Temple Square); and millions of family history hobbyists have made free use of satellite Family History Centers. (For safekeeping, the Church stores duplicates of all of its genealogical data in Granite Mountain, a nuclear bomb-proof underground vault.) The Church has been on the forefront of digitizing data from the Freedman’s Bureau and Ellis Island, as well as the former Soviet Union. In these ways, Mormons have earned the goodwill of genealogists, even though many of them might object (if they knew to object) to the Church’s ultimate use of all of these names of the deceased: posthumous baptisms in Mormon temples.
“Families are Forever” is one the LDS Church’s enduring theological slogans. As part of its focus on the family, the Church in 1965 began instructing members to set aside every Monday evening as “Family Home Evening,” when family members would gather together to sing songs, read scriptures, play games, eat treats, and so on. In the face of considerable ridicule, the invented tradition became an institution. Many Mormons felt vindicated when Hasbro later scored success with its “Family Game Night” campaign.
From the 1960s through the early 2000s, the LDS Church produced a long line of folksy public service announcements for TV and radio (the “Homefront” campaign) on themes of family and morality. No one in the United States who grew up watching TV in the pre-cable era can forget the ads that ended with the voiceover, “From the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—the Mormons.” Left: A Still from “Just One Lie” (1978).

Starting in 2010, the LDS Church rolled out an entirely different—and more assertive—multimedia ad campaign called “I’m a Mormon,” with short videos profiling interesting Mormons from a variety of racial, ethnic, and national backgrounds. One of the videos features Jane Clayson (Johnson), Emmy-award winning journalist and former co-host of the Early Show on CBS. Clayson stepped down from her high-profile job in 2003 to spend time with her family, a decision she later wrote about in her memoir I Am a Mother.
When the irreverent Broadway hit *The Book of Mormon* opened in Los Angeles in 2012, the LDS Church made the bold public relations decision to take out ad space in the playbill.
Images showing that certain beliefs, politics, and habits of contemporary Mormons are recognizably American yet distinctively different.
Some religious scholars posit that Mormonism is a new branch of Christianity—a theology and practice as distinct from the Protestant tradition as Protestantism is from Catholicism. While celebrating its difference—its uniqueness—the LDS Church is increasingly insistent that it belongs in the fold of mainline Christianity. This can be seen in typography. The Church first developed a uniform logo in 1974 (upper left). In 1995, the Church unveiled an update of its brand that placed greater emphasis on “Jesus Christ” (above). The designer recalled that Church leaders wanted a “less corporate-looking” logo: “We wanted it to look nondesigned—as it might appear on a building at the time of Christ—rather than modern.” The “Christ-based” typography followed a change to the Book of Mormon. In 1982 the Church added an official subtitle to Joseph Smith’s scripture: “Another Testament of Jesus Christ.”
“Another testament” refers to the climax of the Book of Mormon, which describes the Redeemer appearing in the New World after his ascension. Before a Native American audience, the resurrected Savior gives the Sermon on the Mount, performs the Sacrament, and appoints twelve disciples. In other words, the Book of Mormon recounts a second, parallel Christian church in the first century A.D.

The image of the American Christ is a popular subject for LDS painters (left and next page, lower). Every summer, a volunteer cast of thousands performs a theatrical version of the first coming of Christ to America (next page, upper). Their outdoor stage is the Hill Cumorah, the glacial drumlin outside Palmyra, New York, where Joseph Smith supposedly obtained the buried golden plates. For Americans used to Disney Imagineering, the Hill Cumorah Pageant presents a familiar kind of light-and-sound spectacle, yet the subject matter remains deeply strange to most Christians.
Anti-Mormon evangelical Protestants make regular “outreach” appearances at Mormon public events like the Hill Cumorah Pageant (left), and the Easter pageant in Mesa, Arizona (right). To Protestant hardliners, two of the most objectionable aspects of Mormonism are its nontrinitarianism (tritheism), and its doctrine of “exaltation” or “the exalted man.” Nineteenth-century LDS prophet Lorenzo Snow expressed this theogenic view as an aphorism: “As man is, God once was; as God is, man may become.” Today, anti-Mormons parody this “secret” doctrine with statements such as “Become a Mormon. Become a God. Rule over your own planet.”
Christians who dispute the legitimacy of Mormonism take some of their talking points from the sensational case of Mark Hoffman and the “Mormon Murders.” In the 1980s Hoffman, a forger who specialized in Mormon documents, managed to sell scores of fake manuscripts to LDS collectors—including the Church Historical Department—because they sounded so believable in the context of early LDS history. The most notorious document was the “Salamander Letter,” supposedly written by one of the “Three Witnesses” to the Book of Mormon. The letter described Joseph Smith hunting for buried treasure with the help of a peep stone. The young money digger found a “gold bible,” and encountered a spiritual being, but instead of the Angel Moroni, he talked to a recalcitrant spirit transfigured into a white salamander.

Hoffman, a former missionary and a family man, hid his crimes behind an appearance of LDS normality. When his deceits began to unravel, he resorted to bomb-making and murder. He is now serving a life term at the Utah State Penitentiary.

Some people interpreted the LDS Church’s reaction to Hoffman’s forgeries as evidence of an obsessively tight and secretive control of historical documents, if not outright historical cover-up. At the very least, the “Mormon Murders” cast new light on the old image of Joseph Smith as a practitioner of occultism.

The most influential anti-Mormon work of the late twentieth century was The God Makers. It started out in 1982 as a film, premiering on New Year’s Eve to an overflow audience at an evangelical church in Southern California. Over time, hundreds of thousands of born-again Christians watched this controversial exposé and its sequel, which characterize Mormonism as a secretive quasi-Satanic cult. In book form, The God Makers (co-authored by an ex-Mormon) has stayed in print since 1984. Next page: The evangelical attack on Mormonism continued into the 2012 GOP presidential primary, which featured Latter-day Saints Mitt Romney and Jon Huntsman (upper left).
From 2012: The LDS Church’s latest Christological infographic, presented in a font that closely resembles Helvetica, the typeface of choice for modern institutions. Using a style that telegraphs clarity and officialism, the Church’s PR department downplays the peculiarities of Mormonism—a professed 100% Christian religion.
In the mid twentieth century, as Mormonism became increasingly corporate and mainstream, the LDS Church produced its own breed of Cold Warriors. Apostle and later prophet Ezra Taft Benson, who served as President Eisenhower’s secretary of agriculture, personified this type of ultra-patriotic Christian Americanism. Anti-communists like Benson—an advocate for the John Birch Society—believed that a fifth column of godless communists threatened to blast the bedrock of the United States, a nation built on the twin principles of Christianity and capitalism.

Without saying so explicitly, Benson repudiated the economic history of early Mormonism. During the “kingdom-building phase” (i.e., the Utah territorial period), the LDS economy was characterized by communitarianism. Brigham Young even experimented locally with socialism—the United Order of Enoch (which failed). In a 1886 book (left) the example of Mormonism provided inspiration for a “Gentile” advocate of the wage-worker cooperative movement—the kind of people that Benson would later call socialist agitators.
After Benson (above), the leading anti-communist Mormon of the mid twentieth century was W. Cleon Skousen. A protege of J. Edgar Hoover at the FBI, Skousen served as Salt Lake City’s police chief, and lectured widely, as evidenced by a 1961 announcement for an event in Florida (right). Skousen wrote numerous popular books, historical and topical, including a parenting guide for raising boys. He told American parents that masturbation leads to homosexuality.
A sample of Ezra Taft Benson’s political writings, including a foreword to a book that characterized the Black Power movement as a communist front intent on destroying white America.
The most prominent ideological inheritor of Mormon anti-communist thinking is Glenn W. Beck, the ultra conservative multi-media news commentator and best-selling author. He and his wife converted to the LDS Church in 1999. Beck became a lightning rod in 2009–2011, when *Glenn Beck* ran on FOX News, becoming one of the highest rated cable news programs in America. Beck is known for his manic-depressive theatricality, his paranoid conspiracy theories, and his tearful sentimentality about the U.S. Constitution. After the election of Barack Obama, Beck came out with an audiobook called *America’s March to Socialism*, and voiced his support for the “Tea Party” movement. **Above:** Beck at the “Restoring Honor” rally at the Lincoln Memorial in 2012.
Singlehandedly, Glenn Back revived the legacy of Cleon Skousen by talking about him on air and by promoting a special 30-year anniversary reissue of Skousen’s *The Five Thousand Year Leap*. The book argues that more progress was achieved in the first two centuries of the American republic than the previous 5,000 years combined because the Founding Fathers created a perfect constitution based on natural law and Christian ethics. Skousen believed that God inspired the Founders; many evangelicals believe this, too. But Skousen’s LDS readers fill in the blank: the “purpose” of the U.S. Constitution was to allow the establishment of religious freedom and the creation of religious pluralism, the preconditions for “the Restoration” of the church of Jesus Christ by the prophet Joseph Smith.
Mormon artist and BYU alumnus Jon McNaughton of Spanish Fork, Utah, has become a “Tea Party” hero for his didactic paintings, including one showing President Obama burning the Constitution. Another painting, “One Nation Under God” (above), with its Skousen-like message, has circulated far and wide within the right-wing Christian channels of the Web.
McNaughton’s visual language is pure Mormon. Consciously or not, his Christ in Washington references two well-known Book of Mormon paintings. Left: “The Light of Christ” by Arnold Friberg. Right: “Jesus Christ Visits the Americas” by John Scott.
Above left: Friberg, the most influential Mormon illustrator of all time, also painted the massively popular image “The Prayer at Valley Forge,” which portrayed George Washington as a man of God (in a pose that could in 2012 be called “Tebowing”). Above right: A copy of the painting in the Washington office of Senator Marco Rubio (R-Florida), who converted to Mormonism before converting to Catholicism.

Next page: The religious patriotism of Utah Mormons finds fullest expression at the annual “Stadium of Fire” at BYU’s football stadium. This evening program caps off “America’s Freedom Festival,” the immodest but fitting name for the Independence Day festivities in Provo.
The old image of the perverted Mormon has been inverted: today, Latter-day Saints are stereotyped as virginal, chaste, innocent, naive, strait-laced, hyper-moral, squeaky clean. Their sublimated sexuality is considered “weirdly wholesome” or “strangely puritanical.” This sanitary strain of Mormon culture became a legal issue in the early 2000s, when Hollywood lawyers sued CleanFlicks, a video chain based in Orem, Utah. CleanFlicks edited out objectionable nudity, sex, profanity, drug use, and violence from PG-13 and R-rated films, and sold the “clean” versions as family-friendly E-rated DVDs. The Hollywood plaintiffs included Steven Spielberg. (CleanFlicks had scrubbed “nude” Holocaust victims from Schindler’s List.) In defense of its blatant violation of copyright laws, CleanFlicks appealed to the legal principle of “community standards.” After losing in federal court in 2006, the company closed shop.
On the eve of March Madness in 2011, Brandon Davies, the starting forward for the BYU Cougars, admitted to school officials that he had broken the university’s honor code by having consensual sex with his long-term girlfriend. BYU promptly suspended Davies. Before the suspension, the nationally ranked Cougars were expected to get a #1 seed in the NCAA tournament. When Davies, clothed in a dress shirt and tie, appeared at BYU’s final home game of the season, the audience gave him a standing ovation.

The Mormon sex story became a sensation on sports news. Commentators were equally split between two viewpoints: 1) In the context of pervasive unethical behavior in collegiate sports, BYU was honorable for actually penalizing a student athlete for an infraction; 2) the LDS university was crazy to enforce such outmoded codes of behavior.
In the 1950s, the LDS Church hired an advertising agency to produce a campaign, “Be Honest with Yourself,” that emphasized Mormon values, including modesty, pre-marital abstinence, and the rewards of marriage. Apostle Mark E. Peterson explained:

*We are endeavoring to develop among the Latter-day Saints what Peter spoke of as a ‘royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people called out of darkness into his marvelous light.’ And yet, as we do so in this modern age, it seems that the very gates of hell at times seem open to invite our young people in. With alluring advertisements on radio, on TV, and in the newspapers and magazines, men of the world attempt to make evil appear to be good and desirable. They attempt to make temptation glitter like gold…. *

*As we studied the matter over, and as we considered the allurements of the advertising, we felt that we could use advertising methods to good advantage in our program. By using the skill and the devices that are available through advertising and through the work of wonderful Latter-day Saint men in advertising, we hoped to be of some assistance in helping our young people, just at a glance at times, to catch a new view of the beauties of the standards of the Church.*

*Over: A series of ads from 2012 explaining the dress and grooming standards at BYU–Idaho. In Mormondom, the honesty of the 1950s lives on.*
In 2011, the *New York Times* discovered the existence of a rare and previously unknown species: the Mormon hipster.

“The boundaries of Mormon style are expanding. The highly visible ‘I’m a Mormon’ ad campaign (the subject of a major push on television, billboards, the subway and the Internet) seeks to quash strait-laced stereotypes by showing off a cool, diverse set of Mormons… It’s not just in ads sponsored by the church. On college campuses, city streets and countless style blogs, a young generation of Mormons has adopted a fashion-forward urban aesthetic (geek-chic glasses, designer labels and plenty of vintage) that wouldn’t look out of place at a Bushwick party.”

*Above: A t-shirt design that caused a controversy at BYU in 2004.*

*Right: Two looks by Elaine Hearn, one of the leading Mormon style bloggers and a fashionista of modesty.*
Mormons are today famous for their dietary code—the “Word of Wisdom,” a revelation announced by Joseph Smith in 1833. The edict prohibits the ingestion of tobacco, “strong drinks” (interpreted to mean alcohol) and “hot drinks” (interpreted to mean, at the minimum, tea and coffee). The code includes an exception for sacramental wine. In the context of the temperance and health reform campaigns of antebellum America, the Word of Wisdom was not unusual.

However, early Mormons found the code hard to follow. Brigham Young, like most Saints of the Utah territorial period, indulged in drinking and smoking. Not until the 1920s—in the context of the resurgent global success of prohibitionism—did the LDS Church make adherence to the Word of Wisdom a prerequisite for worshiping in the temple and serving in positions of authority. In their regular Sunday church services, Mormons now take tap water for the sacrament.

Everyone indulges in something. In Utah, Latter-day Saints consume prodigious quantities of ice cream, candy, and chocolate. Through their cocoa intake, many Mormons probably get as much caffeine as green tea drinkers. The kosherness of caffeinated soda is a grey area. BYU and other Church institutions do not sell Coke or Pepsi, but plenty of “good” Mormons keep well-stocked refrigerators.

Most Saints conspicuously disregard one of the Word of Wisdom’s other instructions: eat flesh and fowl “sparingly.”

Right: Wasatch Brewery in Park City, Utah (historically a non-Mormon town because of the mining and ski industries), sells a product that mocks both polygamy and the Word of Wisdom.
Mormon “cuisine” is known for canned fruits, canned vegetables, homemade white bread, zucchini bread, creamy and cheesy casseroles (especially “funeral potatoes”), fruit pies, brownies, fudge, ice cream—and Jell-O.

Jell-O salad (with fruits or vegetables encased in sweet gelatin) is a fixture on Mormon dinner tables. Likewise, finger jello “Jigglers” are popular with children. Per-capita consumption of Jell-O in Utah is higher than the national average, but broadly comparable to the Lutheran belt in the Upper Midwest. However, the stereotype of Mormon Jell-O-philia is strong, supposedly akin to the cultural anomaly of Spam in Hawai‘i. To some degree, Mormons themselves are responsible for this retro food image. In 2001, ahead of the Winter Olympics, Utah’s governor signed a resolution naming Jell-O the “official snack of Utah.”

Utah is the only state where green (lime) Jell-O sells well.
Of U.S. states, Utah has the highest birth rate, the highest fertility rate, among the lowest teen pregnancy and abortion rates, a high marriage rate, a relatively low median age for first marriages, a relatively low divorce rate, and the lowest rate of out-of-wedlock births. But one can make too much of these statistics. The unmistakable long-term trend in Mormonism is toward the norm: delayed marriage and smaller families. In the meantime, the idea of the abnormally large—and happy—Mormon family remains strong. Pictures of Mitt and Ann Romney’s grandchildren (upper left) reinforce the view, as do Mormon housewife blogs (upper right). Two widely read memoirs by women of LDS backgrounds—Terry Tempest Williams and Martha Beck—assert the cultural difference of LDS families. Williams links kinship to sacred geography, and invokes the Mormon concept of a chosen land. Beck, a best-selling self-help author associated with the Oprah Winfrey media empire, claims that her father—the Mormon Egyptologist Hugh Nibley—repeatedly raped her in reenactment of an Egyptian sex ritual based on his research into the ancient world origins of the Book of Mormon. Beck’s seven estranged siblings categorically reject her allegations.
Images showing that the media finds titillating and disturbing details beneath Mormonism’s veneer of normality.
Unlike ultra-Orthodox Jews, Sikh men, Muslim women wearing the hijab, or the Amish, observant adult Mormons (excluding missionaries) are not instantly obvious by outward appearance. However, they tend to wear modest clothes to cover their distinctive long underwear. Mormon “garments” are not available in regular stores; they must be purchased at Church distribution centers. They come in a variety of fabrics, but they are always white, and they always have the same symbolic markings stitched into the fabric at designated spots. Mormons wear garments only after receiving the “ordinance of the temple endowment.” Inside a temple, Mormons wear ceremonial robes over their garments. Outside, they wear garments under their regular clothes to remind themselves of the sacred covenant they made. Also, according to the folk belief of many Mormons, garments offer protection from injury and temptation. As seen by the images above, the length of LDS garments has shortened over time. Originally they were very long—from ankle to wrist. The picture on the far right was originally posted by the influential blogger Andrew Sullivan in 2006. Since then, the image has been photoshopped many times, including this version with the stars of The Twilight Saga, the films based on the vampire fantasies of Mormon novelist Stephanie Meyer.
During Mitt Romney’s two presidential runs, the state of his underwear—“funny,” “weird,” “magic”—has been subjected to speculation, exposure, and mockery.
Adam Levine flaunts anti-Mormon bigotry in tweet about Romney’s ‘magic underwear’

Posted at 3:14 pm on August 31, 2012 by Twitchy Staff | View Comments

"Magic underwear don't fail me now!"

To those who called me a bigot: the Mormon Church didn't allow black people to hold priesthood until 1978.

I Feel if he doesn't get all his DUCKS IN A ROW we'll b forced 2 listen 2 Uncaring Richy Rich! The whitest man in MAGIC UNDERWEAR in the WH

29 Jun 12
Temple garments aren’t the only “hidden difference.” There’s also the issue of Mormon horns. Believe it or not, from the 1840s through the early twentieth century, many American Protestants, educated and uneducated alike, believed that Latter-day Saints developed or were born with some kind of abnormal or demonic protuberance on their heads. Today, this image has comic staying power. Throughout 2012, a grainy picture of a woman sprouting a devil horn was consistently one of the top hits for the Google Images search “Mormons.”

A Mormon diarist in 1846 wrote about a trail encounter with a farmer. “He asked if we were ‘Mormons,’ we told him we were. He halloed to the boys to come and see some ‘Mormons.’ They all came up to the wagon, although the boys were very shy. After looking at us he said to the boys, ‘They haven’t got any horns have they, and they look like any other folks, don’t they?’ This he said laughing as he told us that the boys had thought that the ‘Mormons’ were terrible looking creatures.”

Much later, Junius Wells, Salt Lake publisher and first head of the Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Association (the LDS equivalent to the YMCA), recalled an 1889 encounter with William Dean Howells, the “dean of American letters,” in Manhattan:

“He was a tall, handsome, white-haired, elderly man, a New Engander, who in all his travels had never happened to see a live ‘Mormon,’ and had shown considerable interest when told there was one at the hotel. I was brought forward and presented to him by Lieut. Thomas, of the United States Navy. It was in the open court of the Victoria hotel. This gentleman scanned me quite critically over and over again—up and down, and then asked me if I would raise my hat, as I had already done once, when introduced to him. It occurred to me that he had heard the story that the ‘Mormons’ have horns, and so I said to him: ‘Oh, you want to see my horns!’ His face flushed conviction; but he smiled as I took off my hat and told him that I was a young and they hadn’t sprouted yet.”
Two illustrations of Brigham Young from 1860 (left) and 1879 (right) showing devilish goat horns.
In *This Is the Place: Utah* (Knopf, 1945), Maurine Whipple recalled how, as a naive teenager, she left her small and isolated home town, St. George, Utah, to attend college in the capital city. She hitched a ride from an outsider, a “live gentile,” one Mrs. Hartog:

“One of the very first women to tackle that nine-hundred-mile drive from Los Angeles to Salt Lake alone, she was a tall, angular lady with a venturesome eye and a sense of humor. She was very much amused and, I know now, quite as curious about me as I was about her.

“[She] planned to take two days. When I realized that this fact meant I’d have to spend the night with her, I broke all out with prickles. Imagine *sleeping* with a gentile!

“When she came out of the bathroom in her robe and nightgown I took a good long gander at her. She seemed put together about like anybody else, although I couldn’t be sure. But then, putting an end to speculation, she turned out the light, slid under the covers, and promptly asked the question that upset my whole life, ‘Do they really have horns?’ she said.

“The effect on me was catastrophic. The tables were turned. *She* thought *Mormons* were queer!

“I was to hear that question many times in the years that followed. During college days it was the scourge of my soul.”
A recent webcomic adds new intergalactic styling to the imagery of Mormon horns. The visual also serves to liken LDS beliefs to Dianetics, the controversial religious movement begun by science fiction author L. Ron Hubbard. Today, Scientology is to “mainstream religion” what Mormonism was in the nineteenth century (right down to German attempts to outlaw missionaries). Like many comic anti-Mormon images, the “Fun Fact” about Kolob is based loosely on LDS theology, but twisted out of shape.

Above: The artwork “Do Mormons Have Horns?” by Mormon artist Trishelle Jeffery plays with the old bugaboo, replacing horns with temple spires.
Procreative heterosexuality is central to Mormon theology. In LDS belief, an embodied God the Father— with the help his silent consort, Mother in Heaven—is literally parent to us all. Contemporary Mormonism is a pronatal religion that celebrates sacred sex within a culture that represses sexuality, and forbids sexual relations outside of marriage. (The Church is anti-abortion, but not unbendingly so; and it condones contraception.)

While Mormonism is not particularly homophobic, the culture is about as straight as you can get. To some extent, gender practice reflects theological belief. Homosexuality, which is inherently non-procreative, and impossible to sacralize within the bounds of a temple marriage, runs counter to LDS doctrine.

In Mormon culture, perhaps the most sinful sex is gay missionary sex. Like any forbidden fruit, it is an object of fantasy. For many dramatists, gay and straight, the homoerotic image of pairs of horny, sexually-bottled young male missionaries far away from home has been a fruitful inspiration. The mainstream gay film Latter Days (2003), a love story between a closeted LDS golden boy and a non-Mormon playboy, got mixed reviews from film critics.
The ads for the 2011 blockbuster Broadway musical *The Book of Mormon* played up the “gay-ness” of straight-as-an-arrow Mormon naïfs; and the score included a song and dance number, “Turn It Off,” in which a chorus of missionaries, including a closeted gay, extol the virtues of a “cool little Mormon trick”: whenever you start to get a confusing feeling inside, just turn it off, like a light switch.

On the highbrow end of Broadway, Tony Kushner’s Pulitzer Prize-winning *Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on National Themes* (1991–92), paired Mormonism and the AIDS crisis. One of the main characters is a closeted married Mormon man who carries on a gay affair while working as a Republican law clerk. In 2003, a screen adaption premiered on HBO.
Above: In the first decade of the 2000s, Steven Fales, a sixth-generation Mormon from Provo, Utah, became a minor gay star with his award-winning autobiographical solo show *Confessions of a Mormon Boy*, which traces his journey from perfect Mormon to high-priced escort.

Over: In the same decade, an annual calendar, “Men on a Mission,” became a cult hit in Mormon consumer circles. The tongue-in-cheek pin-up calendar featured pictures of real Mormon men with and without their missionary suits. Although marketed to straight Mormon women, the calendars had obvious homoerotic overtones, and several of the models were gay. In 2008 the LDS Church excommunicated the businessman behind the calendar, another sixth-generation Mormon and former missionary.
Ironically, the calendar imagery deemed offensive by the LDS Church shares similarities with the official illustrations to the Book of Mormon, printed by the millions, and handed out by missionaries. These scriptural He-Men were the work of Mormon illustrator Arnold Friberg (1913–2010), who also painted the set visualizations for Cecil B. DeMille’s *The Ten Commandments*. Starting in the 1950s, Friberg produced twelve large-scale Book of Mormon scenes for the *Children’s Friend*, the magazine of the Church’s auxiliary for young people. Friberg’s hyper-masculine paintings were added to the Book of Mormon starting 1963.
The cover image to the 2010 *Men on a Mission* calendar directly referenced Friberg’s illustration of Captain Moroni.
In the 1990s, Mormon apparel stores, including the BYU Bookstore, carried a popular line of t-shirts that unwittingly resembled gay pornography. Mormon young men—many of whom were undoubtedly homophobic—wore these designs in honor of (male) Book of Mormon characters. (The scripture basically contains no women besides Lehi’s wife and a multitude of harlots.) From left to right: Captain Moroni; the “Army of Helaman” (aka the “Stripling Warriors”); and Nephi (in reference to his iconic statement, “I will go and do the things which the Lord hath commanded, for I know that the Lord giveth no commandments unto the children of men, save he shall prepare a way for them that they may accomplish the thing which he commandeth them”).
Trey Parker, one half of the duo behind Comedy Central’s raunchy animated satire *South Park*, developed a fascination with Mormon missionaries long before the Broadway show *The Book of Mormon*. The low-budget Hollywood film *Orgazmo* (1997), rated NC-17, concerns a Mormon missionary, Joe Young, who knocks on the door of a gay porn producer, and is recruited to star in a movie about a sex superhero who fights crime with his secret weapon, the Orgazmorator.
The sex life of Mormons—formerly imagined as libidinous, now imagined as chaste—still commands popular attention. Celebrated documentarian Errol Morris recently made a film, *Tabloid*, that explores the British media storm following the 1977 incident of a young Mormon man from Utah who, while serving a mission in England, was allegedly kidnapped, chained spread-eagled to a bed, and raped by his non-Mormon ex-girlfriend (who wanted to deprogram him through sexual loving).
11.3 THE PERSISTENCE OF POLYGAMY

For many, the word “Mormons” instantly conjures up an image of an enormous polygamous family wearing old-fashioned clothes in small town in a red rock desert. There are exactly two such towns: Hildale, Utah, and its sister city, Colorado City, Arizona, with a combined population of roughly 8,000 as of 2010. Both towns are controlled by members of the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (FLDS), a splinter group that dates to the early twentieth century. Fundamentalists do not identify as Mormons, and the LDS Church disavows them.

Colorado City used to be called Short Creek. Its position just over the state line long shielded it from Arizona law enforcers (given the mighty obstacle of the Grand Canyon). In 1953 Arizona governor Howard Pyle tried to destroy the community. Declaring Short Creek to be in a “state of insurrection,” he called in the state police and the National Guard. “Arizona has mobilized and used its total police power to protect the lives and future of 263 children,” Pyle announced. “They are the product and the victims of the foulest conspiracy you could possibly imagine. More than 1500 peace officers … arrested almost the entire population of a community dedicated to the production of white slaves who are without hope of escaping this degrading slavery from the moment of their birth.”

Ironically, images of crying children being torn from their parents generated unprecedented media sympathy for polygamists. In the long run, the FLDS Church remobilized. Despite the 1953 raid (neither the first nor the last), the fundamentalist community of Hildale–Colorado City has managed to survive, unlike other famous religious communes who ran afoul of the law, including Jonestown, Guyana; the Mount Carmel Center of the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas; and Rajneeshpuram, Oregon.
The governor of Arizona invited journalists and photographers to witness what *Time* magazine called the “Great Love-Nest Raid.” Here are three scenes from *Life* magazine.
Best-selling outdoor adventure author Jon Krakauer greatly raised the profile of Mormon fundamentalism with *Under the Banner of Heaven* (2003). Published in the wake of 9/11, Krakauer’s book explores the intersection of violence and religion. “Faith-based violence was present long before Osama bin Laden,” Krakauer states in the prologue. He goes on to juxtapose the history of Mormonism with the story of Ron and Dan Lafferty, affiliates of two small splinter groups, the Church of the Firstborn, and the School of the Prophets. In 1984, after receiving a “revelation,” the Lafferty brothers committed a heinous double murder of their sister-in-law and infant niece in American Fork, Utah. In Krakauer’s telling, the Laffertys and millions of mainline Mormons share a common religious heritage of violence. The book also discusses the FLDS Church, and compares life in Colorado City (pictured on the book’s cover) to “life in Kabul under the Taliban.” The publisher’s blurb invites readers to learn about “Taliban-like theocracies in the American heartland controlled by renegade Mormon prophets.”
In the early years of the new millennium, law enforcers once again cracked down on the FLDS Church, particularly after Warren Jeffs succeeded his father as prophet in 2002. News outlets reported allegations of underaged girls being forced to wed uncles, of surplus males (“lost boys”) being expelled from the community, and rampant welfare fraud. New York publishers released a string of memoirs by women who had escaped the clutches of the sect; and several journalists penned exposés (like the one to the left, which identified Jeffs as “Mormon”). The FBI added Jeffs to the “Most Wanted” list in 2006. After being apprehended later that year, the prophet was tried and convicted for aggravated sexual assault. He now serves a life term in prison.
An estimated 40,000 people in the U.S. West live in polygamous families. Most of these people have no connection to the FLDS Church; they are not commune dwellers who openly flout bigamy laws. Instead, they live “the Principle” on their own, under the radar, in the suburbs of the Wasatch Front, the main Mormon corridor in northern Utah. They lead quasi-secretive lives: LDS neighbors and law enforcers often turn a blind eye to such families.

The sensational HBO series *Big Love* (2006–2011) chronicled the tensions between a polygamist patriarch in Sandy, Utah (in suburban Salt Lake Valley), and his extended family in “Juniper Creek” (a stand-in for Short Creek). Somewhat more believably, the TLC reality show *Sister Wives* (2010–2012) followed the daily life of a father from Lehi, Utah, and his four female partners—a quasi-legal arrangement since he’s officially married to only one.
The polygamist legacy of Joseph Smith lives on in disturbing ways. In 2002, shortly after the successful Winter Olympic Games, a mentally ill man (above) and a female accomplice abducted 14-year-old Mormon girl Elizabeth Smart (left) from her home in Salt Lake City. The kidnappers performed a bastardized Mormon temple ceremony to “seal” Smart to the man, who proceeded to rape her. For nine months, Smart traveled openly (albeit veiled) with her male abductee as his second wife. When police discovered her, she was in Sandy, only twenty miles from home.
CHAPTER 12

Gender, Race, Ethnicity

Images showing the LDS Church’s recent stands—often controversial—relating to the civil rights movement, second-wave feminism, gay rights, and identity politics.
A handful of African Americans converted to the LDS Church during the founding era; of these, a few men were ordained to the lay priesthood (a spiritual ordinance generally open to all worthy males). Joseph Smith was a racist only in the sense that he, like most white people at the time, believed that blacks were the “seed of Cain.” When the prophet ran for president in 1844, he included abolitionism in his platform. Meanwhile, some of the early southern converts to Mormonism owned black people; the vanguard Pioneer Camp of the Saints that arrived in Salt Lake Valley in July 1847 included three slaves. The infamous policy of denying the priesthood to men of African ancestry was a Utah innovation of Brigham Young. Because of the Church’s overwhelmingly white membership in a region far removed from black population centers, the policy persisted without much examination. As time went by, Mormons simply assumed that it had always been so, and that God must approve. But with the Civil Rights Movement, LDS apologists had to publicly defend an embarrassing policy. They contorted the past with apocryphal statements attributed to Joseph Smith. They argued that temporarily restricting the priesthood was God’s paternalistic way of guiding the advancement of “the Negro.” Above, over: Apologetic books from 1967 and 1960.
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MORMONISM and the NEGRO

By JOHN J. STEWART

Supplement by WILLIAM E. BERRETT
In the context of the U.S. Civil Rights movement, the Cold War, the modern globalized Mormon missionary program, and African decolonization, the LDS Church’s stand on blacks and the priesthood became known—and condemned—worldwide, as illustrated by this Nigerian newspaper from 1963.
From the late 1960s through 1978, students at many universities protested the LDS Church and its priesthood policy whenever the BYU Cougars came to campus to play a NCAA game. Several western universities enforced a sports boycott of the Church-owned school. At the University of Washington in Seattle, the Black Student Union forced the issue by organizing a large campaign in 1970. A campus branch of the Weathermen posted a provocative flyer (right).
In 1978 LDS Church president Spencer W. Kimball announced that “the long-promised day had come when every faithful, worthy man in the Church may receive the holy priesthood.” Kimball had received this prophetic revelation after “extended meditation and prayer in the sacred rooms of the holy temple.” BYU’s student newspaper reported the event in a style that today would be worthy of the satirical newspaper *The Onion*. 
To date, the LDS Church has not issued a formal apology for the priesthood ban, nor a historical explanation of its origin. In a sense, by issuing a theological revelation instead of a historical correction, Spencer W. Kimball elevated racism to the level of divine will.

**Upper left:** A mock webpage created in 2012 for a blog by an evangelical critic of Mormonism.

**Lower left:** In 2012 the Church issued the closest thing yet to an apology. The statement came in response to the media storm surrounding LDS professor of religion Randy Bott after he gave an interview to the *Washington Post*:

"'God has always been discriminatory' when it comes to whom he grants the authority of the priesthood,’ says Bott, the BYU theologian. He quotes Mormon scripture that states that the Lord gives to people ‘all that he seeth fit.’ Bott compares blacks with a young child prematurely asking for the keys to her father’s car, and explains that similarly until 1978, the Lord determined that blacks were not yet ready for the priesthood. ‘What is discrimination?’ Bott asks. ‘I think that is keeping something from somebody that would be a benefit for them, right? But what if it wouldn’t have been a benefit to them?’ Bott says that the denial of the priesthood to blacks on Earth — although not in the afterlife — protected them from the lowest rungs of hell reserved for people who abuse their priesthood powers. ‘You couldn’t fall off the top of the ladder, because you weren’t on the top of the ladder. So, in reality the blacks not having the priesthood was the greatest blessing God could give them.’"
Tokenism is one way to describe the position of blacks in the post-1978 LDS Church. Above: A Mormon Tabernacle Choir album cover from 1988. Right: A complete photo array of the General Authorities of the LDS Church as of 2011. Only one of the 109 men is black—Joseph W. Sitati, a Kenyan.
Former Motown superstar Gladys Knight, who converted in 1997, is today the most prominent African-American Mormon. *Above:* The “Empress of Soul” with LDS Church president Gordon B. Hinckley in 2000. *To the right:* Mia Love, a Haitian American convert to Mormonism, speaking at the Republican National Convention in August 2012, after she unexpectedly won the GOP nomination to run for office in Utah’s 4th Congressional District. Love went on to lose to Democratic incumbent Jim Matheson (also a Mormon).

*Next two pages:* During the 2012 election season, the *New York Times* and *The Daily Show* ran features on the incongruity of black Latter-day Saints.
The Daily Show with Jon Stewart

Tuesday October 9, 2012

The Black Mormon Vote
Jessica Williams discovers black Mormons are just like other Americans — argumentative and intolerant of each other’s viewpoints.
Surprisingly, despite the efforts of certain groups and individuals—including Richard Dawkins, global spokesperson for atheism—the issue of the LDS Church’s past racism towards African Americans did not become a even a minor political issue during Mitt Romney’s run against Barak Obama.
In global perspective, LDS missionaries have not been very successful compared to evangelical Protestants. However, in certain cultural regions, the Mormon message has found receptive audiences. One such region is the South Pacific, particularly the islands of Tonga, Tahiti, Samoa, and Hawai‘i. Mormons began proselytizing in the “Sandwich Islands” as early as the 1840s. In Laie, Oahu, the LDS Church opened a temple in 1919, and a branch of BYU in 1955. Adjacent to the university, the Church operates a popular and lucrative theme park, the Polynesian Cultural Center. Since opening day in 1963, over 37 millions visitors have been to “Hawaii’s #1 Paid Attraction,” where “natives” in “authentic villages” demonstrate “traditional” activities for tourists bedecked with newly purchased leis. Most of the ethnic performers—who show off a lot of skin—are enrolled students at BYU–Hawaii. For an extra fee, tourists can, as the website advertises, “go native” themselves in the “real Polynesia” by doing special activities such as climbing coconut trees.
According to an old Mormon folk belief, Polynesians are of the House of Israel, possibly even Lehites (ancient Hebrews described in the Book of Mormon who migrated by boat to the Americas). The idea of a Chosen People of the Pacific is generally attributed to apostle George Q. Cannon, who served a mission to Hawai’i in the 1850s. While the Hawai’i–Zion connection is unimportant to Mormons outside of the Pacific Islands (and now deemphasized by the Church), it remains important to the identity of many Islander converts to Mormonism (including large numbers of migrants to Salt Lake City). Even without Mormon Israelism and the Polynesian Cultural Center, there is something unavoidably neo-colonial about the Mormon influence in the former U.S. colony of Hawai’i. Below: The 1958 entrance mosaic at the main building at BYU–Hawaii. The picture, lined with the Pledge of Allegiance and the state motto of Hawai’i, depicts local school children saluting the Stars and Stripes. Apostle David O. McKay holds the flag; the LDS temple looms in the background.
Mormon Israelism changed dramatically in the closing years of the twentieth century. In 1981 the Church quietly revised (or “restored,” depending on one’s point of view) the Book of Mormon passage relating to the promise of the Lamanites: they would someday become “pure and delightsome” instead of “white and delightsome.” More importantly, the Church began to rethink Joseph Smith’s equation of modern-day Lamanites with the Indians of the United States. In the 1980s and 1990s, it became conventional to regard Mesoamerica as the ancient setting of the Book of Mormon. The native and mestizo populations of Central America, especially the Yucatan and Guatemala, were thought to be the descendants of the “children of Lehi”—an alternate scriptural name. As a general descriptor, “children of Lehi” avoided the racism (if not the paternalism) historically associated with the word “Lamanite.” BYU’s Lamanite Generation was renamed “Living Legends.” This on-going shift in nomenclature and spiritual taxonomy has partly come in response to archaeological and genetic evidence about the Asiatic peopling of the Americas. It also reflects the Church’s recent success proselytizing in southern Mexico. It seems improbable that the “old” Lamanites—including the Indians of Utah—will ever fully regain their scriptural status. In 2006 the LDS Church changed a key word in its publisher’s introduction to the Book of Mormon; Lamanites were now described as “among the ancestors of the American Indians” instead of “the principal ancestors.”

From the 1950s through the 1970s, under the leadership of apostle-cum-prophet Spencer W. Kimball (1895–1985), the LDS Church carried out a renewed outreach program to “Lamanites” composed of three tiers: Indian Seminary, Indian Placement (foster parenting), and Indian Education at the main BYU campus in Provo, Utah. For a time, BYU had the largest native student body of any university in America. Indian students were tapped to join the Lamanite Generation, an entertainment group that toured the country. Pacific Islander Mormons were invited to join the troupe as fellow Chosen People and tribal performers.
In 1914, as the long drive for female suffrage neared success in the United States, a cartoon in Life magazine anticipated that feminism would force Mormon patriarchy to go on the run. From today’s perspective, the pictured feminists look like old-fashioned housewives.

What the 19th Amendment was to “first-wave” feminism, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was to the second wave, or the women’s liberation movement. The ERA passed the Senate in 1972, and went to the states for ratification. The text simply read: *Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.* For this constitutional amendment to go into effect, voters in 38 of 50 states needed to consent by a 1982 deadline.

The defeat of the ERA in Utah was a foregone conclusion given the public position of the LDS Church. The First Presidency declared that the ERA “would strike at the family, humankind’s basic institution.”

“It is in the ERA’s impact on family relationships that we find its most disturbing moral ramifications,” read another official statement. “There is an ecology in human nature which is just as real as the ecology in nature. When we violate the ecology of nature, we are learning more than ever that there are certain consequences that follow. So it is with human nature. The other institutions of society depend upon the institution of the family; to alter the family is to alter society.”
Because Mormon women are trained to desire above all else to please men (and I include in this category God, whom all too many of us view as an extension of our chauvinist leaders), we spend enormous amounts of energy trying to make the very real, but—for most of us—limited satisfactions of mother and wife-hood substitute satisfactorily for all other life experiences. What spills over into those vacant lots of our hearts where our intellectual and talented selves should be vigorously alive and thriving are, instead, frustration, anger, and the despair which comes from suppressing anger and feeling guilty for having felt it in the first place.

But women are not fools. The very violence with which the Brethren attacked an Amendment which would give women human status in the Constitution abruptly opened the eyes of thousands of us to the true source of our danger and our anger. This open patriarchal panic against our human rights raised consciousness miraculously all over the Church as nothing else could have done. And revealing their raw panic at the idea that women might step forward as goddesses-in-the-making with power in a real—not a “sub” or “through men”—sense, was the leaders’ critical and mortal error, producing as it did a deafening dissonance between their rhetoric of love and their oppressive, unloving, destructive behavior.
By the end of the year, the LDS Church had excommunicated Johnson. She went on to run for president of the United States in 1984 as the candidate of the Citizen's Party. In her new role as radical feminist, she wrote a memoir and a manifesto on “igniting the she/volution.” She embraced lesbianism. Ironically, Johnson played out to a letter the scenario feared by her patriarchal Mormon brethren—that equal rights would turn housewives into dykes.

In the first half of the 1990s, the LDS Church kept a blacklist of intellectuals and dissidents. During the “Mormon purge,” hundreds were excommunicated, including, on the far right, survivalist networks; and, on the moderate left, the usual suspects: outspoken feminists who had published on “controversial” topics (praying to Mother in Heaven, ordaining women to the priesthood, etc.) for the two major gatekeepers of Mormon intellectualism, the journal Dialogue and the magazine Sunstone.

Today, because of the decentralized and non-hierarchical Mormon blogosphere (the “Bloggernacle”)—which includes hundreds of websites by Mormon women—the Church cannot carry out the same kind of oppressive thought policing. Because of the internet, Mormonism is changing from the inside. Joanna Brooks—the most visible Mormon woman of 2012 after Ann Romney—began her public ascent with a blog with the post-feminist name “Ask a Mormon Girl.” A professor, a mother, and a wife of a Jewish man, Brooks is an unorthodox believer who acts simultaneously as an apologist for the Church, a critic, and a voice of conscience. She has been profiled by popular media outlets, including the BBC and The Daily Show, as a “liberal, feminist, gay-friendly Mormon.” Twenty years before, Brooks probably would have been the target of disfellowshipping or excommunication for speaking her mind in public.
The journey of the LDS Church from sexually deviant to hetero-normative came full circle in 1995 with “The Family: A Proclamation to the World,” a statement that will likely be canonized in future editions of the Doctrine & Covenants, the LDS book of revelations. General authorities encouraged members to frame and hang copies of the proclamation in their homes.

“Gender is an essential characteristic of individual premortal, mortal, and eternal identity and purpose,” it reads. “We declare that God’s commandment for His children to multiply and replenish the earth remains in force. We further declare that God has commanded that the sacred powers of procreation are to be employed only between man and woman, lawfully wedded as husband and wife. … The family is ordained of God. Marriage between man and woman is essential to His eternal plan.” The Proclamation built on the earlier, less political campaign “Families Are Forever” (a sentiment expressed in merchandise such as rings). Deviating from its normal political position of stated neutrality, the Utah-based Church directed its California members to “do all you can” to support Proposition 8, the 2008 constitutional amendment that outlawed same-sex marriage. Following the vote, marriage rights activists vented their disappointment and anger at the LDS Church in a series of demonstrations like the one in Sacramento (next page).
You want three wives
I want one husband

i-ro-ny

Polygamists now supporting traditional marriage

You want three wives
I want one husband

Mormon teaching
Racism
Sexism
Anti-gay

Oh well, I wasn’t us my civil right anyways!
On the opposite coast, supporters of gay rights demonstrated outside the LDS temple in Manhattan. This scene was repeated at many other temples, where signs often read, “Church of Latter-day H8,” in reference to Prop 8.
Above: During the 2008 election season, many of the Church’s antagonists used images of fundamentalist polygamists to portray mainstream Mormons as hypocrites.

Left: The 2010 documentary film exposé *8: The Mormon Proposition* posited that LDS money bankrolled the successful California campaign to “preserve traditional marriage.” The latter part of the film personalizes the emotional toll of growing up gay in Mormondom (an experience the director, Reed Cowan, knows firsthand).
The existence of gay and lesbian Mormons—out-and-proud religious believers—was no longer possible to deny after the Prop 8 fracas, which included headline stories in major gay magazines, pride parades, and a “kiss-in” at Temple Square in Salt Lake City.

In LDS theology, there is no hell in the traditional Christian sense, just different levels of heaven. The idea is “eternal progression”: individuals continue to live after death; human souls have post-mortal as well as pre-mortal existences. After death, the prerequisite for the next stage of exaltation is getting baptized. But what if you—like the staggering majority of humans who ever lived—never had the chance to join the church of Jesus Christ? Good news: in the Mormon system (called the “plan of salvation” or “plan of happiness”) there’s a second chance for everyone. In the anteroom of heaven, the repentant have access to eternally-binding baptismal ceremonies. To jumpstart the ordinance process, Mormons—who generally out-Protestant Protestants in work ethic—do heroic amounts of genealogical research, and perform proxy baptisms for the recorded dead. That is, living Mormons stand in for deceased non-Mormons in baptismal ceremonies within LDS temples (which function symbolically as enclosures of heaven on Earth). Believing Mormons will tell you that a “baptism for the dead” is not automatically binding: the deceased has the free will to accept or refuse—though, of course, the assumption is that everyone will accept the plan. Today, no LDS practice generates as much outrage as proxy baptisms. In the 1990s, when it was discovered that Mormons had baptized Hitler as well as many Holocaust victims, various Jewish groups protested on grounds of the Torah as well as decency, causing the Church to announce a ban on posthumously baptizing Jews. The 1995 rule proved unenforceable, given the decentralized system of temple work. In 2012, after a new round of bad press—see the images above—including revelations that Mormons had baptized members of Simon Wiesenthal’s family and Anne Frank (again), the Church apologized (again) and announced new measures: an injunction to members to baptize only “direct” ancestors, under threat of excommunication, and upgraded temple ordinance software.
The current LDS limitation on baptisms for the dead is ethnically specific—it only applies to dead Jews. But living Jews are hardly the only “ethnic” people offended by LDS proxy baptisms. Take the case of Jan Kozielewski (on the far right), better known as Jan Karski (1914–2000), a heroic figure from the Polish resistance during WWII. Through espionage and diplomacy, he alerted Allied governments of the true horrors of Nazi violence against the Polish Jewry—what is now called the Holocaust.

As seen in a screen grab (seen on the left) from the LDS Church’s restricted temple ordinance software system, Karski was baptized, confirmed, and given temple endowments about one decade after his death in 2000. When this information surfaced in 2012, National Public Radio and other news outlets quoted Karski’s biographer E. Thomas Wood (seen in the middle image). “I know what his [Catholic] faith meant to him, and I know he would be outraged at this effort to appropriate his mortal soul for another religion,” Wood wrote in a letter to the LDS Church. “This act will bring pain to his Roman Catholic and Jewish friends and admirers around the world.”
In the year of Mitt Romney’s nomination, all things Mormon, including the “bizarre” practice of baptism for the dead—something anthropologists might simply categorize as a form of ancestor worship—attracted unprecedented attention. In LGBT circles, the website “All Dead Mormons Are Now Gay” struck a chord. On HBO, comedian and celebrity atheist Bill Maher performed a live “un-baptism” of Romney’s deceased father-in-law, Edward Davies, a noted industrial engineer. With the blessing of Ann Romney (née Davies), a convert to Mormonism, Davies’s “temple work” had been completed in 1993, the year after his death. According to Maher and secularist media outlets, the posthumous temple ordinance was an insult to Davies, who reputedly had lived his life as a “committed,” “outspoken,” and “militant” atheist.
Images showing Mitt Romney and the gradual diminishment of anxieties about Mormons in high political office.
The election of Mitt Romney to the presidency would have been a watershed moment in U.S. religious and political history. That being said, Latter-day Saints have already been elected to some of the nation’s highest offices, with little public fanfare. *Left:* A 2012 book by senior senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT). *Right:* Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV), who stated publicly that Mitt Romney “is not the face of Mormonism.”
Mormons have also served high-level appointments in Washington. Rex E. Lee, Ronald Reagan’s first Solicitor General, is one prominent example. Brent Scowcroft (pictured to the left), the National Security Advisor to Gerald Ford and George H. W. Bush, is another. It is often said anecdotally that the FBI, the CIA, and the NSA contain a disproportionate number of LDS employees. Allegedly this is due to Mormons’ proficiency in languages (because of missions), their tolerance of secrecy, and their deference to authority.
Marriner S. Eccles, a Mormon banker from tiny Logan, Utah, at his desk in Washington, D.C., where he served as Chairman of the Federal Reserve, 1934–48.

J. Reuben Clark, a Mormon attorney from even tinier Grantsville, Utah, being sworn into office as Under Secretary of State, 1928. Clark went on to become First Counselor in the First Presidency of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of the LDS Church. The law school at BYU is named after him.
A handful of Mormons have run for president of the United States, representing a decent cross-section of the faith, from the founding prophet (Joseph Smith, 1844), to an anti-war Rockefeller Republican (George Romney, 1968), to a lapsed Mormon Democrat (Morris “Mo” Udall, 1976), to a dissident feminist (Sonia Johnson, 1984), to a white survivalist (James “Bo” Gritz), to a Reaganite (Orrin Hatch, 2000), to a “post-partisan” moderate (Jon Huntsman, 2012).

George Romney, former CEO of American Motors and three-term governor of Michigan, set the stage for his son Mitt. The senior Romney’s religion played a relatively small—and generally positive—role in his public image. The 1960s was a transition period for the LDS Church. Romney’s run came after the Church had revamped its image but before it gained the financial, political, and cultural power it holds today. As a civil rights supporter from a state with a large African-American population, Romney neutralized the most politically objectionable feature of his religion: the LDS Church’s position on blacks and the priesthood.
No Latter-day Saint since Reed Smoot achieved a higher public profile than Mitt Romney in 2007–2012, yet the former CEO of Bain Capital and one-term governor of Massachusetts didn’t like to talk about his religion on the stump. Romney had hoped that his 2007 “JFK speech” would have settled the matter. Instead, it only whetted the appetite of the media for when Romney became the Republican frontrunner in 2011, and nominee in 2012.
Three magazine covers from Romney’s two runs for president.
The prospect of a Romney presidency revived dormant fears about the supposed inability of Latter-day Saints to simultaneously pledge allegiance to the Constitution and their faith. It also gave evangelical Protestants a new platform to voice the old argument that Mormonism is un-Christian.

Four books from a variety of perspectives spoke to this issue.
Romney’s two-time run for the presidency also provided fodder for political cartoonists. Compared to cartoons from a century before, the tone was mild, even respectful. The U.S “liberal media establishment” seemed more comfortable with politicized Mormons than politicized evangelicals. In current popular culture, the stereotype of born-again Christians as white trash seems to have almost as much traction as stereotypes of Mormons as clannish polygamists, secret empire builders, or happy-robot missionaries. Some cartoonists even played with the notion, popular among Mormons, that Obama vs. Romney was a civil rights moment—the unprecedented electoral meeting of representatives of population groups (blacks, Saints) that have historically been despised and disenfranchised.
I'm mighty glad we won't be around to see Mitt Romney in the White House.

Them Mormons believe in some crazy things!

Yup.

...uh, Pastor? Are you sure the Rapture's comin' today?

'Cause I'm gettin' kinda hungry.
Q: Which candidate's faith do you find the most troubling?

Wait! Wait! You must accept Jesus Christ as your Lord and personal Savior before you save us from Obama!

A Mormon?!

I could never vote for Romney. He's a, you know, the M-word!

No! Worse! He's a moderate!

Then... Then... We Mormons did some evolving on marriage, too.
Of all political cartoonists working in the election year 2012, probably none had greater insight into the “Mormon Moment” than Pat Bagley, long-time contributor to the *Salt Lake Tribune* (formerly the anti-Mormon newspaper in Utah), who comes from an old Utah family.

In effect, Romney’s religion—which, by all accounts, was central to his being—was “off the record.” His “refusal” to talk about the details of his faith or the details of his extended family’s extraordinary LDS story from rags to riches twice, from the United States to Mexico and back again, caused some pundits to say he was running as a “closeted Mormon.” Those inclined to conspiracy theories speculated that Romney was hiding his true loyalties and his secret religious agenda, and that he would, if elected, govern as a Mormon. The conventional wisdom was simply that Romney read the poll numbers and made the cold political calculation that his religious heritage—beyond the current “positive” stereotype of Mormons as hard-working, business-minded, wholesome, and patriotic—would be a net liability on the campaign trail. More charitably, one could interpret his reticence as an internalized defensive position—a posture culturally ingrained in Latter-day Saints in the face of nearly two centuries of contempt and ridicule.
Bagley’s reference to Mormon folk prophecy had some basis in reality. According to legend, Joseph Smith in 1843 made a prophetic statement about the United States. The Mormons will become a mighty people in the Rocky Mountains, he said; then, one day, in a time of crisis, when the U.S. Constitution “hangs by a thread,” Mormons will come to the rescue of the republic and usher in the millennium—like the rider of the white horse from the Book of Revelations. By 2012, most Mormons had never heard of the apocryphal “White Horse Prophecy” (which the Church disavows), but you could still find some old-time believers in Utah; and Mormon hipsters made tongue-in-cheek white horse apparel (above) that could be purchased online. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, despite its allegiance to its now dated millenarian name, presently deemphasizes the imminence of the Second Coming.
For unfeigned end-of-the-world prognostications regarding Mormons and the Constitution in 2012, you had to consult right-wing Christian fundamentalist outlets like the website Now the End Begins, which cast the presidential contest between Obama and Romney (“The Muslim vs. The Mormon”) as a sign of the end times.

Similarly, on Amazon.com, you could purchase a self-published e-book (left) about the secret designs of Mitt Romney, the Trojan Horse of the Mormons.

*Over:* Five iterations of the fringe “Mormon over the Muslim” political meme.
Two images that went viral in Mormon social media immediately following the results of the U.S. presidential election in November 2012. The pictured “President” is LDS Church President (and prophet) Thomas S. Monson.

This country needed a savior
One was sent
And we crucified him

My President didn't change tonight.
Adult U.S. Mormons voted overwhelmingly for Mitt Romney, but no more than for George W. Bush; and the spotlight on Mormonism in 2012 brought new attention to Mormon Democrats, who made use of LDS iconography to express their allegiance to President Obama.
13.3 THE “MORMON MOMENT”
The so-called “Mormon Moment” of 2011–2012 cut both ways for Mormons: their religion gained free coverage but also new scrutiny and ill-informed commentary. In the end—thanks to fluff pieces like NBC’s “Mormon in America”—Latter-day Saints could, for perhaps the first time in their history, affirm the old adage: there is no such thing as bad publicity.

J. Willard Marriott, a godfather figure to Mitt Romney (whose given name is Willard), exulted to the press in September 2012: “There has never been as much positive publicity about the church, thanks to the wonderful campaign of Mitt Romney and his family. Today we see the church coming out of obscurity, and we see that 90 percent of what has been written and said, including an hour on NBC and an hour and a half on CNN, two front-page articles in The Washington Post, many articles in the national news about the church — 90 percent of it has been favorable.”
President Obama and his surrogates never made an issue of Romney’s religion. However, on the edges of political discourse—like Twitter—one could find rhetorical relicts of nineteenth-century anti-Mormonism.
Illustrations to a 2012 Vanity Fair piece on Mormons in Washington, D.C.
The political ascendancy of Mitt Romney in 2012 provided journalists, historians, and critics an opportunity—or excuse?—to reflect on the place of Mormonism in America and the world. Even the discriminating *New Yorker* weighed in on the matter (*left*). The media relations department of the LDS Church was overwhelmed with requests for comments and clarifications from news organizations. Although Romney was a reluctant, ungainly spokesman for Mormonism, he raised the profile—if not exactly updated the image—of the Church merely by being in the presidential race.
Pat and Ted Oparowski, Latter-day Saints from New England, in their appearance on behalf of Mitt Romney at the Republican National Convention, in Tampa, Florida, August 2012. In the 1970s, Romney had reached out to the Oparowskis when their son was dying of cancer. Many pundits considered their testimonial to be the most humanizing moment of the convention—and one of the few times in 2012 when the Romney campaign highlighted the candidate’s religious community. Unfortunately, most TV-watching Americans did not see the Oparowskis (along with other ordinary Mormons on stage) that night in Tampa, for the Republicans reserved the prime-time slot for Clint Eastwood, who went on to give an instantly infamous ad libbed dialogue with an empty chair.
Left: A press photo from August 2012, when Mitt and Ann Romney invited journalists to accompany them to a Sunday service in a Mormon church building.

Right: One of the most highly circulated media images related to Latter-day Saints in 2011–2012.
SUGGESTED READINGS
For more about representations of Mormons:


For more about historic tensions between the LDS Church and the Protestant America, and the modernization of Mormonism:


Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing, 1967).


——, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana, 1994).


——, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City, 1994).


For more about Mormons in the public sphere since the 1960s:


For overviews of Mormon history and Mormonism:
——, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (New York, 2002).
——, *The Latter-day Saint Experience in America* (Westport, Conn., 2004).

For online information on Mormons:
mormonnewsroom.org  ldschurchnews.com
ldsliving.com  deseretnews.com/faith/mormontimes
mormonvoices.org  askmormongirl.com
For diaries, autobiographies, memoirs, and novels from the perspective of LDS, ex-Mormon, and ex-FLDS women:

Virginia Sorenson, *A Little Lower than the Angels* (1942).

——, *The Evening and the Morning* (1949).


Note: For this freely distributed, educational, non-commercial work, I have endeavored to follow the legal principle of fair use when reproducing images created beyond the current copyright cutoff date. Readers would be wrong to assume that every image herein belongs in the public domain, though that is true of nearly everything I’ve used from the nineteenth century. Most of the twentieth-century images I found online, and in many cases I was unable to determine provenance.

Illustrations of Mormon life were often used interchangeably in nineteenth-century books; I have listed the title and edition from which I obtained my copy, but that doesn’t necessarily indicate the original source.

Finally, please keep in mind that colors and resolutions you see reproduced here may not be remotely faithful to material objects.

COVER


PREFACE


Map showing Mormon population density by county, 2000.

CHAPTER 1

1.1 JOSEPH SMITH

Undated broadside advertising the Book of Mormon, ca. 1844.


Frontispiece to Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed*.

Tyler Parsons, *Mormon Fanaticism Exposed* (Boston, 1841).


“Fac-simile, According to Joe Smith,” and “One of the Six Bronze Plates,” from J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia, 1870).


“‘Lieutenant-General’ Joseph Smith Reviewing the Nauvoo Legion,” from J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia, 1870).


“Burning of the Newspaper Office,” from Ann Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19, or the Story of a Life in Bondage, Being a Complete Exposé of Mormonism* (Hartford, 1875).

1.2 A PERSECUTED PEOPLE


“Death of the Prophet,” from Maria Ward [pseud.], *Female Life Among the Mormons* (New York, 1856).


“Mormons Driven out of Nauvoo, Crossing the Mississippi on the Ice,” from J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia, 1870).


“Burning of Mormon Temple at Nauvoo,” from J. H. Beadle, *Polygamy; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia, 1904).


Reconstructed Nauvoo Temple today.

1.3 BRIGHAM YOUNG

Brigham Young, ca. 1851. LDS Church Archives.

Brigham Young, wet collodion glass plate print, ca. 1860. Library of Congress.

Brigham Young, ca. 1875. From *Tullidge’s Histories*, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City, 1889).

CHAPTER 2

2.1 TRIBAL ALLIANCE


Frontispiece to original printing of The Book of Mormon (1830).


“Defiant Attitude of Brigham Young and ye Indians towards ye Uncle Sam,” Yankee Notions 7 (April 1858).


2.2 MOUNTAIN MEADOWS

“Mountain Meadow Massacre—132 Emigrants Killed by Mormons and Indians,” from J. H. Beadle, Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism (Philadelphia, 1870).

“The Mountain Meadows Massacre.—Murdered by Supposed Friends,” from Ann Eliza Young, Wife No. 19, or the Story of a Life in Bondage, Being a Complete Exposé of Mormonism (Hartford, 1875).

“The Mountain Meadows Massacre,” from Mormonism Unveiled, including the Remarkable Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee (St. Louis, 1891).

“Execution of John D. Lee,” from J. H. Beadle, Polygamy; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism (Philadelphia, 1904).
CHAPTER 3

3.1 STATE OF DESERET

Two maps showing the proposed state of Deseret.

$2 and $3 bills issued by the Deseret Currency Association, 1858.

$5 gold piece minted by Deseret Assay Office, 1860.

Unofficial flag of the proposed state of Deseret, ca. 1855.

Second Deseret reader (Salt Lake City, 1868).

People’s Party ticket for Salt Lake City municipal election, 1876. Handwriting on side: “Mormon Ticket—with Mormon Language on the margin, as instructions to voters.” Wikimedia Commons.

3.2 THE “UTAH WAR”

“Mormons Burning a Government Train,” from Ann Eliza Young, Wife No. 19, or the Story of a Life in Bondage, Being a Complete Exposé of Mormonism (Hartford, 1875).


“Affairs at Salt Lake City,” Harper’s Weekly, 1 May 1858.

“Frightful Scene of Carnage and Desolation at the Sack of Salt Lake City by the United States Troops,” Harper’s Weekly, 22 May 1858.


Dedication in [Anon.], Mormoniad (Boston, 1858).

3.3 THE TWIN RELICS

“Complete the Work Begun by the Republican Party Twenty Years Ago,” Daily Graphic, 23 February 1881.


“The Dying Tree,” Jingo, 22 October 1884.


“What Shall They Do to Be Saved?” Daily Graphic, 1 November 1883.

“A Distinction without a Difference,” Harper’s Weekly, 30 April 1881.

3.4 THE “QUESTION”

The Mormon Question (Salt Lake City, 1870).


“The Mormon Problem Solved,” Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper, 11 November 1871.


“Would this Solve the Question?” Daily Graphic, 9 March 1882.

Dexter Smith and C. A. White, “Down with the Mormons!” (Boston, 1870).


Walter M. Barrows, The Mormon Problem (Boston, 1878).


James A. Wales, “The Same Thing Over Again,” The Judge, 17 December 1881.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 AMERICAN FOREIGNERS

“Uncle Sam’s Troublesome Bed Fellows,” The Wasp, 8 February 1879.


“Uncle Sam’s Nightmare,” The Wasp, March 1882.


Detail from “‘The Twin Relic of Barbarism.’—The Wolves and the Lambs—Arrival of Scandinavian Converts in Charge of Mormon Missionaries, at Castle Garden, en Route for Salt Lake City,” Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper, 15 December 1883.

“Mormon Elder-Berry, Out with His Six-year Olds, Who Take after Their Mothers,” Life, 28 April 1904.


4.2 ORIENTAL UTAH

Alfreda Eva Bell, Boadicea; The Mormon Wife (Baltimore, 1855).

“Hit ‘Em Again,” The Judge, 9 January 1886.

“Blue Beard; or, the Mormon, the Maiden, and the Little Militaire.” Detail of playbill, Globe Theater, Boston, 1872.
“Turkish” illustration from Jennie Anderson Froiseth, *The Women of Mormonism; or, the Story of Polygamy as Told by the Victims Themselves* (Detroit, 1882).

“I Imagine It Must be a Perfect Paradise,” from four-part centerfold panel (“A Desperate Attempt to Solve the Mormon Question”) in *Puck*, 13 February 1884.

Hydrographic map of Utah and (inverted) Palestine from *Utah: A Peep into a Mountain-walled Treasury of the Gods* (Buffalo, 1891).

**4.3 THE MORMON RACE**


Detail from “The Mormon Problem Solved,” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, 11 November 1871.


**CHAPTER 5**

**5.1 UNFREE MARRIAGE**


“The Mormon Octopus Enslaving the Women of Utah,” from J. H. Beadle, *Polygamy; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia, 1904).


Title page and chapter heading to Jennie Anderson Froiseth, *The Women of Mormonism; or, the Story of Polygamy as Told by the Victims Themselves* (Detroit, 1882).


“Polygamy Crushed Her Young Heart,” from Beadle, *Polygamy*.

Dedication page in Beadle, *Polygamy*.

*The Tragedy of the Mormon Woman* (Minneapolis, 1908).

**5.2 THE WOMAN’S VOTE**

“Female Suffrage,” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, 2 October 1869.

“One Wife or No Ballot,” *The Judge*, 4 March 1882.

Augusta Joyce Crocheron, “Representative Women of Deseret,” poster, 1884.

“Mormon” Women’s Protest: An Appeal for Freedom, Justice and Equal Rights (Salt Lake City, 1886).


Signing ceremony for Nineteenth Amendment, 5 June 1919. Vice President Thomas Marshall seated. Utah senator Reed Smoot in back row.

CHAPTER 6

6.1 CRIMINALIZING MORMONISM


“What It Is Bound to Come To,” Wild Oats, 13 March 1873.

Thomas Nast, “Constancy is a Jewel,” Harper’s Weekly, 31 December 1881.

Dedication to Jennie Anderson Froiseth, The Women of Mormonism; or, the Story of Polygamy as Told by the Victims Themselves (Detroit, 1882).

Reward poster for the arrest of LDS Church president John Taylor and apostle George Q. Cannon, 1887.


George Q. Cannon (seated) at the Utah Territorial Penitentiary, 1888 or 1889.

6.2 ANTI-MORMONISM AND ANTI-CATHOLICISM


Thomas Nast, “Religious liberty is guaranteed but can we allow foreign reptiles to crawl all over us?” Unpublished cartoon in the Library of Congress.

“How long will this destructive monster be allowed to live?” from four-part centerfold panel (“A Desperate Attempt to Solve the Mormon Question”) in Puck, 13 February 1884.

6.3 UTAH STATEHOOD

C. R. Savage, portrait of Wilford Woodruff, ca. 1890.

U.S. flag with 44 stars, ca. 1891–96; and the same with 45 stars, ca. 1896–1908.

“A Terror That He Doesn’t Seem to Tackle,” The Judge, 15 August 1885.

“Uncle Sam in Mormondom,” Sam the Scaramouch, 18 July 1885.

6.4 THE REED SMOOT CASE


“Joseph F. Smith, the Notorious Polygamist, Testifying before the Senate Investigating Committee in Washington” from J. H. Beadle, Polygamy; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism (Philadelphia, 1904).

“Hiding Behind the Temple, Reed Smoot, Draws the Fire of the Protestants,” Salt Lake Tribune, 22 December 1904.

Edgar E. Folk, The Mormon Monster (Chicago, 1900).

United States District Court, The Inside of Mormonism (Salt Lake City, 1903).


“The Real Objection to Smoot,” Puck, 27 April 1904.

“Political Balance Invented by the Mormon Hierarchy,” Baptist Home Mission Monthly 27 (February 1905).

“The King of Utah,” Salt Lake Tribune, 6 June 1906.


6.5 LINGERING DOUBTS

Bruce Kinney, Mormonism: The Islam of America (New York, 1912).

John Elward Brown, “In the Cult of the Kingdom”: Mormonism, Eddyism, and Russelism (Siloam Springs, Ark., ca. 1918).


Frank J. Cannon and Harvey J. O’Higgins, Under the Prophet in Utah: The National Menace of a Political Priestcraft (Boston, 1911).

“Mormon Secrets to be Exposed,” Muscatine Journal (Muscatine, Iowa), 17 May 1918.

“Germany Is Anti-Mormon,” Life, 31 October 1907.


“Well, We’ve Got to Give the Mormons Credit. They’re with us in the Pinch,” Life, 5 December 1918.

CHAPTER 7

7.1 HELL ON EARTH

Title pages to W. Jarman, U.S.A, Uncle Sam’s Abscess, or Hell upon Earth for U.S., Uncle Sam (Exeter, 1884).


Cover to W. Jarman, U.S.A, Uncle Sam’s Abscess, or Hell upon Earth for U.S., Uncle Sam (Exeter, 1884).

“Mormonism,” cartoon of unknown derivation, ca. 1880s.
The Gates of the Mormon Hell Opened (London, ca. 1850s).


7.2 BLOOD VIOLENCE

“Massacre of the Morrisites,” from J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia, 1870).


“Hickman killing Yates, by order of Brigham Young,” and “Hickman delivering the murdered man Yates’ money to Brigham Young to be turned over to the Church,” from J. H. Beadle, *Brigham’s Destroying Angel: Being The Life, Confession, and Startling Disclosures of the Notorious Bill Hickman, the Danite Chief of Utah* (New York, 1870).

Bill Hickman, *Brigham’s Destroying Angel* (Salt Lake City, 1904).


“Destroying Angel,” from John Cook Bennett, *The History of the Saints; or, an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (New York, 1842).


7.3 TEMPLE RITES


“Fourth Estate—Cutting Gash Above the Knee,” from Beadle, *Polygamy*.


“Mormon Rites,” from Trumble, *Mysteries of Mormonism*.


7.4 WHITE SLAVERY


“The Twin Relic of Barbarism.’—The Wolves and the Lambs—Arrival of Scandinavian Converts in Charge of Mormon Missionaries, at Castle Garden, en Route for Salt Lake City,” Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper, 15 December 1883.


“Mormon Life,” from Trumble, Mysteries of Mormonism.


7.5 NOVELISTIC MORMONS

M. Quad, Bessie Baine: or, the Mormon’s Victim (Boston, 1876).


List of Zane Grey’s novels from the back pages of a 1917 edition of Anne of Avonlea.

“The 13th Mrs. Spudd! Or the Wooings of a Mormon Elder,” Saturday Night (Philadelphia), 16 June 1888.

“The Bradys among the Mormons; or, Secret Work in Salt Lake City,” Secret Service, 21 August 1903.

Fred Bennett, the Mormon Detective; or, Adventures in the West, Mormonism Unmasked (New York, 1887).

7.6 CINEMATIC MORMONS


“Thrilling 3-Reel Subject,” Sandusky Register (Sandusky, Ohio), 12 October 1912.

“Greatest Box-Office Feature of the Day,” Moving Picture World, 10 February 1912.

Billboard for Trapped by the Mormons, England, 1922.

Still from Trapped by the Mormons, dir. H. B. Parkinson (1922).

“‘A Mormon Maid,’” Moving Picture World, 10 March 1917.


7.7 MENACING HAIR

Orrin Porter Rockwell, n.d. Utah State Historical Society, all rights reserved.


Detail from “Foes in His Path—the Herculean Task before Our Next President,” *Puck*, 18 February 1885.


CHAPTER 8

8.1 MORMON DADDIES

“The Family Bedstead” and “Needed Marking” from Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (Hartford, 1886), originally published in 1872.


Russell Lee, “Row of Lombardy Poplars, Box Elder County, Utah,” 1944, rotated by author for effect. Library of Congress.

8.2 LATTER-DAY BEARDS


“Hon. Eli H. Murray, Governor of Utah,” from Jennie Anderson Froiseth, *The Women of Mormonism; or, the Story of Polygamy as Told by the Victims Themselves* (Detroit, 1882).

George Reynolds and some of his progeny, ca. 1900.

Reed Smoot, ca. 1890.

Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, 1900. LDS Church President Lorenzo Snow at center. To his left, with the equally long (but less white) beard, is future prophet Joseph F. Smith. To his right, George Q. Cannon. On the back row, second to the end on the viewer’s left, is Reed Smoot, sporting a dark mustache.

“Frank Merriwell among the Mormons; or, the Lost Tribe of Israel,” *Tip Top Weekly*, 19 June 1897.


Brigham Young University beard card, 1992.

Boy Scouts of America, “Be One with the Wild,” 2011.
8.3 VAUDEVILLIAN MORMONS
Harry Miller, “My Love He Is a Mormonite” (New York, 1871).
Howard Patrick, “If You Saw What I Saw, You’d Go to Utah!” (San Francisco, 1917).

*Brigham Young Songster* (New York, 1871).

“Antarctic Mormon Minstrelsy.” Detail of playbill, New Haven, 1867.

“From Broadway to Tokio.” Vaudeville broadside, ca. 1900.


“Selections from ‘Deseret,’ or, A Saints Afflictions,” 1880.

“Who Would Doubt That I’m a Woman” from *The Mormons, a Comic Opera*. Sheet music, 1895.

*The Girl from Utah*, 1914 version with added songs by Jerome Kern.

Scene from the Broadway musical *The Book of Mormon* (2011).

8.4 ONLINE CARICATURES
“Debunking Mormonism,” found online in 2012.

Jeff Swenson, “Persistent Mormons,” from www.freethunk.net.

“Mormons” (vampires), found online in 2012.

“Mormonism 101,” found online in 2012.


“Mormons” (missionaries on the moon), found online in 2012.

“Kolob or Bust! Romney 2012,” found online in 2012.


Examples of so-called “Mormon porn,” 2012.


CHAPTER 9
9.1 BRIGHAM YOUNG AS CONSENSUS FIGURE
Brigham Young Statue outside the Utah Building, Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. Utah State Historical Society, all rights reserved.

Brigham Young re-enactor on Ensign Peak, 2005. Photo by author.

Lee Greene Richards, “Naming Ensign Peak,” mural from the Cyclorama on the inside of the dome of the Utah State Capitol, 1933–34. From the State of Utah Fine Art Collection courtesy of the Capitol Preservation Board.

Poster for *Brigham Young*, dir. Henry Hathaway (1940).

Mahonri Young, “Brigham Young,” 1950, from the National Statuary Hall Collection in the U.S. Capitol, Washington, D.C.
9.2 BLOSSOM AS A ROSE

“The Garden of Utah, a Succession of Green Idyllic Valleys,” from Salt Lake City and the State of Utah (Salt Lake City, 1913).

“The Desert Shall Rejoice and Blossom as a Rose,” from Utah: A Peep into a Mountain-walled Treasury of the Gods (Buffalo, 1891)


C. R. Savage, “Utah’s Best Crop,” from Utah: A Peep into a Mountain-walled Treasury of the Gods (Buffalo, 1891), and two postcards inspired therefrom.

“The Route of the Mormon Pioneers from Nauvoo to Great Salt Lake,” chromolithograph, 1889.


Brent Belnap, two views of the reenactment of the Pioneer Camp of the Saints entering Salt Lake Valley, sesquicentennial of the Mormon Trail, 22 July 1997, from Picasa.


9.3 SPORTS AND RECREATION

Postcard view of Deseret Gymnasium, ca. 1910.

Three postcard views of the first and second Saltair resort, ca. 1900 and 1930.

Three Boy Scouts of America badges related to LDS Church.

BYU hikers on the Annual Mt. Timpanogos Hike, ca. 1920s.

Eugene L. Roberts and Alma Richards, ca. 1910.

Alma Richards competing in the high jump for BYU, 1911.

Steve Young, BYU football quarterback, ca. 1983.

Danny Ainge, BYU basketball guard, ca. 1981.

Jimmer Fredette, BYU basketball guard, ca. 2011.


Trading card for Dale Murphy, outfielder for the Atlanta Braves (1976–90).

Two views of David Abbot “Ab” Jenkins, the “Mormon Meteor,” at the Bonneville Salt Flats, ca. 1940.

Johnny Miller celebrating his record-breaking final round of 63 to win the U.S. Open in 1973.

NFL coach Andy Reid, ca. 2010.

9.4 WEALTH AND WELFARE


President Ronald Reagan at the Ogden cannery, 1981.

Katharine Best and Katharine Hillyer, “They Take Care of Their Own,” *Reader’s Digest* (March 1949).


“Those Queer Mormons,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 1937, widely reprinted, including in *Literary Digest*, 7 August 1937.

The LDS Church website “Provident Living.”

Church-issued food storage starter kit.


Cover of *Time* showing LDS Church president George Albert Smith, 21 July 1947.


San Diego Temple (dedicated 1993), which overlooks the Golden State Freeway.


Vintage Mormon piggybank.


9.5 A CLEAN-CUT CORPORATE LOOK

President John F. Kennedy with LDS Church president David O. McKay (center) and U.S. senator Frank E. Moss (D-Utah) in the Mormon Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, 27 September 1963. Utah State Historical Society, all rights reserved.

Governor George Romney and son Mitt look over the New York World’s Fair, 18 May 1964.

Two views of Mormon Pavilion at the World’s Fair, New York City, 1964.


Elder Mitt Romney and missionary companion in France, ca. 1968.

Mormon missionary action figures.


9.6 MOTAB

“Performance at Mount Rushmore for the World’s First Telstar Satellite Broadcast, 1962.” Mormon Tabernacle Choir photostream at Flickr. All rights reserved.


Mormon Tabernacle Choir, 1893, from The “Mormon” Metropolis, An Illustrated Guide to Salt Lake City and Its Environs (Salt Lake City, 1899).

“President Nixon’s Inauguration,” 20 January 1969. Mormon Tabernacle Choir photostream at Flickr. All rights reserved.

“The Osmond family in mid 1970s.

The Osmonds (Mankato, Minn., 1975).

Donny Osmond doll, Mattel, 1976; and Osmonds lunch box, 1973.

David Archuleta on American Idol, FOX, 2008.

Elder David Archuleta as part of the Missionary Training Center Choir, LDS General Conference, 31 March 2012.

Miss America Colleen Kay Hutchins, 1952; and Miss America Sharlene Wells, 1985.


Orson Scott Card, Alvin Journeyman (New York, 1995); and Homecoming: Harmony (New York, 1994).


Tracy Hickman and Margaret Weis, Dragonlance Legends: Time of the Twins (Chicago, 2008)

Raymond F. Jones, This Island Earth (London, 1955).

Stephanie Meyer, Twilight (New York, 2005).

Promotional photo of Stephanie Meyer.

Stephanie Meyer: Female Force (Vancouver, Wash., 2009).

Chas Newkey-Burden, Stephanie Meyer: Queen of Twilight (London, 2010).


9.7 LDS POP


*Go Toward the Light*, dir. Mike Rober (1998)


VHS cover for *Mr. Krueger’s Christmas*, dir. Kieth Merrill (1980).


9.8 Mormon Admen

“I’m a mormon” billboard, Times Square, New York City, 2011.


Gordon B. Hinckley with CBS 60 Minutes correspondent Mike Wallace at Temple Square, 1995.


Three views of multi-lingual sister missionaries at Temple Square.

LDS Church Office Building draped for the Winter Olympics, 2002; and Salt Lake Temple with Olympics poster in background, 2002.

Mitt Romney, president of the Salt Lake Organizing Committee, October 2001; and U.S. presidential candidate Mitt Romney at ten-year anniversary of Olympics, February 2012.


*Mormonism for Dummies* (Hoboken, 2005).


FamilySearch logo and website, 2012.

“Families are Forever” quote by LDS apostle M. Russell Ballard and associated image of family playing a board game.

“I Wanted to Know How to Keep My Family Together,” ad campaign, LDS Church, 2007.

Hasbro’s “Family Game Night” marketing campaign, 1998–.

Family Home Evening activity board.

“Just One Lie,” television still from LDS Church ad, ca. 1978.

Jane Clayson at [www.mormon.org/people](http://www.mormon.org/people).

Ads created by the LDS Church in response to the Broadway musical *The Book of Mormon*, including adspace purchased in the playbill for the Pantages Theatre, Los Angeles, 2012.

**CHAPTER 10**

10.1 Cult of Christ

LDS Church logo before 1995.
Post-1995 LDS Church logo juxtaposed with the replica of the Christus statue by Bertel Thorvaldsen at Temple Square.


The Hill Cumorah Visitors’ Center, Palmyra, New York.

The Hill Cumorah Pageant, August 2010.


Presidential candidate and former Utah governor Jon Huntsman on Fox and Friends, 11 October 2011.

Richard Benson and Cindy Benson, Secrets Mormons Don’t Want You to Know (Ontario, Calif., 2011).


Bill McKeever, Answering Mormons’ Questions (Minneapolis, 1991).

Ron Rhodes, Reasoning from the Scriptures with the Mormons (Eugene, Ore., 1995).


R. Philip Roberts, Mormonism Unmasked: Confronting the Contradictions between Mormon Beliefs and True Christianity (Nashville, 1998).


10.2 GOD-FEARING PATRIOTS

Social Problems of To-day; or, the Mormon Question in Its Economic Aspects (Port Jervis, N.Y., 1886).

John J. Steward, Mormonism vs. Communism (Salt Lake City, 1961).

Ezra Taft Benson on the cover of Time, 13 April 1953. Caption: “No real American wants to be subsidized.”


Ezra Taft Benson, The Threat of Communism; World Brotherhood (Salt Lake City, 1960).


W. Cleon Skousen, *The Five Thousand Year Leap* (Franklin, Tenn., 2009).


Arnold Friberg, “The Light of Christ.”

Detail from John Scott, “Jesus Christ Visits the Americas,” 1969.


Stadium of Fire, America’s Freedom Festival, LaVell Edwards Stadium, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 3 July 2011.

10.3 WHOLESALE LIVING

Poster for Cleanflix, dir. Andrew James and Joshua Ligairi (2009).

“Honorable Loss,” ESPN website, 3 March 2011.

“BYU Students Rally Around Suspended Davies,” from Tauntr.com, 3 March 2011.

“More Precious Than Rubies” (1959); “Virtue Is Its Own Reward” (1956); and “Modesty Is the Best Policy” (1957). LDS Church advertisements from [www.keepapitchinin.org](http://www.keepapitchinin.org).


“I Can’t… I’m Mormon” t-shirt, ca. 2010.

Two images of Mormon fashion blogger Elaine Hearn from [www.clothedmuch.com](http://www.clothedmuch.com).

“No, Thank You!” LDS Church advertisement, 1958.

Bottle of Polygamy Porter from Wasatch Brewery, Park City, Utah.


Mitt and Ann Romney and their grandchildren, 2011.


CHAPTER 11

11.1 BODILY COVERUP


Image of nineteenth-century Mormon garments, source unknown.

Doctored image that circulated on the Web in 2012 showing the stars of The Twilight Saga wearing LDS garments.


View of Mitt Romney’s visible garment line, 2012.


Tweet by pop star Adam Levine (of Maroon 5 and The Voice) in advance of Mitt Romney’s acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention, August 2012; and similar tweet by Cher from July 2012.

“Mormons: They Have Horns,” webcomic, ca. 2010.

“The Veiled Prophet of Polygamutah,” Vanity Fair, 11 February 1860.

Detail from “Situation of the Mormons in Utah,” The Wasp, 1 February 1879.

“Mormon Fun Fact #1,” webcomic, ca. 2012.


11.2 MISSIONARY POSITION


Advertisement for the Broadway musical The Book of Mormon (2011).

Advertisement for the HBO adaptation of Angels in America (2003).

Three images related to the off-Broadway solo show Confessions of a Mormon Boy and its star, Steven Fales.


“If All Men Were Like Unto Moroni, the Very Powers of Hell Would be Shaken Forever,” t-shirt design, ca. 2000.


“Just Go and Do It,” t-shirt design, ca. 2000.

Poster for Orgazmo, dir. Trey Parker (1997).

Two posters for Tabloid, dir. Errol Morris (2010).

11.3 THE PERSISTENCE OF POLYGAMY

“Polygamy in America,” National Geographic (February 2010).


Elizabeth Smart on the cover of People, 23 June 2008

Brian David Mitchell at Federal Court House, Salt Lake City, 10 December 2010.

CHAPTER 12

12.1 PRIESTHOOD BAN


John J. Stewart, Mormonism and the Negro: An Explanation and Defense of the Doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Regard to Negroes and Others of Negroid Blood (Salt Lake City, 1960).

Nigerian Outlook (Enugu, Nigeria), 5 March 1963.


LDS Church statement covered by KSL (Salt Lake City), 29 February 2012.

Album cover art to Climb Ev’ry Mountain: The Mormon Tabernacle Choir Sings Great Songs of Inspiration (Reader’s Digest, 1988).

“General Authorities of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” April 2011. LDS Church News.

Gladys Knight and LDS Church president Gordon B. Hinckley, 2000.

Mia Love, Republican congressional candidate from Utah, at the Republican National Convention, Tampa, Florida, August 2012.


“Romney’s Racist Heart”—press photo of neon sign in front of the home of an anti-Romney Republican resident of Ventura County, California, 2012.

Tweets by world-famous atheist Richard Dawkins relating to Brigham Young’s ideas about race and religion, September 2012.


12.2 MORMON NEO-COLONIALISM

Website of the Polynesian Culture Center, 2012.

Map of the Polynesian Culture Center, ca. 2000.

Dancers at the Polynesian Culture Center, ca. 2010.


Lamanite Generation (red and brown LP covers), 1967.

The Lamanite Generation, Yes, I’m a Lamanite, ca. 1980.

Blossom as the Rose, ca. 1970.

12.3 LDS FEMINISTS

“Mormonism is on the Wane in Utah,” Life, 25 June 1914.

E.R.A. ratification map.

Demonstration in favor of Equal Rights Amendment, Salt Lake City, ca. 1979. Special Collections Department, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah.


Sonia Johnson presidential campaign button, 1984.


12.4 LOVE AND H8


“Families are Forever” ring for sale at www.mormongiftshop.com.

Protest signs outside state capitol in Sacramento, ca. 2008. Courtesy Emily Hoyer at Flickr. Some rights reserved.

“Did We Vote on Your Marriage?” Protest at Civic Center, San Francisco, 7 November 2008. Courtesy Frank Chan at Flickr. Some rights reserved.

“Mormons Stole Our Rights” and “Joseph Smith Had 28 Wives.” Demonstration scenes outside LDS temple in Manhattan, May 2009. Courtesy David Shankbone at Flickr. Some rights reserved.

Poster for 8: The Mormon Proposition, dir. Reed Cowan (2010).


“Up Against the Mormons,” The Advocate, 12 April 2005.

Kiss-in at Temple Square, July 2009.


12.5 PROXY BAPTISMS

Website of Simon Wiesenthal Center, 2012.


Jan Karski and biographer E. Thomas Wood, 1996; and Jan Karski, 1943.

“All Dead Mormons Are Now Gay,” website, 2012.

Bill Maher performing an “unbaptism” on Mitt Romney’s father-in-law on *Real Time with Bill Maher*, HBO, 2 March 2012.

CHAPTER 13

13.1 MORMONS IN HIGH OFFICE


Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV), official portrait, ca. 2009.


J. Reuben Clark being sworn into office as Under Secretary of State, 1928. Library of Congress.


George W. Romney campaign button, 1968.


George Romney posters (by Jim Trelease) on sale in Charleston, South Carolina, March 1968, the day after the candidate dropped out of the Republican nomination race.

13.2 MITT ROMNEY


Tricia Erickson, Can Mitt Romney Serve Two Masters? The Mormon Church Versus the Office of the Presidency of the United States of America (Bloomington, 2011).


Two products for sale on Zazzle.com that reference the “White Horse Prophecy,” 2012.


Five iterations of the “Mormon over the Muslim” meme, 2012.

“This country need a savior,” and “My President didn’t change tonight”—two images that went viral in Mormon social media immediately following the results of the U.S. presidential election, November 2012.

“Mormons for Obama” and We’re Not with Him” and “Forward”—three web images circulated among pro-Obama Latter-day Saints, 2012.

13.3 THE MORMON MOMENT


Photo montage by Bela Borsodi for Newsweek, 2011.

Ad for “Mormon in America,” Rock Center with Brian Williams, NBC, August 2012.

Tweets with the Twitter hashtag “MittRomneysFirst100DaysAsPOTUS,” July 2012.


Ted and Pat Oparowski at the Republican National Convention, Tampa, Florida, August 2012.

Press photo from August 2012, when Mitt and Ann Romney invited journalists to accompany them to church.

“Mormons rock!!”—one of the most highly circulated media images related to Latter-day Saints in 2011–2012.
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