

Book Reviews

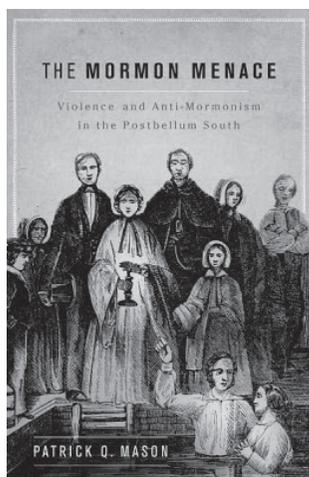
PATRICK Q. MASON, *The Mormon Menace: Violence and Anti-Mormonism in the Postbellum South*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, xi + 252 pp., charts, photographs, index, \$29.95 hardback.)

Reviewed by Beth Barton Schweiger

Patrick Q. Mason has written an important book that cracks open a fresh topic for historians, who have barely touched the subject of Mormon missions in the South, much less the difficult question of anti-Mormon violence. Yet Mason's ambitions reach beyond the region; he intends his book, which is "less about the experience of Mormons in the South than the reaction of southerners to their presence" (11), as a case study that will illuminate the vexing question of religious violence in American history and beyond.

The signal contribution of the book is to recover the story of the Mormon missions in the Southern States. For this, Mason relies mainly on the Southern States Mission Manuscript History in the LDS Archives in Salt Lake City, which has languished virtually untouched by scholars. The manuscript offers a wealth of sources, including newspaper clippings, diaries, letters, and photographs which document in detail the numbers of missionaries and geographical reach of the missions, and accounts of anti-Mormon violence from eye-witnesses. Mason's work focuses on the roughly the half century between 1852 and 1904—the period when Mormons openly practiced plural marriage.

Mormon missions in the Southern States began soon after Mormonism's founding in 1830 and encompassed the region. Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia were the focus of the work, but missionaries also worked in the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Significantly, many of those who would later lead the Church, including Wilford Woodruff, were



missionaries in the Southern states. Of the first twenty-three Apostles of the Church, eleven spent time on missions south of the Ohio River. Overall, Mason finds, about 230 missionaries made at least 1,300 converts in the Southern states before the Civil War, many of whom eventually left the region for Illinois or Utah.

Suspended during the Civil War, the Southern States Mission reorganized in the 1870s. Between 1867 and 1898, more than nine hundred missionaries worked in Southern States, representing a significant share of the domestic missions of the Church. Between 1884 and 1889, when the most detailed records are available, an average of about 1,200 Mormons labored in the region, baptizing 1,330 converts. About half of these emigrated to the western states, many to south-central Colorado. Violence against missionaries, converts, and even those who were sympathetic to the cause, was frequent and intense throughout the period. Mason finds more than three hundred documented cases in the LDS Church History Library. Most incidents were not deadly, but Mason found that attacks against Mormons exceeded “the combined number of attacks against all other religious outsiders in the South, including Jews and Catholics, during the period.” The distinguishing characteristic of Southern anti-Mormonism in the postwar period, then, was the “frequency and intensity” of violence (13).

Although it involved a small minority in relatively few incidents, Mason found that extra-legal violence against Mormons in the South had a disproportionately strong effect on Mormon identity in the western heartland of Utah. During the 1884 Cane Creek Massacre in northwestern Tennessee, which Mason carefully documents, four Mormons, including two elders who were killed and another wounded when local vigilantes ambushed a religious meeting at a Mormon family’s farm. Stories of this incident circulated widely, and the deaths of the missionaries were commemorated in special services in the Tabernacle in Salt Lake City. Thus, Southern violence proved to be key to developing the oppositional identity of Mormonism, one that continued to define the Saints into the twentieth century.

In the end, Mason argues, the sustained violence against Mormons in the Southern States was caused by the “peculiar peoplehood” of Mormons—their refusal to assimilate to social norms—especially on the question of plural marriage. Southerners (meaning almost exclusively white southerners, because there seems to be little evidence of black opposition) viewed Mormons as “seducers intent on wrecking homes and enticing women to join them in the West, where they would become veritable slaves in the Mormons’ degraded polygamous society” (15). Southerners “conformed to the broader pattern of nineteenth-century American religious tolerance,” which allowed for considerable pluralism, “but only up to a certain point” (126). Jews

and Catholics were tolerated more easily than Mormons because they were willing to assimilate, and the relatively rare acts of violence against them suggests that they succeeded. When violence did erupt against these groups, it was the result of ethnicity, race, or class tensions rather than religion.

Mason's view of the "peculiar peoplehood" of nineteenth-century Mormons rests on a rich literature of nineteenth-century religious history that has demonstrated how most evangelical Protestants in this period fused their religious convictions with political and civic concerns. Mark A. Noll and Richard Carwardine, among others, have shown that antebellum white Protestants built denominations with organizational structures and agendas that not only resonated with the political issues of the period, but acquired enough influence and wealth to fuse their religious mission with that of nation-building. The dark result of this "Christian republicanism" was culpability for the bloody violence of the Civil War, Noll has argued. By contrast, the Mormons retained a strong counter-cultural identity that disallowed any yoking of church to the American state, even as they began their own state-building in Utah in the 1850s.

Mason's study demonstrates definitively that the Mormon practice of polygamy sparked significant vigilante violence against them in the New South. As such, it achieves something quite rare, opening a fresh topic to historians. Yet when Mason turns to analysis and interpretation of this violence, he is on less sure footing. It is difficult to demonstrate that it was peculiar to the South. Mason is a careful student of the literature on lynching, but he found that levels of anti-Mormon violence in the South correlated closely to broadly American perceptions of Mormons and the intensity of national (not regional) anti-Mormon, and anti-polygamy, campaigns (131). He suggests that Southern revivals may have coincided with the high point of an annual cycle of violence, as many seemed to occur in the hot summer months, although he found no compelling evidence of this (133).

Finally, the explanation of religious violence advanced here seems oddly "irreligious." Although "southern Protestants complained about the heterodox teachings of Mormonism, it was sexual and social rather than theological anxieties that primarily sparked" their violence (15). Thus it seems that Mason is keen to set religion against more "secular" causes in his account, suggesting that the cause of religious violence is oddly external to religion itself. Recent work has argued that such distinctions do not hold. Jeffrey Williams has found that early Methodism's distinctive language of spiritual warfare was easily co-opted to serve the needs of the nation-state as Methodists lined up on the battlefields of the Civil War. And in a powerful examination of what he calls "the myth of religious violence," William T.

Cavanaugh has argued that distinctions between “religious” and “secular” forms of violence serve the interests of the nation-state rather than those of churches. Regardless, Mason has written a thoughtful and carefully researched book that merits the attention of students of Mormonism, American religion, the South, and violence in American history. We are all in his debt for this fine work.¹

Notes

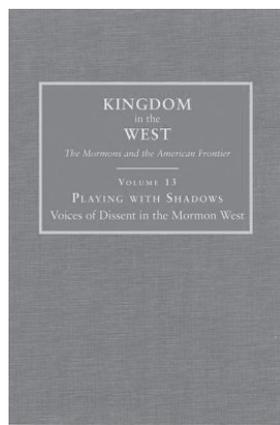
1. See Jeffrey Williams, *Religion and Violence in Early Methodism: Taking the Kingdom By Force* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010); and William T. Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

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POLLY AIRD, JEFF NICHOLS, and WILL BAGLEY, eds. *Playing with Shadows: Voices of Dissent in the Mormon West*. vol. 13, *Kingdom in the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier*, ed. Will Bagley. (Norman, OK: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2011, 496 pp., illustrations, index \$45.00 hardcover.)

Reviewed by Robin Scott Jensen

Historians of the Mormon experience often turn to documentary history as a way of communicating a particular aspect of the past. Though a long and rich tradition in Mormon scholarship, this pattern of reproducing documents is not unique to Mormon history. The field and history of documentary editing shows the shifting approach scholars take as they transcribe, introduce, and annotate documents in an effort to tease out important insights about the sources. Scholars have also utilized improved technology, shifts in historiographical trends, and different facets of storytelling as they illustrate history through the careful editing of documents. The most obvious focus in assessing the value of a documentary history volume is to understand how faithful the editors are to the document itself and its



presentation in the printed word. But just as important, and a particular focus of this review, is to assess the story the editors are attempting to convey through the documents they choose.

Polly Aird, Jeff Nichols, and Will Bagley's volume *Playing with Shadows: Voices of Dissent in the Mormon West* offers an important window into the topic of apostasy, schism, and dissent from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.¹ The editors are to be commended for their desire to touch upon this divisive topic, and I expect this volume signals more such work on the horizon. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints played a prominent role in the Intermountain West (and continues to do so); and people in the past—both in and out of the Church—must have occasionally bristled at such a force, particularly in Utah. What, then, can scholars make of the stories of the individuals who left Mormonism? Aird, Nichols, and Bagley present four compelling and insightful narratives of this struggle between conformity and individual voice, as these figures found their own balance between organized religion and personal spiritual peace.

This book in no way presents a comprehensive look at Mormon schism taking place in the second half of the nineteenth century—nor could any book cover such a broad topic. *Playing with Shadows* is not an expansive exploration of myriad voices, but instead a narrowly selected, deep exploration that presents four voices that provide a small chorus of the vast choir who entered and left the American religion for many reasons. The book presents the 1878–1880 autobiography of self-identified gadfly George Armstrong Hicks, carefully written and presented after many self-perceived hardships and wrongs committed against him. It also offers an excerpt of the autobiography covering a five-year span (1854–59) of Utah immigrant Charles Derry, whose fervent commitment to his faith did not correspond with his perceptions of leaders' actions. The third narrative is a highly suspect and likely largely embellished autobiographical account of Ann Gordge, former wife of John D. Lee, and the book's only female voice. The last document is an autobiography/journal of Brigham Young Hampton, a faithful member of the Church who complained in his diary—though he did not leave the Church—over what he felt was unfair treatment by prominent leaders of the Church.

The introduction and afterword to the book's featured documents provide a brief history of schism as it pertains to the LDS Church, as well as explanations of why people left. Each document contains an introduction, in some cases an afterward, and annotation. These editorial comments—particularly the volume's introduction and afterward—at times make sweeping statements that lack a nuanced tone. For example, the statement that “dissenters among the Saints seldom invoked doctrinal conflicts” during Joseph Smith's life is simply not the case (42).² But the editors provide an

important framework to the discussion of schism upon which future historians can build. Hicks's experience, for instance, showcases the conflict between social and cultural norms in Utah as he writes of his deep beliefs as well as provides the occasional, self-righteous moral observations about the Mormon reformation, people's attitudes about the Mountain Meadow's Massacre, and John D. Lee. Along with Hicks, both Derry's and Hampton's accounts add complexity to the concept of "apostasy": many who left or disagreed with the LDS Church claimed they still maintained a testimony of the gospel as outlined by Joseph Smith or by Brigham Young. Subsequent difficulties in one's moral understanding or interpretation of the gospel, in other words, did not lessen the initial conversion many felt in their hearts. Such complexities should prompt scholars to reconsider simplistic definitions of "apostasy," "schism," or "conversion."

While each document tells an important story, the collection of documents as an aggregate also divulges the editors' interpretation of Mormonism, apostasy, and faith. This insight is nowhere explicitly stated because the editors fail to give justification or reasons for their selection criteria. The choice of including only narratives that focus on violence and financial injustice, as well as a significant lack of any contemporary theological discussion, prompts a sense that apostasy from the Church in nineteenth century Utah was prompted only by abuses of the institution through financial exploitation and by acts of violence to members of the Church or those within the Church's circle of influence. One of the few exceptions of a theological discussion proves the rule of a heavy emphasis of a narrative of violence. George Armstrong Hicks incredulously mentions several times the teaching by Brigham Young of the Adam-God doctrine, complaining "how eagerly those fanatics [i.e., average Mormons in Utah] grasped the idea" (143). One footnote to Hicks's commentary on this doctrinal position briefly explains the doctrine and points to a few discourses by Brigham Young on the matter. Brigham Young's teaching of blood atonement as reported by Hicks, however, is highlighted twice in the introduction, once on the first page, emphasizing the violence of that particular doctrine (61 and 79). The volume introduction and epilogue do not disabuse readers of the nonviolent aspect of schism, nor does Bagley's preface help to highlight the complexities scholars should be aware of when approaching the study of schism. I can't help but disagree with such a narrow and limiting narrative. Mormons, non-Mormons, and lapsed Mormons certainly participated in violence and nonviolence alike. Violence played some role in some individuals' decision to leave the Church. It is also true that violence, or some other form of manipulation, occurred against people who left the Church. But such a narrative ignores the more rich and complex story of schism within Utah and the nineteenth-century Church.

The narrative arc presented by the editors generates many questions which they do not address but which seem important, given the subject matter. One purpose of the volume is to highlight individual voices. Such an individual view of apostasy tells one side of the story, but ignores the effect of such schism on the leaders and organization itself. Despite the suggested institutional image found in the editors' introduction, the Church was no monolithic organization at any particular point in time or across time. What did Church leaders do to combat schism? What changes did the institutional Church undergo because of schism? How did the influx and exodus of new and old members influence the Church's organizational structure, local leadership, and doctrinal or theological foundations? In addition, though schism has been an important area of focus for scholars, the volume does not explore in depth what scholars can learn from the fact that members leave a group. What does such apostasy reveal about not only the people leaving, but about the larger group being left? Such questions need to be addressed by future scholars to better understand schism in the Church. The simplistic narrative of reasons a select number of people left the Church should quickly give way to a more in-depth analysis of what the actual leaving meant to how leaders, members, and outsiders viewed the place of religion in their own lives. Four documents, no matter the diversity, only whet the appetite for such explorations.

Since the editors did not state their reasoning behind the selection of the documents, one challenge a reader faces when working with this volume centers around understanding how the presentation and analysis of primary documents helps current historians understand schism at a more general level. The reproduction of documents can and will continue to play an important part of scholarship, but I wonder how scholars can dig deeper in their analysis of the documents they reproduce. While the content of documents from the past provide important insight, so too should the analysis of the creation of the documents. Editors should begin to ask questions about what document creation, storage, and sharing tells us regarding trends of authorship, readership, publication, distribution, private desires, and public debates, as well as changing intellectual trends. For example, what aspect about the culture or religion as found or practiced in early Utah prompted individuals to create what might be called "deconversion narratives"? The editors show that Ann Gordge's narrative was likely an attempt to capitalize on the popular dime-novel genre which shows scholars the "crude and unpolished work of imagination that both draws on and enriches the mythology of the West" (251). Similar to the scholarly interpretation of captivity narratives popular in colonial America as constructing and reinforcing the "other" and the position of intellectual boundaries in society,³ scholars can and should analyze the "deconversion narrative" genre of nineteenth-century Mormon-

ism to provide information about what it tells us about the religion in that time period.⁴ In addition, apostasy, as a personal topic, lends itself to perceptions shaped differently depending on who is telling the story in autobiographies or journals. What could be uncovered about Mormon deconversion stories through an analysis of letters, legal records, excommunication trials, legal disputes, newspaper editorials, conference addresses, manifestoes, public rebukes, or fiction? In short, what can historians learn by looking beyond the mere content of a group of documents to an analysis of their creation, reception, and influence?

Apostasy from the LDS Church can be seen as the opposite side of the conversion coin. Questions about apostasy and its process, meaning, and impact should reveal much about the American experience, western frontiers, conflicts of power, clashes of cultures, and religious pluralism (or lack thereof) of the nineteenth century. *Playing with Shadows* is an important contribution to this scholarly conversation, and I look forward to the continued and deeper analysis of schism within the LDS Church.

Notes

1. Besides the many studies of specific groups, a few studies approach schism more broadly. See for instance Danny L. Jorgensen, "Studies of Mormon Fissiparousness: Conflict, Dissent, and Schism in the Early Church," in *Excavating Mormon Pasts: The New Historiography of the Last Half Century*, ed. Newell G. Bringhurst (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2004), 229–52 and Newell G. Bringhurst and John C. Hamer, "Introduction," in *Scattering the Saints: Schism within Mormonism*, ed. Newell G. Bringhurst and John C. Hamer (Independence, MO: John Whitmer Books, 2007), 1–24.

2. One of the more public breaks from Joseph Smith was the *Nauvoo Expositor* by the Law, Foster, and Higbee brothers, which spent much of its columns explaining not only the perceived totalitarian reign of Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, but the doctrinal difficulties introduced by Joseph Smith. For a discussion of this newspaper, see Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise* (Salt Lake City and Provo, UT: Deseret Book and Brigham Young University Press, 2002), 362–68; and John E. Hallwas and Roger D. Launius, *Cultures in Conflict: A Documentary History of the Mormon War in Illinois* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1995), 142–48.

3. See Pauline Turner Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999).

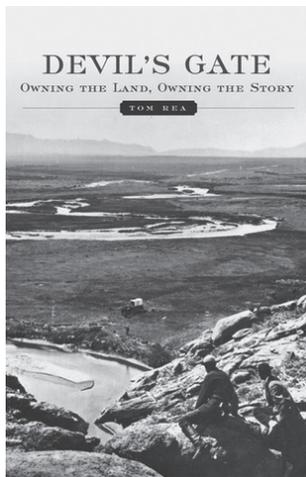
4. One particularly fine example of this framework remains Ronald W. Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998). More recently, see Polly Aird, *Mormon Convert, Mormon Defector: A Scottish Immigrant in the American West, 1848–1861* (Norman, OK: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2009).

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TOM REA, *Devil's Gate: Owning the Land, Owning the Story*. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013, reprint of 2006 ed., xii + 307 pp., illustrations, maps, bibliography, index, \$19.95 paperback.)

Reviewed by Melvin L. Bashore

My great-grandmother, Katie Overholtzer Bashore, crossed the plains in a wagon in 1864, as the youngest child in her family. Like many of the Mormon pioneers, her family started their journey in Illinois. When they reached Salt Lake City, they stopped for a few days, then kept right on going to Stockton, California, their intended destination. Her father was a minister in the Church of the Brethren, a pacifist church with German roots. For much of the way, her family's journey was over the same ground that the Mormon pioneers trod. Like the Mormons, my California-bound pioneers traveled next to the banks of the Sweetwater River west of Devil's Gate, forded Sixth Crossing, and the branch of the Sweetwater at Rock Creek—all historic places on the California-Oregon-Mormon Trail, now owned by the LDS Church.



For that reason, this book hits a tender nerve. Author Tom Rea has put into words the deep sadness I feel each time I go to these Church historic sites and hear only one story—the 1856 handcart tragedy. Those who tell the story at these sites focus primarily on the Willie and Martin handcart tragedy, to the exclusion of every other aspect of history that happened in these places. As Rea notes, it is “largely a one-story place.” He argues that land ownership has given the Church control of the story that is told there.

For someone like me—and there are millions of people like me with non-Mormon pioneer ancestors—this can hurt. I never knew my great-grandmother Katie. She died four years before I was born. I had her and her family's pioneer journey in mind when I first visited the Sweetwater country in Wyoming. My heart turned to her when I got my first glimpse of Devil's Gate. She was just an infant at the time, but I enjoyed a special heartfelt feeling in knowing I was seeing and being in a place where she had been.

But when we pulled into the Martin's Cove handcart Visitors' Center, no one was interested in Katie. It was all about handcarts. Katie's story was lost.

It would not be heard there. The only story we heard about was the Willie and Martin story—the only story that seemed to matter.

Rea's book, a paperback reprinting of his 2006 release, brought back these memories, feelings—and disappointments. And he was tender and soft in his approach. It could have been otherwise. He could have pounded the reader senseless with the “owning the land, owning the story” theme, but he didn't. He deftly touched upon it with a soft brush rather than a sledge hammer. He made his point in the short introductory chapter (“The Middle of Nowhere”) and revisited it only occasionally in a sentence or two to conclude subsequent chapters. In that, he used good sense and sensitivity. While it sings for me for deeply personal reasons, there is a kind of musicality to his writing that will entertain and inform most readers.

Rea's real intent was to fill the vacuum of history and stories not told at the Mormon Handcart Visitors' Center at Martin's Cove. And the stories he tells are engaging and told well. As a writer, Rea has that gift—almost a poetic eye—to focus on that element of a story that will be remembered. Sometimes it's something very common, something ordinary, which we tend to look past as we hurry through life. Rea helps us smell the roses in these stories.

One of the most memorable chapters for me is the first chapter about, of all things, pelicans, birds that spend a couple of months in May and June on the Sweetwater River in the vicinity of Devil's Gate. Even though I've been to Devil's Gate several times in those months, I've never seen them. I lacked the poet's eye. Rea used the pelican to introduce the reader to Devil's Gate and the Sweetwater River—and the pelican doesn't give a fig about who owns the land. It's a beautiful chapter. Another memorable chapter for me deals with John C. Frémont, who explored the area around Devil's Gate in 1842. Rea focuses on the scientific instruments the explorer used in mapmaking—how the party worked and the challenges he himself faced when those instruments broke or were lost.

Other chapters recount the stories of Indians, mountain men, traders, itinerant artists, photographers, soldiers, ranchers, surveyors, opportunists, dam builders—anyone who was associated in either a transitory or settled way with the place—Devil's Gate. Again, these are stories one will not hear when they visit the handcart Visitors' Center.

Mormons may not like his chapter on the handcart story, because Brigham Young receives a fair share of blame. But even there, Rea exhibits fairness. Where documentation is conflicting or limited, the author reins in his accusatory pointed finger and displays restraint. I enjoy and commend him for his interpretive uncertainty. It is honest.

This is a good book. All the missionaries who serve at the Church's historic handcart sites in Wyoming could profit well by reading it. The rest

of us would do well to learn about these other stories of this history-filled place—Devil’s Gate. While our handcart history is absorbing and important, there are other stories, too. Though there may only be a single story now told at the Church’s handcart sites, we should at least be grateful that the Church rejected one ostentatious idea proposed by a Mormon Denver businessman when it purchased the Sun Ranch. He wanted to bolt a bronze silhouette of a monstrous handcart to the top of the rocks at the back of Martin’s Cove that could be seen from the highway. Thank heaven for good sense.

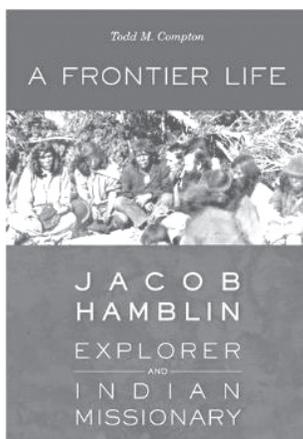
MELVIN L. BASHORE (benelliman@comcast.net) recently retired as a curator of historic sites with the LDS Church History Department in Salt Lake City, Utah.

TODD M. COMPTON, *A Frontier Life: Jacob Hamblin, Explorer and Indian Missionary*. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2013. 642 pp., illustrations, photos, maps, bibliography, index, \$44.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by David W. Grua

Todd Compton’s first major contribution to Mormon history was his 1997 *In Sacred Loneliness*, a collective biography of Joseph Smith’s plural wives.¹ In his most recent book, Compton has returned to the biographer’s craft with a definitive scholarly examination of Jacob Hamblin, a prominent figure in the Mormon colonization of Southern Utah and the Southwest.² Hamblin, a devout Latter-day Saint who married plural wives, preached the gospel to Indians, and played a key role in the expanding Mormon kingdom in the West. As the book’s subtitle suggests, Compton’s primary interests lie in Hamblin’s dual roles as an explorer/colonizer and Indian missionary, roles that sometimes conflicted and even represented “the great paradox of Hamblin’s life” (480).

Compton’s narrative reveals a man deeply devoted to Mormonism. An Ohio native, Hamblin was impressed by the faith’s biblical literalism, belief in spiritual gifts, millennialism, and views of Native Americans as descendants of Book of Mormon Israelites. After embracing the new religion in



1842 in Wisconsin, Hamblin met the Prophet Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, served proselytizing missions for the Church, and followed Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve to the West. Although Hamblin never became a member of the Church's leading hierarchy (he did serve in a stake presidency), he interacted regularly with leading Church officials. He directed missionary labors among Native peoples for the last three decades of his life, earning him the appellation "Apostle to the Lamanites." This title reflected his proselytizing endeavors rather than an actual membership in the Quorum of the Twelve.

Continuing his commitment to Mormon women's history, Compton limns sympathetic portraits of Hamblin's wives. After a decade of a tumultuous marriage, Hamblin and Lucinda Taylor divorced in 1849, leaving Hamblin with four children. He quickly remarried, wedding widow and divorcee Rachel Judd (Page Henderson), herself the primary caregiver of three Henderson stepchildren. In 1857, Hamblin married sixteen-year-old Sarah Priscilla Leavitt as a plural wife. Due to Rachel Hamblin's prolonged illnesses, Priscilla, as she was called, had previously cared for the Hamblin children, suggesting that the marriage partly met practical purposes. In 1860, he married a Shivwits Paiute woman, Eliza (sealed in 1863), although she subsequently left him. He may have married two other Paiute women, although documentation for these unions is scanty. After Rachel Hamblin's 1865 death, Hamblin took an additional wife, twenty-two-year-old Louisa Bonelli. Although the Indian missionary was often away from home, he nevertheless fathered twenty-four biological children, cared for three stepchildren (from Rachel's previous marriage), and adopted seven Native children. A useful appendix summarizes Hamblin's families.

Hamblin's principal passion was proselytizing Native peoples. Latter-day Saint Martha Cox later recalled hearing Hamblin claim that he had been set apart for "his mission among the tribes of the Lamanites" by Joseph Smith himself in Nauvoo (13).³ Later in Utah, Hamblin became one of Brigham Young's Indian experts in the field who sought to establish peaceful relations with Native groups through gifts, trade, evangelization, and farming. While he served in the militia in the Tooele Valley, a series of experiences convinced Hamblin of the superiority of nonviolence when dealing with Indians. In 1854, he was called as a missionary among the Paiutes of Southern Utah, and in 1857 he was set apart to preside over the mission.

Hamblin was not present at Mountain Meadows on September 11, 1857, where Mormon militiamen and Paiute allies massacred 120 emigrants in the context of Utah War hysteria; however, his status as an Indian expert ensured his complicity in the Church's efforts to obscure white involvement in the

killings. Compton also details Hamblin's deteriorating relationship with John D. Lee, the only person convicted and executed for the crime.

In 1858, Hamblin turned his sights south in hopes of proselytizing Hopis in Arizona Territory, which led to dozens of expeditions across the Colorado River over the ensuing decades. He also preached Mormonism to the Navajos, Zunis, and other Native groups in the Southwest. Hamblin's decades of preaching produced hundreds of Native baptisms. Tutsegabits, an influential Paiute chief, was baptized and ordained an elder in the mid-1850s. He joined Hamblin on several proselytizing tours and even preached himself. The Navajo Spaneshanks affirmed belief in Mormonism based on his dreams and preached Mormonism to other Natives. Prominent Hopi leader Tuuvi and his wife Talasnimki accepted baptism, visited Salt Lake City, and received temple rituals in the St. George Temple. Tuuvi, however, later disaffiliated with the Mormons and claimed to be a "Gentile" (461). Compton acknowledges that the vast majority of Natives who accepted baptism under Hamblin's tutelage did not conform to Mormon expectations for new converts, which included long-term affiliation and adoption of a sedentary lifestyle based on agriculture. Hamblin likely blamed this on the Natives' "degraded" state (74–76); however, Compton offers a more complex definition of "conversion" that allows for borrowing and "synthesis" outside of established expectations (425).

Hamblin's deep experience with the region's Native peoples and terrain did not go unnoticed by Mormon leaders and government officials, who used the Indian missionary's knowledge to further colonization efforts. Mormon leaders relied heavily on Hamblin's written reports when planning new settlements, and the waves of Mormon settlers who came in Hamblin's wake depended on his efforts to maintain peaceful relations with Indians. Famed explorer and ethnologist John Wesley Powell employed the Indian missionary as a guide and interpreter on multiple expeditions in the Southwest, which helped consolidate American sovereignty in the region.

Compton's emphasis on Hamblin, a key figure in Brigham Young's peace policy, represents a departure from recent scholarship that has highlighted conflict over cooperation.⁴ Compton, however, is not ignorant of the devastation Mormon settlement wrought on Native communities through disease, competition for resources, and violence. Hamblin, to his credit, sought to alleviate the suffering he witnessed among Native peoples. Indian missionaries like Hamblin could only hope "to help both Indians and white settlers adjust to the [colonizing] process in a humane and non-violent way" (482–83). In Compton's final analysis, it was Hamblin's recognition of Native peoples' humanity and his commitment to peaceful diplomacy that represented the Indian missionary's greatest legacies.

Notes

1. Todd M. Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997).

2. Compton engages broader scholarship, including two seminal New Western History texts: Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987); and Richard White, *“It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own”*: *A New History of the American West* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

3. Although this section of the biography is not adequately footnoted, Compton informed me via email that Cox was the source of this story. Todd M. Compton to David W. Grua, January 14, 2014.

4. Howard W. Christy, “Open Hand, Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847–1852,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (Summer 1978): 216–35; Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), ch. 7; Jared Farmer, *On Zion’s Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008). See also Ronald W. Walker, “Toward a Reconstruction of Mormon and Indian Relations, 1847–1877,” *BYU Studies* 29, no. 4 (Fall 1989): 23–42; and Sondra Jones, “Saints or Sinners? The Evolving Perceptions of Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah Historiography,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 19–46.

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CLAUDIA L. BUSHMAN, ed., *Pansy’s History: The Autobiography of Margaret E. P. Gordon*. (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2011, xi + 326 pp., illustrations, chronology, appendix, brief citations, index, \$34.95 hardback, \$28.00, ebook.)

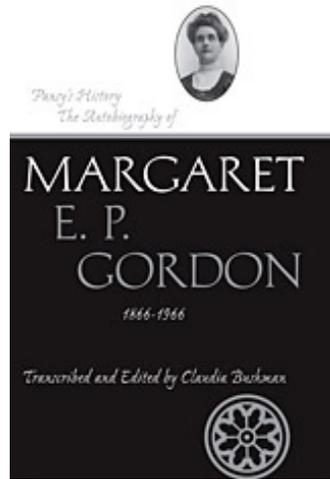
Reviewed by Gary L. Boatright

In 1876, Henry Schutt left his homeland of England to serve as a Christian missionary in British Columbia. Elizabeth, his wife, and two young daughters traveled with him. Little did Margaret, the older daughter, know what awaited her and her family in North America. The next ninety years brought a life of frontier living among the native peoples of Canada, conversion to the Mormon faith, settlement in a new community in Southern Alberta, and a love for genealogy that she shared among Latter-day Saints of the Western United States. At the age of sixty-two, Margaret, known among her family and friends as Pansy, began her autobiography and continued

writing it for the next thirty-two years. Transcribed and edited by Pansy's granddaughter, historian Claudia L. Bushman, *Pansy's History: The Autobiography of Margaret E. P. Gordon* is volume number twelve of the "Life Writings of Frontier Women" series published by Utah State University Press.

Pansy spent much of her life on the frontier. Following her arrival to North America, she found herself living on the edge of civilization in British Columbia and Ontario, Canada, with a brief interlude to visit relatives in Salt Lake City, Utah. Remembering back to 1885 Pansy wrote, "a strange desire came to me to learn some thing of Mormonism. I didn't like the idea at all. Brigham Young, who I was taught to think of as a wicked immoral man—& polygamy—kept coming to my mind—but despite my objections the idea persisted stronger than ever. 'Find out about Mormonism'" (85). Her subsequent conversion to and baptism into the Latter-day Saint faith took her back to Utah. Eventually, she moved to Rich County to teach school. Here she met and married James Gordon, and the two began a life together in Northern Utah. In 1899, after receiving a letter from "Box B," the address from which mission calls were sent, the Gordon family found themselves in the newly established town of Stirling, Alberta. After years of struggling to gain a strong financial footing north of the border, the growing family left Canada. They returned to Salt Lake City for a short time and then went on to California, where Pansy's love and skill for genealogy blossomed. At the behest of the California mission president, she faithfully taught genealogical classes throughout the California Mission. On October 3, 1966 Margaret E. P. Gordon passed away in San Francisco, California.

Particularly noteworthy about this volume is the insight which Pansy's writings give into life in the Latter-day Saint communities in Southern Alberta. Her perspective as a woman provides an interesting and frequently overlooked view of the settlement of Stirling, and the struggles of a family trying to make ends meet in a new community. Reproduced in the publication are numerous photographs Pansy included in her autobiography from her time in Alberta. Together, her written history and photographs provide a glimpse of the Mormon landscape, an important physical reminder of the history of the area which the Canadian government recognized in 1992 by designating the village of Stirling as a national historic site.



The volume also contains selections from letters addressed to, or written by, Pansy following chapters five, ten, and twelve. These letters, particularly those written between Pansy and her husband during their time in Alberta, highlight their relationship and the constant financial hurdles the couple faced. With her husband away from home, working on a survey team further north, the responsibility to make ends meet at home in Raymond, Alberta, fell to Pansy. In a letter dated August 25, 1916, Pansy wrote her husband: “What ever you decide to do[,] it must be some thing with a regular income. You know we have no garden, or cellar full. No cow, every thing to buy. So will of necessity have to have regular money of some kind. So don’t go off on some risky venture. I shall have enough music pupils to make me \$10.00 per month I think.” (191). Selections from other letters are also found throughout the notes of the book. Why the full texts of the letters are not provided is not explained, yet the information and value they provide may be worthy of a volume of their own.

This insightful autobiography is a valuable contribution to the “Life of Frontier Women” series. What it lacks is supportive information about many of the people and places Pansy mentions in her writings. For example, Pansy mentions Serge James Lauper (251 n4) and Blaine R. Steed (253 n5). Here Bushman provides enough information that the reader obtains a glimpse of who these people were and their relation to Pansy. Yet other notes, like those for Anna Mari Mary Jane Pickering (205 n16), Lydia Hanks Parry (205 n17), Emily Woomansee (205 n19), and Rozak (229 n11) contain only birth and death dates and minimal information, which fails to add any understanding of who they were or what their relationship was to Pansy. Many other notes are meant to support the original text but add little additional understanding to the autobiography. In the chapter addressing her life in Stirling, Alberta, Pansy wrote, “In the group were the Clark girls [Mattie and Hattie], Sister Annie Steed [Franklin’s wife and Hortense’s later mother-in law] and Sister [Ina May] Erickson ect.” (150). The note for the sentence adds this information: “Ina May Erickson was married on 25 December 1917, in Raymond, Alberta, Canada” (150 n22). Pansy lists four individuals, yet additional information is given for only one person, and the marriage date adds little to understanding the relationship between Sister Erickson and Pansy. Also surprising is the use of the internet encyclopedia Wikipedia as a source. It is cited twelve times throughout the volume.

The book also contains a handful of issues overlooked by Bushman and the production editors. In the introduction to chapter eleven, addressing the years in Stirling, Alberta, Bushman introduces LDS Church President John Taylor, who urged Charles Card to find a settlement site in Alberta. The next paragraph opens, “Card and Taylor promoted large-scale irrigation and

development.” (135). Readers may easily assume this is still referring to President John Taylor, instead of John W. Taylor, his son. The chapter lacks a note identifying John W. Taylor and does not explain his work in Southern Alberta. Another overlooked error is found on page 137, notes 6 and 8. These notes refer to a document included in the appendix followed by “[insert page number later].” Such mistakes leave the reader wondering if editors rushed the book through the publication process.

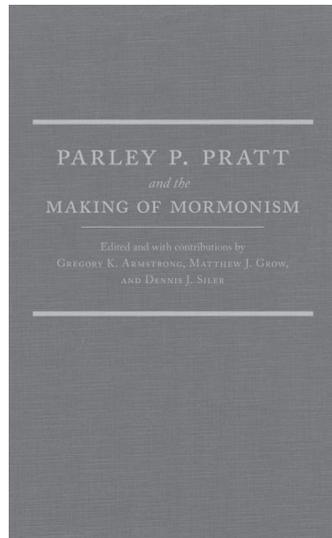
Despite the weaknesses of this book, the autobiography of Margaret E. P. Gordon is worthy of the “Life Writings of Frontier Women” series and is a valuable woman’s perspective on Mormonism in the early twentieth century. Unfortunately, for this reviewer, more and better annotations could have helped the reader understand Pansy, her life, and her important contribution to Latter-day Saint history.

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GREGORY K. ARMSTRONG, MATTHEW J. GROW, AND DENNIS J. SILER, eds., *Parley P. Pratt and the Making of Mormonism*. (Norman, OK: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2011, 346 pp., images, index, \$45.00 hardback.)

Reviewed by Steven L. Staker

When the student of LDS history encounters Parley P. Pratt, it is most likely through Pratt’s *Autobiography* or his doctrinal and missionary books, *Key to the Science of Theology* or *A Voice of Warning*. These three works have become classics in Mormon literature and represent some of the very best of nineteenth-century Mormon writings.¹ Pratt’s hymns are frequently sung today by all LDS Church congregations and choral groups, including the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.² His missionary activities, especially in Great Britain, resulted in the conversion of large numbers of people who formed the backbone of the Church membership that emigrated to the Mountain



West. As a result, many Latter-day Saints trace their spiritual lineage back to Pratt and his writings.

While Parley P. Pratt has not been forgotten, modern scholarship renewed interest in his life with the publication of *Parley P. Pratt: The Apostle Paul of Mormonism*, by Terryl L. Givens and Matthew J. Grow. Givens and Grow are sympathetic biographers who go to great lengths to present a more complete picture of their subject in the vein of Richard Lyman Bushman's cultural biography of Joseph Smith.³ Givens and Grow do not hesitate to state the significance of Pratt's contributions to Mormon thought and offer this observation as part of their final assessment of him: "Pratt the theologian and polemicist did more than any other man to turn Joseph Smith's prophetic declarations into a fully formed new religious system," and conclude that he was "the principal expounder and shaper of the doctrines Joseph Smith proclaimed."⁴ These assessments are not overstatements; consequently, their biography should be essential reading for anyone interested in the history of Mormonism.

For the reader who wants more about Pratt, *Parley P. Pratt and the Making of Mormonism*, composed of eleven essays, offers additional perspectives. This anthology grew out of a 2007 conference in Fort Smith, Arkansas, entitled "Religion and Reaction: The Life, Times, and Legacy of Parley Parker Pratt." With four exceptions, all of the chapters in this volume originated from this conference. The others touch on various aspects of the life and death of the "Apostle Paul of Mormonism" and offer important insights into LDS history and culture.

The book begins with Jan Shippo's keynote address at the Arkansas conference. She poses Pratt as a vehicle for viewing Mormon history as a revamped movement following both Old and New Testament traditions. The issue of Pratt's influence on Mormon teachings and doctrine is primarily dealt with by David J. Whittaker and Jordan Watkins. Whittaker is a seasoned scholar of Mormonism, while Watkins is a relative newcomer to the field. Yet both offer significant analysis that helps us to understand how Pratt assisted in the development of Mormon thought. Whittaker's essay on Pratt and Mormon print culture is a singular achievement that informs readers about Pratt's writings and their special influence in nineteenth-century Mormon theology. Watkins' essay was not part of the 2007 conference in Arkansas, but it describes the development of Pratt's conception of theosis (the process by which humans become divine) and details how this doctrine of Mormonism has attracted criticism from detractors of the faith. Watkins' chapter is another major step forward in helping us understand what the Mormon Apostle accomplished in terms of describing and propagating Joseph Smith's concept of godhood in LDS thought.

R. Steven Pratt (a Pratt descendant) and Alexander L. Baugh offer significant insights concerning Parley's participation in polygamy and his sojourn in Missouri prisons, respectively. Baugh's chapter includes factual details and quotations from Pratt's letters that add to our understanding of his jail time in Missouri in 1838-39. David Clark Knowlton's chapter describes Pratt's less than successful mission to Chile, but develops the history of the many and varied accomplishments of Pratt's descendants in Latin American missionary labors. David Grua provides a critical view of the Apostle's interpretation of Mormon history and his life in the context of persecution.

The last four of the eleven chapters in the book deal with Pratt's death and its aftermath. Patrick Q. Mason and Matthew J. Grow provide additional context for his murder by Hector McLean in May 1857, while Robert J. Grow describes the attempts to locate Pratt's grave and the discovery that none of his final remains could be found. Richard E. Turley Jr.'s essay is a valuable addendum to his previously published work on the infamous Mountain Meadows incident⁵ and rebuts the theory advanced by nineteenth-century newspapers, and repeated since, that Parley P. Pratt's murder was a motive in the massacre that occurred four months later in Utah.

The book has weaknesses, including overlap and redundancy between some of the chapters. The quality of research and analysis varies as well, although this is to be expected in any anthology of historical writing. However, this is a book that adds important new angles to the story of Parley P. Pratt and Mormonism. It deserves to be read by anyone who is interested in Pratt's life and accomplishments. It is certainly not the final word on the aspects of his life that it covers, but it provides a valuable foundation for continued exploration of these topics. Despite the increasing amount of attention given to Pratt in the past few years, much remains to be written about his efforts to develop and propagate Mormon theology and doctrine. This book serves as an important milestone in that process.

Notes

1. The *Classics in Mormon Literature* series include Parley P. Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology; A Voice of Warning* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978); and Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985). Several digital editions are readily available.

2. The first hymn in the current LDS hymnbook, "The Morning Breaks," was authored by Parley P. Pratt and is frequently sung by the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. Pratt is listed as the author of eight additional hymns in the current edition of the LDS hymnal (1985).

3. Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Knopf, 2005).

4. Terryl L. Givens and Matthew J. Grow, *Parley P. Pratt: The Apostle Paul of*

Mormonism (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 393, 395.

5. Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

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