

Curious Gentiles and Representational Authority in the City of the Saints

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The erection of a State of the Union whose population consisted of Turks or Afghans would not be a worse blunder fraught with more dangerous consequences than the creation of a state composed of Mormons.¹

—C. E. Dutton, an American geologist who surveyed Utah several times during the 1870s

P. T. Barnum, the great circus promoter, came to Salt Lake City to meet Brigham Young. The Church President jokingly asked Barnum, “Well, how much money do you think we could make if you were to put me on display back East?” Barnum answered, “Mr. President, I guarantee you half the receipts which will be in excess of \$200,000 a year because you would be the greatest show in town.”²

From the appearance of the Book of Mormon in 1830, through mob persecutions in Ohio and Missouri, to the 1839–1844 emergence of Nauvoo, Illinois, as a nearly autonomous city-state, Americans eagerly consumed the latest Mormon news like installments in a serial drama. When vigilantes murdered Joseph Smith in 1844, at the height of swirling rumors about his “spiritual wifery” and theocratic designs, most Americans assumed the end of Mormonism was nigh. Yet, within a few short years, Joseph Smith’s successor, Brigham Young, led the faithful to the Great Salt Lake Valley—three months travel away from the edge of an America that Mormons felt had betrayed them.

The Mexican War, and its attendant annexation of Mormon territory, coupled with the 1849 California gold rush, threatened Latter-day Saint hopes for isolation. As travelers streamed through Salt Lake City, Americans quickly began to notice that Mormons were not withering away in the desert but were building a distinctive and growing new society along the Wasatch Front of the Great Basin—the nascent State of Deseret.³ One discovery about Mormon “goings on”

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soon overshadowed all others. Many Mormon leaders had more than one wife—a long-practiced open secret in Mormon circles that the church publicly announced in 1852.⁴

To Mormons, plural marriage was a divine commandment received through revelation to Joseph Smith their prophet—a recapitulation of the familial practices of righteous biblical patriarchs. To Victorian Americans, Mormon “polygamy” was an un-Christian abomination, a threat to traditional marriage customs, and just the sort of scandalous thing they loved to read about.⁵ The highly literate American public developed a strong appetite for Mormon fare. As the popular press rediscovered the Mormons in Utah, several modes of highly charged writing about Latter-day Saint polygamy emerged. Most of the text generated about polygamy fell into two opposing camps. Both camps contended that the persuasiveness of their rhetoric held dire political stakes for the nation. One camp was composed almost completely of Mormons and lauded the social benefits and scriptural soundness of the practice while advocating a broad view of American religious liberty. The other camp, composed of popular novelists, religious leaders, and social reformers, decried polygamy in the harshest possible terms as a theological heresy and a gross degradation of true womanhood. Such writers spared no epithets in denouncing polygamy’s sponsoring institution. Despite earnest efforts, Mormon defenders were outnumbered and out-paged in the debate.

Through both print traditions, and accompanying oral rumor, word of the Mormons spread widely. As it became increasingly apparent that many accounts of Mormon doings were sensational and baseless, personally looking into what the Mormons were up to became an important item on the agenda of many westerning tourists, scholars, and travel writers. Even though Victorian America ultimately decided that Mormon polygamy and theocracy deserved destruction, historian of tourism Valerie Fifer has pointed out that Salt Lake City quickly became “the first and forever the most popular of all the side-trips on the original Union Pacific-Central Pacific Railroad.”⁶ Several famous authors of the time took up the mantle of objective observer and wrote with a purpose other than convincing their readers of the rightness or wrongness of Mormon ways. This “third way” of writing about Mormons did not generate nearly as much text as the heated exchanges between Mormon apologists and anti-Mormon detractors. However, the widely read reporting of Horace Greeley, the sensitive ethnography of Richard Burton, and the rollicking humor of Mark Twain are especially noteworthy because of these authors’ perceptive skills, public stature, and enduring influence in constructing an alternate public perception of Mormons. They attempted to estab-

lish a point of view on the “Mormon Question” that was neither apologetic nor detracting but interactive and dialogic.

Burton, Greeley, and Twain presaged later developments in journalistic and ethnographic inquiry. These authors’ efforts emerged in part from the special case of the conflicting rhetoric of the Mormon question—a question made particularly knotty by Mormons’ ambiguous position as a people who were mostly white North Americans and Europeans but practiced a retrograde “heathen” religion and “tribal” marriage customs at the periphery of the Empire.⁷ Mormons could not be accepted as fully and normally American, but yet they could not be dismissed as wholly “other” or alien either. As nineteenth-century thinkers wrestled with this paradox in writing, the era’s notions about ethnographic description and what it meant to be an American began to fray at the edges.

Those who cultivated the mushrooming body of nineteenth-century writing about Mormons worked out emergent patterns for claiming what can be called representational authority. In a small way, in their responses to each other, they helped lay ground work for contemporary understandings of who can offer trustworthy evocations of a given society. Three key principles emerged in representational authority, not so much as constituent parts of a methodology but as underlying features in a broad literary genre. These features include the following: (1) accounts must be based on substantial eyewitness observation and interviews, (2) observers must be willing to listen to and respectfully engage with the observed group’s portrayal of themselves, and (3) observers must nevertheless maintain some form of critical detachment from the observed group and their political entanglements. Again, these principles did not pop fully formed from the minds of the writers discussed here but were worked out in a dialectic engagement with the deficiencies of sensationalistic fiction and intemperate reporting.

That this ethos now so associated with the field of anthropology emerged largely outside of this discipline is perhaps not surprising considering the driving questions of the field at the time. Victorian era anthropologists were not so much concerned with how best to represent particular cultures. In fact, according to historian of anthropology George Stocking, nineteenth-century theorists minimized “the significance of specific cultural systems.”⁸ Rather, Victorians were more interested in how data gathered through as-of-then unproblematic methods could be utilized to further larger comparative theoretical projects—projects involving the evolutionary models of civilization’s development proposed by Herbert Spencer and E. B. Tylor. The scholarly world did not yet see culture as something discrete

of which there could be many varieties in many places.⁹ Victorian anthropology worked instead from the premise that culture was a singular, uniform, hierarchically arranged substance that different societies had more or less of, “primitives” having the least and the elites of the anthropologist’s society having the most.¹⁰

For this reason, rich and ethnographically sensitive portraits of Mormondom were virtually impossible using the language of the day, and the Mormon phenomenon was shoehorned into analytical categories that placed it on a spectrum of civilization.¹¹ Views of Mormons as backward and horrifying in their marriage practices and supernaturalistic religiosity are, in part, the result of their apparent slide back in time along the upward curve of progression envisioned by Victorian theorists of civilization. If, as David S. Reynolds suggests, the great literary themes of the American Renaissance interacted vigorously with the subaltern imaginations of the era’s popular culture, so too can demonizing portrayals of Mormons in ostensibly nonfiction accounts be seen as an underside of the era’s anthropological theory.¹²

Hopeful describers of Mormonism “as it really is” stepped then into a near theoretical vacuum. It would be a mistake to see these “objective observers” as responding to a failure to understand the Mormons according to their own terms. Such sensitive endeavors emerged fully only after a major shift in the impetus of ethnographic endeavor toward cultural relativism, championed after the turn of the twentieth century by American anthropologist Franz Boas.¹³ The notion that the discipline’s main purpose was to develop interpretive methodologies for representing alien culture in print in ways that would have the approbation of cultural insiders as well as outsiders was still many decades away. The “objective observers” discussed here were charting a new course. To understand the contribution nineteenth-century “objective” travel writers in Utah made, the rhetorical maelstrom into which they descended needs to be more fully fleshed out.

Popular Anti-Mormon Images: the Evil Empire

With the Latter-day Saints’ 1852 announcement, polygamy burst into American and British popular consciousness in the pages of a revitalized stream of anti-Mormon books and tracts. Attempts to portray Mormonism as a “new Islam” or a heretical empire spreading across the West characterized much of this literature and constituted a process of what Edward Said might call the Orientalization of non-Orientals.¹⁴ Examples of such books include the anonymously written *Mormonism or the Bible? A Question for the Times* as well as *Mormons*,

*the Dream and the Reality; or, Leaves from the Sketch-book of Experience of One who Left England to Join the Mormons in the City of Zion, and Awoke to a Consciousness of Its Eronious Wickedness and Abomination.*¹⁵ Other authors followed the initial theological critiques with invectives that focused on Mormon marriage. Largely New York, Chicago, and New England women wrote what we would today call “true crime” exposés. These books featured graphic descriptions of violent oppression and sexual exploitation of women at the hands of debased Mormon elders. This literature bore such provocative titles as Mrs. A. G. Paddock’s *In the Toils: or, The Martyrs of the Latter Days*, Metta Victoria Fuller’s *Mormon Wives: A Narrative of Facts Stranger than Fiction*, and Jennie Bartlett Switzer’s *Elder Northfield’s Home; or, Sacrificed on the Mormon Altar, the Story of the Blighting Curse of Polygamy.*¹⁶

In a passage typical of the genre, one novelist described the standard punishment for women who questioned polygamy: “[She] was taken one night when she stepped out for water, gagged, carried a mile into the woods, stripped nude, tied to a tree, and scourged till the blood ran from her wounds to the ground, in which condition she was left till the next night.”¹⁷

Leaving no sin outside the pale of Mormon debauchery, another writer claimed in reference to polygamy that “incest, murder, suicide, mania, and bestiality are the chief ‘beauties’ of this system.”¹⁸ Anti-Mormon authors pushed beyond yellow journalism in the sensational and even pornographic extremes of their portrayals. In this literature, women who escaped Utah were virtuous heroines, while those who stayed were “dull witted hussies.”¹⁹ In place of firsthand reporting and ethnographic insight, they drew upon rumor and their own imaginations to draw clumsy Orientalist parallels between Mormonism and the Near East to make polygamous households “worse than harems” and Brigham Young’s ostensible “Danite” band of secret police “crueler than Persian assassins.”²⁰ Such literature throughout the late 1800s inspired many Gentile pioneers passing through the Intermountain West to fear the fabled Danites more than Indian attacks.²¹

Because of the media images that Americans consumed, when Johnston’s Army marched through the streets of Salt Lake City at the end of the 1856–57 Utah War, U.S. soldiers were baffled to be shunned as invaders by defiant Mormon wives rather than warmly embraced as liberators by lovely young women yearning to escape the oppression of ugly old men [see Fig. 1].

The indignant tone and sensational style of anti-Mormon books make them one facet of a larger popular antebellum genre of pseudononfictional hypernativist attacks on Turkish harems, Roman Catholic convents, Masonic lodges, and corrupt city elites. Within the



Figure 1. "Frightful Scene of Carnage and Desolation at the Sack of Salt Lake City by United States Troops." *Harper's Weekly*, May 22, 1858. Notice the captured Mormon men in the lower left corner.

formulaic parameters of this genre, most of the accusations hurled at any one group were transferable to another.²² This being the case, it is reasonable to surmise that such books emerged, in part, in response to the revenue-bringing track record of previous titles in this genre more than out of a reasoned or heartfelt animosity for any particular unpopular group.

In the internal logic of this literary tradition, a strand of moral indignation and the claim of being "true stories" justified an indulgence in a gratuitous display of normally socially proscribed depictions of sex and violence. George Lippard's best-seller, *The Quaker City; or, the Monks of Monk Hall*—an over-the-top exaggeration of the subaltern ills of Philadelphia that is near literary in its pernicious brilliance—and Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, As Exhibited in a Narrative of Her Suffering during a Residence of Five Years as a Novice, and Two Years as a Black Nun, in the Hôtel Dieu Nunnery at Montreal*, which sold more than three hundred thousand copies before the Civil War, were two of the most widely read examples of this kind of literature. Using a pseudonym perhaps intended to make her a "Mormon" version of Maria Monk, one "Maria Ward" published the "exposé" *Female Life among the Mormons*. This volume is similar to Monk's book not only in its narrative of escape from "brainwashed" imprisonment by an unpopular religion, but also in the fact that the story of the book was later exposed as a concoction.²³

Under the indubitable influence of this kind of literature, the newly formed Republican Party made polygamy one of the planks of its “twin relics of barbarism” first national platform—the other plank being slavery.²⁴ A. G. Paddock’s sequel to *In the Toils* touted itself as doing “for Mormonism what ‘Uncle Tom’s Cabin’ did for Slavery.”²⁵ Indeed, Harriett Beecher Stowe herself lent magisterial reformist clout to the literary antipolygamy crusade by penning the preface to one of the better written exposés—“*Tell It All*”: *The Story of a Life’s Experience in Mormonism* by genuine former elite Mormon Fanny Stenhouse.²⁶ Many Americans came to regard the West’s “peculiar institution” and its maintaining theocracy as the most pressing internal threat to American society after what the South called its own peculiar institution. Popular anti-Mormon fiction writers propelled the country toward quashing Deseret in the same way that President Lincoln meant when he famously told Harriet Beecher Stowe, “so you’re the little lady who started this great war.”

Mormon Self-Conceptions: “Come unto Zion”

Not all writing about Mormons’ lifestyle choice was defamatory and sensationalistic. Mormons themselves published much in their own defense in Salt Lake City’s *Deseret News* and London’s *Millennial Star*.²⁷ These publications worked hard to counteract anti-Mormons’ equation of plural marriage with licentiousness or “free love,” pointing out the duties and obligations of husbands and stressing the order and sobriety with which Mormons undertook plural marriage as an eternal commitment. Among the social benefits of their marriage system, Mormons pointed to Utah’s strict adultery and fornication laws and touted the end of spinsterism and prostitution, as well as the resolution of other social problems inherent in women outnumbering men on the Mormon frontier.²⁸ Latter-day Saint apologists were especially keen to link their beliefs with those of the great figures of Western intellectual history such as Martin Luther and Milton, who both defended polygamy on scriptural grounds.²⁹

In a stance some historians continue to regard as baffling, Mormon women, such as Susa Young Gates and Emmeline B. Wells, promoted female suffrage and polygamy together in their magazine, the *Women’s Exponent*. They linked women’s liberation with plural marriage and insisted that they were complementary principles.³⁰ A woman with numerous “sister wives” shared the burden of caring after one man. This freed her to pursue refining hobbies and fulfilling employment. After Utah held the first territorial elections in which American women voted, one plural wife even ran against her hus-

band for a government position and beat him to become the first female state legislator in U.S. history.³¹ One of the most powerful defenders of plural marriage was prominent Mormon woman Helen Mar Whitney, who wrote of her own personal religious experiences that led to her acceptance of the practice.³² Displaying the same ideology of religiously motivated Victorian true womanhood espoused by her would-be saviors, Whitney called the plural marriage she practiced a “celestial principle” that “has been practiced as a corrector of evils and a promoter of purity.”³³

Private journals present less glowing portraits of plural marriage than the public stance taken in the *Women's Exponent*, but they also record that plural wives freely entered the principle of plural marriage after experiencing a profound spiritual witness that they should.³⁴ Polygamy's practitioners found the principle's fundamental basis in the thousands of personal revelatory experiences reconfirming the revelation given to Joseph Smith.³⁵ To them, theological and sociological apologetic arguments were only buttresses to the doctrines of restoration and continuing revelation that instituted plural marriage.³⁶

But plural marriage was not the only issue on the minds of American reformers. Mormon theocracy loomed as an even more pressing threat to American hegemony in the West. As for accusations of theocracy, Brigham Young saw to it that Salt Lake City laws provided for religious freedoms modeled after those of William Penn's Philadelphia. On several occasions, the church donated land for other denominations to build churches. Nevertheless, in nineteenth-century Utah, separation of church and state often blurred, and a high church office and high government office more often than not resided in the same individuals, and the church's favored candidates very rarely lost elections. Mormons liked to call their system “theo-democracy.”³⁷ Latter-day Saints did not regard nineteenth-century American-style political campaigning and voting, with their accompanying corruption and drunkenness, as an appropriate means for determining courses of action. Mormons strove to free themselves from what they regarded as the cantankerous bickering of Gentile politics.³⁸ Rather, Mormon-style voting served as a manifestation of an achieved consensus, or as an opportunity to express support for decisions that had already been reached by leaders inspired by the Lord.³⁹ They gave virtually unanimous support to Brigham Young and chaffed at his removal as governor in 1857.⁴⁰ They puzzled over the common Gentile characterizations of their beloved president as a despot; many Mormons saw themselves as refugees fleeing European despotism to find religious and economic freedom in the new American Zion.

Dale L. Morgan, a Gentile scholar who has never been accused of being a Mormon apologist, said the following of those who criticized Mormon authority in territorial Utah:

Opponents usually failed to take into account the specific trust of the Mormons in their leaders, and the sense of responsibility held by those leaders to their people—a conception of inter-responsibility and mutual faith, which was certainly a more vital ethical relationship than is ordinarily observed between governors and governed.⁴¹

Deseret's charms were rarely overstated in Mormon publications, however. Church leaders felt that to do so would set immigrants up for disappointment. Nevertheless, Mormon descriptions of their own lives stand in stark contrast to anti-Mormon literature. Brigham Young described his view of the essence of Mormon civilization in a June 18, 1865, sermon:

We have been gathered from many nations, and speak many languages; we have been . . . educated in different religions, yet we dwell together in Utah under one government, believe in the same God and worship Him in the same way, and we are all one in Jesus Christ. The world wonder[s] at this, and fears the union that prevails among [us]. Why is this? It is because the Spirit of the Lord Almighty is in the people, and they follow its dictates . . . this unites them in one, and causeth them to dwell together in peace; and were it not for pettifogging lawyers and judges who are among us, a law suit would not be heard of in Utah. . . . When many of these people come to Utah they are poor and houseless, but they go to work and labor away with their might . . . and in a short time they are able to gather from the soil, the water, and the air, the essential and solid comforts of life.⁴²

To achieve this goal of equitable economic prosperity and independence, the church provided public works projects for new immigrants, encouraged village communitarian enterprises, and sometimes centrally planned and set wages and prices for Deseret's economy. To minimize Mormon dependence on Gentile merchants and imported goods, Brigham Young pressured Mormon businessmen to join his Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution in the late 1860s.⁴³ He also refused to let precious metals mining develop in Utah. He considered it a nonproductive activity that attracted the worst sort of people. Mormon economic exclusivity and control made the anti-Mormon crusade popular among Gentile capitalists eager to exploit Utah's natural resources.

Despite their conflict with American culture, nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints saw themselves as the most genuine and loyal of

Americans. Mormons felt they had spirited away the true principles of Americanism for safekeeping in the mountains of the West and hoped that some day a repentant nation would turn to the Mormons' emergent godly civilization to retrieve them. Chief among these principles was, of course, a commitment to religious freedom and tolerance, on which the United States government seemed to have turned its back. Though loyal to the American ideal, Mormons sought, in vain, the autonomy from federal control they hoped pre-Civil War statehood would provide.⁴⁴

Mormon defenses of Deseret society were evidently enough to assuage potential concerns of the more than one hundred thousand converts who immigrated to Utah from Europe and the Eastern United States between 1847 and 1900. Nevertheless, most Americans remained unimpressed that Mormon family life and governmental style was anything but a cancerous blight on the face of a democratic Christian nation.

Nonpartisan Literature: Stansbury, Kane, and Gunnison

There were notable exceptions to the bipolar character of most writing about Mormons. Many came to Utah with exploration, humanistic science, responsible journalism, or literary adventure in mind. They saw the emergence of Mormonism as a fascinating oddity to be examined and fully understood before being condemned. They had little in common except curiosity and an aversion to falling into polarized debate about the Mormon Question. "They came," as one put it, to "see Utah as it is, not as it is said to be."⁴⁵ These chroniclers all made reference to their distrust of anti-Mormon literature and set themselves up as an alternative to it. They brought with them an intellectual curiosity about Mormon ideas and practices, and they generally left Utah unconverted but with a high regard for the character of Mormon men and women. They praised the orderly functionality of Salt Lake City and Mormons' efficient irrigation systems that communally allocated scarce water resources in surrounding villages.

Among these "nonpartisan" commentators, as they all described themselves, were people of considerable stature, fame, and/or responsibility. But this did not protect them from censure by anti-Mormons. Renowned army explorer Howard Stansbury's 1849–50 account of Mormon belief and practice was one of the first outside depictions of Mormonism to appear after the Nauvoo exodus.⁴⁶ His environmental observations were acclaimed, but his assessment of Mormons as an industrious and peace-loving people of no threat to the United States earned him the accusation of being a secret Mor-

mon.⁴⁷ Stansbury's second in command, Lt. John W. Gunnison, published the first book-length account of Mormon society in the Great Basin.⁴⁸ His were the first truly credible, albeit sketchy, reports of the existence and social nature of polygamy. Anti-Mormons vilified Gunnison for advocating a noninterventionist federal policy toward Mormonism. Gunnison was not partial to Latter-day Saint doctrines, but he determined that persecution would only strengthen Mormon resolve to live up to their peculiar principles. Thomas Kane, son of the highly respected Pennsylvania district court judge and American Philosophical Society president John K. Kane and brother of famed Arctic explorer Elisha Kent Kane, befriended the Mormons in their late-1840s hour of need at Winter Quarters, Nebraska, and made several public appeals on their behalf. Kane, too, was accused of being a secretly baptized Mormon spy for his successful efforts in negotiating a nonviolent resolution to the Utah War.⁴⁹

Many other figures of various degrees of stature visited Utah, including Albert Bierstadt, Oscar Wilde, and Susan B. Anthony.⁵⁰ Some such as botanist Jules Remy and travel writer Wilhelm Topsøe came from as far away as France and Denmark to comment on the Mormons.⁵¹ Three visitors deserve special attention, however, for their historical importance and continuing literary relevance—Horace Greeley, Richard Burton, and Mark Twain.⁵² All three were no strangers to controversy; accusations of being Mormon-lovers would have been mere drops in the bucket of suspicion against them. All three writers are especially noteworthy for their foreshadowing of, and pioneering work in, a great shift that has only fully come about in the late twentieth century in American journalism, literary travel writing, and ethnographic description. This rhetorical movement undercut the monologue of the colonial observer by giving greater volume to the voices of the observed and by more fully appreciating the dialogic and interactive nature of journalistic and literary portrayal.⁵³

Horace Greeley: Voice of the Voiceless

Horace Greeley was one of the most influential and innovative men of his age—in various reformist causes, in journalism (where he long served as editor of the *New York Tribune*, the most-read American newspaper in its heyday), and as a vociferous advocate of the cultural and social benefits of America's westward expansion. In the summer of 1859, he took his own advice to "go West young man" and wrote up his experiences in the oft-reprinted *Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco*.⁵⁴ Greeley stopped in Salt Lake City for the express purpose of opining on the Mormon Question, toward

which end he called on Brigham Young. Greeley regarded anti-Mormon accounts as so egregiously lopsided that he gave Brigham Young an unprecedented opportunity to explain his case to the American public. Greeley published his notes of their conversation verbatim in the *Tribune*.

Though Greeley made little of this accomplishment at the time, his discussion with President Young became the first published verbatim journalistic interview with a famous person in American history. The interview's emergence as a radical new genre of written representation underscores the problematic nature of depicting Mormons at the time. The representational complexities of describing Latter-day Saints required a sharp new tool to cut through a contentious fog of conflicting rhetoric and competing claims to authority. While Greeley's interview may seem rather mundane to readers today accustomed to the genre, his pointed and relevant questions and Brigham Young's open and witty answers are still incisive and merit excerpting at length:

H.G.—Do you make removal to these valleys obligatory to your converts?

B.Y.—They would consider themselves greatly aggrieved if they were not invited hither . . .

H.G.—Can you give me any rational explanation of the aversion and hatred with which your people are generally regarded . . . ?

B.Y.—No other explanation than is afforded by the treatment of God's ministers, prophets and saints, in all ages. [Christ's] disciples were accused of every abominable deed and purpose—robbery and murder included. Such a work [that of Jesus' disciples] is still extant, and may be found by those who seek it.

H.G.—What do you say of the so-called Danites, or Destroying Angels, belonging to your church?

B.Y.—What do *you* say? I know of no such band, no such persons or organization. I hear of them only in the slanders of our enemies.

H.G.—With regard . . . to . . . the plurality of wives—is the system of your church acceptable to the majority of its women?

B.Y.—They could not be more adverse to it than I was when it was first revealed to us as the Divine will. I think they generally accept it, as I do, as the will of God.

H.G.—Does not the apostle Paul say that a bishop should be "the husband of one wife?"

B.Y.—So we hold. We do not regard any but a married man as fitted for the office of bishop. But the apostle does not forbid a bishop having more wives than one.

In *Overland Journey*, Greeley reprints this interview and goes on to liken Mormonism to biblical Judaism—a characterization much more in harmony with Mormon self-conceptions than the Islamic comparisons drawn by anti-Mormons. He listens to a Mormon sermon and critiques what he regards as its self-congratulatory content. He makes clear his personal opposition to and repugnance toward polygamy but nevertheless remains a strict advocate of Stephen Douglas's then-current ideal of popular sovereignty. Greeley recognized Brigham Young's leadership as the true expression of the political desires of the Mormon people and maintained that popular sovereignty overrides any moralistic imperative the federal government may have felt to quell Mormon theocracy and polygamy. With regard to America's "problem" of a Mormon empire in the West, Greeley, like Gunnison, advocated a policy of what cold war political theorists would later call containment and *détente*.

Captain Sir Richard Francis Burton: Polygamy Promoter

Sir Richard Francis Burton led a life so brilliant and bizarre as to defy categorization. He stands out as a truly remarkable person in an age of extraordinary deeds and ideas. As an explorer in the employ of the British Royal Geographic Society, he paved the way for John Hanning Speke's discovery of the source of the Nile. A proficient speaker of more than a score of languages, he translated some of the first unexpurgated versions of the *Arabian Nights*.⁵⁶ In one of many immersions into cultures radically different from his own, he disguised himself as an Afghan merchant to penetrate the forbidden holy city of Mecca and touch the sacred Ka'aba with faithful Muslim Hadjis. Possessing extraordinary abilities of observation and memory, and armed with a refusal to regard anything that humankind did as "unclean," he called himself an anthropologist. His style of interaction with other cultures foreshadowed what would become today's standard ethnographic methods of "participant observation" and "thick description."⁵⁷ Just below the surface of his standoffish tone, Burton's writings display an almost modern cultural relativism anachronistic to his Victorian England.

After an acrimonious dispute with Speke over the true source of the Nile, Burton tired of Africa and decided to pursue a long-unfulfilled interest of his—to visit the American West in general, and the new Mormon holy land in particular. His 1861 book, *City of the*

Saints, chronicles his three weeks in Salt Lake City, where he was heralded by the Mormon press, deferentially shown around, and invited into several homes. Burton was granted greater access to plural households than perhaps any outside researcher before or since. He was genuinely impressed by what he saw despite his disappointment that, despite the additional number of wives allowed, Mormon marriages were actually quite conventionally and dully Victorian in their organization and sexual habits. He also lamented with some surprise that Mormons possessed no indigenous version of the erotic literary or artistic traditions he found in Asian polygamous societies.

Burton looked in vain for much-touted "out-house harems" of popular anti-Mormon literature and came to regard them as one of "a multitude of delusions" of anti-Mormon writers. Burton described Mormons as a people whose "'go-a-headitiveness' in social growth is only to be compared with their obstinate conservatism in adhering to institutions that date to the days of Abraham."⁵⁸ One of few writers to conduct extensive interviews with Mormon women in polygamous families,⁵⁹ he found:

The Mormon household has been described by its enemies as a hell of envy, hatred, and malice, a den of murder and suicide. The same has been said of the Moslem harem. Both, I believe, suffer from the assertions of prejudice or ignorance. The temper of the new is so far superior to that of the old country, that, incredible as the statement may appear, rival wives dwell together in amity; and do quote the proverb "the more the merrier." . . . I believe that many a "happy English home" is far stormier despite the presence of monogamy.⁶⁰

Coming so soon after his own wedding, such glowing appraisals of polygamy humiliated his wife, Isabel, in the British public eye. He had not told her of his trip to Utah until just before he left, and she was furious about the public shame she felt concerning his positive account of polygamy. Undoubtedly, these experiences contributed to her decision to destroy most of Burton's private journals upon his death—a decision long lamented by biographers and historians of exploration.⁶¹

Mormons' eager accessibility to Burton is somewhat puzzling considering his renown for entering holy places under false pretenses and occasionally duping the peoples among whom he traveled. Surely the Latter-day Saints wondered if Burton might try to enter the Endowment House—Salt Lake City's provisional temple whose sacred ordinances were strictly off-limits to Gentiles. Perhaps Burton never tried because he knew the Mormons would be ready for him. However, referring presumably to temple worship and plural marriage, Burton is said to have asked Brigham Young if he might be allowed to

“live as a Mormon” during his stay in Salt Lake City and be allowed to enjoy all the religion’s benefits. According to Burton biographer Thomas Wright, Young’s eyes twinkled as he quipped to Burton, “I think you’ve done that sort of thing before, Captain.”⁶²

Burton relentlessly debunks anti-Mormon images of Utah with several hundred pages of detailed description praising Mormon industry, peacefulness, hospitality, education, and phrenological well-formedness. He marvels at Salt Lake City’s utopian city planning and low crime rate. “During my [three weeks] residence at the Mormon City not a single murder was, to the best of my belief, committed: the three days which I spent at Christian Carson City witnessed three.”⁶³ He expends relatively little ink describing Mormon theology, saying, in essence, and somewhat misleadingly, that it is eclectic and mystical. He proposes no theory for the Book of Mormon’s origin as was popular at the time. On his way out of Utah in the town of American Fork, he met maverick Mormon and former Joseph Smith bodyguard Porter Rockwell, whose reputation as a Danite assassin was nearly as mythic at the time as Burton’s was as an adventurer. Burton was duly impressed, and the two swapped stories and tried to best each other in a drinking contest.⁶⁵

Scholars of his day, and some still today, regarded *City of the Saints* as a “travel writing” departure from his serious scholarly accounts of the Middle East and Africa. Others find *City of the Saints’* style and content “Burton at his best.”⁶⁶ Assessments of *City of the Saints* as “lightweight” may stem from the complimentary tone of the work compared to his other writings. It may also stem from scholars’ failure to regard Mormondom as a serious subject of ethnographic inquiry comparable to other civilizations that Burton visited. Burton himself saw Mormons as a serious subject. He extended equal deference to Mormon beliefs as he did to the major world religions he studied. He clearly stated his main reason for coming to the United States was to add Salt Lake City—an American “young rival” to Memphis, Benares, Jerusalem, Rome, and Mecca—to the list of holy cities he had visited.⁶⁷ His assessment has proved prophetic as more and more religious studies scholars today consider Mormonism more than just an innovative and idiosyncratic version of American Christian primitivism but an emergent new world religion.⁶⁸

While his whole account sustains a tone of seeing Mormondom as an emergent civilization, there may have been a dual meaning to his writing in which his reverence was partly tongue-in-cheek. It would not have been beyond Burton’s well-known desire to astonish and flabbergast for him to suggest to his culturally literate audience that an almost universally despised thirty-year-old movement that most regarded as a form of social dementia rather than a real religion

could appropriately be classed with the great religious cultures of the world.⁶⁹ Burton's freedom to employ this kind of hyperbole, if indeed that is what it was, certainly had something to do with the fact that as a visitor not only to Utah but to the United States, he stood outside American political concerns. Unlike Greeley, he felt no obligation to propose a solution to the "Mormon Question."

Mark Twain: Obnoxious Advocate

During the 1840s, anti-Mormon sentiment ran high, and Governor Lilburn S. Boggs's anti-Mormon extermination order was still in effect in Samuel Clemens's boyhood home state of Missouri.⁷⁰ Hannibal lay only about sixty miles away from Nauvoo and the Carthage, Illinois, jail where Joseph Smith was murdered. The effect of childhood experiences on Mark Twain's attitudes toward Mormons is not clear, but he maintained a lifelong fascination with Mormonism—especially with polygamy, an institution from which he wrought some of his best humor.

When he had his first contact with Mormons in 1861, he made relentless fun of them while maintaining an essential respect for them as a people.⁷¹ His barbs were not unlike those one might hurl at a dear old friend or a respected adversary. There is little in Twain's humor that a Mormon of the time could not have laughed along with, and there is some evidence that they did, since the memory of his visit is maintained in Mormon oral tradition still today.⁷²

Mark Twain and his brother Orion stayed in Salt Lake City for two days while traveling by steamer and stagecoach from Missouri to Nevada. In Reno, Orion was to be installed as secretary of the newly formed Nevada territorial government. This trip was part of Twain's five-year excursion throughout the West, which he wrote up in *Roughing It*, his acclaimed and popular follow-up to his first big smash, *Innocents Abroad*. He spent much of the latter part of 1872 in the Northeast and Midwest on a lecture tour that further popularized *Roughing It*. The book probably became the most widely read nonpartisan account of Mormon life in its time. Twain's humor at the expense of Mormons served to neutralize potential anti-Mormon suspicion of his writing as "soft on Mormonism," but a subtext of the work is a message that Mormons are fully human and their society is healthy and functional, albeit strange.

Unlike its predecessor, *Roughing It* is neither truly autobiographical nor does it strive for the factuality of a serious travelogue. Instead, its embellished reminiscences nine years after the fact display the marked influence of the "tall tale" storytelling style of Western

folklore that infused so much of Twain's work.⁷³ Any accuracy in reporting is admittedly accidental and takes a backseat to the imperative of relating a good yarn through astonishing, hoodwinking, and tickling the funny bone of the reader.⁷⁴ To set up the reader for these kinds of situations, the Twain persona in the book is much younger and more naive than a genuinely autobiographical Twain would have been.

The narrator of *Roughing It* marvels at the surprising order and grandeur of the Mormon city he finds in the middle of the Great American Desert. It reminds him of something out of the *Arabian Nights* stories he relished as a child—a mystical kingdom, a shimmering apparition in the desert. In ethereal romantic terms, he calls the Mormon Mecca a “fairlyland . . . of enchantment, goblins and awful mystery.” The fact that there were no loafers or drunkards in this “extremely healthy city” left him with a sense of “pleasant strangeness.”⁷⁵ Upon his departure, his general reaction to the otherworldly city was to be “a good deal confused as to what state of things existed there—and sometimes even questioning in my own mind whether a state of things existed there at all or not.”⁷⁶

In *Roughing It*, Twain recounts his and Orion's audience with Brigham Young in the Mormon prophet's home, “Lion House.” Orion chats amicably and intelligently with the church president on interesting contemporary issues, while poor young “Sam” tries excitedly to gain Young's attention so he can “draw him out on federal politics and his highhanded attitude toward Congress.” After finding no entry into the conversation, young Sam retreats from the edge of his chair into a silent sulk for the rest of the meeting. As he and Orion prepare to leave, Brigham “put his hand on my head, beamed down on me in an admiring way, and says to my brother: ‘Ah—your child, I presume? Boy or girl?’”⁷⁷ One might wonder if such a meeting ever took place at all, were it not for the fact that its occurrence, but not necessarily its details, is verified in the appointment book of Brigham Young's secretary.⁷⁸

Twain claimed that he came to Utah ready to spout pious indignation about the evils of polygamy, but after seeing the plural wives he remarked as follows [see Fig. 2]:

Then I was touched. My heart was wiser than my head. It warmed toward these poor, ungainly, and pathetically “homely” creatures, and as I turned to hide the generous moisture in my eyes, I said, “No—the man that marries one of them has done an act of Christian charity which entitles him to the kindly applause of mankind, not their harsh censure—and the man that marries sixty of them has done a deed of open-handed generosity so sublime that the nations should stand uncovered in his presence and worship in silence.”⁷⁹



Figure 2. "I Was Touched." Illustration from the 1872 (first) edition of Mark Twain's *Roughing It*.

In a rowdy Salt Lake City saloon or "Gentile den," Twain overhears and discounts stories of how Mormon police massacred "Morrisonite" schismatics and how the notorious "Danites" Bill Hickman and Porter Rockwell routinely assassinated Mormon apostates and "intractable Gentiles."⁸⁰ Despite his reluctance to believe stories of Mormon atrocities, he adds an appendix detailing late-breaking information that (correctly) established Mormon participation in the Mountain Meadows Massacre and (incorrectly) implicates Brigham Young in its planning.⁸¹

In describing the lot of plurally married husbands, Twain relates, in a somewhat long-winded manner, a hearsay tale he picked up from a presumably fictitious Mormon. This "Mr. Johnson" tells how Brigham gave one of his favored wives a breast pin only to have the rest of his "harem" interrupt his whole day's work by trickling one-by-one into his study and demanding equal treatment as word of his first gift spread. Poor Brigham is set back \$650 by the end of it all. This hearsay Brigham Young goes on to tell of yearning to send his Danites out after the house guest who gave one of his children a whistle—an act that produced petitions for equity similar to the breast-pin episode—not to kill the man, but to sentence him to a worse fate, to be locked in the Lion House nursery with the piercing noise of a hundred whistling brats.⁸²

According to "Mr. Johnson," living in the Lion House was just as hazardous physically as it was financially. In an effort to save some money, Brigham sold his wives' seventy-two beds at a loss and

built a bedstead seven feet long and ninety-six feet wide. But it was a failure. I could *not* sleep. It appeared to me that the whole seventy-two women snored at once. The roar was deafening. And the danger of it! They would all draw in their breaths at once, and you could actually see the walls of the house suck in—and then they would all exhale their breaths at once, and you could see the walls swell out, and strain, and hear the rafters crack, and the shingles grind together. My friend, take an old man's advice and *don't* encumber yourself with a large family . . . ten or eleven wives is all you need.⁸³

This description is probably the prototype for the many cartoon depictions of “Brigham’s Bed” which came to be a minor trope in American magazines and newspapers until Brigham Young’s death in 1877.⁸⁴ [See Fig. 3.]

Mark Twain’s treatment of the Book of Mormon is a mix of hilarious word play and relentless critique of something cherished and regarded as holy by Mormons. After rehashing the then-popular but since debunked “Spaulding Theory” of the book’s origin,⁸⁵ he calls the book “chloroform in print”—an epithet still circulating in Mormon oral tradition.⁸⁶ Despite contemporary Latter-day Saint fondness for the book of Scripture, Mormon folklore also preserves a similar apocryphal Twain pronouncement, that the Book of Mormon’s book of Ether—named after an ancient American prophet/author—is appropriately homonymous with the name of another common nineteenth-century anesthetic because it “puts you right to sleep.”⁸⁷

Twain sums up, however, with what is for him on religious matters almost a compliment: “The Book of Mormon is rather stupid and tiresome to read, but there is nothing vicious in its teachings.” This moral appraisal, low as it is, bests his late-in-life opinion of the



Figure 3. “The Family Bedstead.” Illustration from the 1872 (first) edition of *Roughing It*.

Bible, which he blamed as the authority for the “religious atrocities” of the Middle Ages.⁸⁸

Mark Twain’s Mormondom is not the malevolent evil empire portrayed by sensational novelists, nor are his church elders the diabolical patriarchs so feared and hated in the East. Rather, Twain’s Mormon husbands are exasperated managers of nearly impossible domestic situations. Though hardly complimentary portrayals, Twain’s Mormon wives are not the downtrodden “white slaves” and evil hussies imagined by radical reformers but shrewd, independent women who have made the peculiar polygamic institution in which they found themselves work to their benefit. As is most clearly illustrated in his encounter with Brigham Young, Twain’s literary Mormons act with full subjectivity and talk back to him. Twain’s Mormons are oddly charming, harmless eccentrics who have built a utopian magic kingdom on the fringe of America and who needed no intervention or punitive legislation. His Utah is a never-never land of biting but beneficent laughter.

In fact, Twain failed to take seriously, and refused to pontificate on, the thorny federal policy issues Mormondom posed. He ends the account of his travels in Utah with a swipe at self-important traveling pontificators in general, but perhaps Horace Greeley in particular, when he says, “I gave up the idea that I could settle the ‘Mormon Question’ in two days. Still I have seen newspaper correspondents do it in one.”⁸⁹ Despite his prominent position and ample opportunity if he so chose, Twain never advocated any action against the Mormon kingdom he visited for two days in 1860. Perhaps unconsciously on Twain’s part, his humor at Mormons’ expense served as a subterfuge to allow his subtle affirmation of Mormons’ basic humanity and right to autonomy to enter many American minds closed to such arguments.

Twain’s apparent “soft spot” for Latter-day Saints may have manifest itself again later in life. Twain’s last contact with Mormons occurred in 1867 when he passed through Keokuk, Iowa, where Mormon schismatics supporting Joseph Smith III’s claim to be his father’s rightful successor were said to be plotting a coup—ultimately aborted—against Brigham Young. Twain exposed this conspiracy in an article in the *San Francisco Alta California* newspaper. While certainly not a booster of Mormonism, Twain’s treatment of the issue was, on the whole, much more flattering than his scathing ridicule of Christian Science, to which he devoted a whole book.⁹⁰

Conclusion: The Second Twin Relic Crumbles

As the transcontinental railroad increased Utah’s contact with the outside world after 1869, the Mormon public image experi-

enced some short-lived signs of improvement. The zealously anti-Mormon chief justice of the Utah territory failed to gain support for his draconian antipolygamy campaign even among longtime foes of plural marriage. The United States Supreme Court handed down a decision tacitly validating Mormon control over Utah's appellate courts and throwing out 130 grand jury indictments against Mormon leaders for "lewd and lascivious cohabitation and murder."⁹¹ Lighthearted, but still stereotyped, humor such as *Roughing It* began to appear alongside the standard antagonistic "exposés."⁹² Also, in 1872, photographer Charles Roscoe Savage (a Mormon) and best-selling Western guidebook writer George Crofutt (a Gentile) teamed up to portray Salt Lake City much as it is in guidebooks of today. Namely, it was depicted as an orderly, pleasant, clean, relatively crime-free "must see" tourist attraction. It had unique religious history and architecture and was, because of its educated and hardworking populace, a great place to do business. Nowhere in his guidebook does Crofutt even mention polygamy.⁹³

However, by the 1880s, Northern reformers had wearied of, and scaled back, their disappointing efforts to reconstruct the South. This freed resources of attention and focus to be shifted to a small, politically marginal region in the West that made a more manageable target. The second plank of the 1856 Republican Party platform finally got earnest attention. Recognizing the benefits of shifted attention, Southern politicians supported increasing the scope of the anti-Mormon legislative campaign. With the whole country united against Mormons, what little political power they had was stripped away by a series of congressional acts rescinding female suffrage, disenfranchising polygamist men, and seizing church property. In the 1880s, federal marshals swarmed through Utah arresting polygamists, and the church's leadership went into hiding. During this "reconstruction" of Mormondom, negative Mormon stereotypes emerged again in full force. In 1890, church president Wilford Woodruff emerged from the underground to announce the end of polygamy.⁹⁴ Six years later, Utah became a state and was well on its way to full integration with mainstream American political, economic, and familial culture.

Was there any alternative to this course of events? To ask what might have happened had the *laissez faire* Mormon policy proposals of Stansbury, Gunnison, and Greeley held sway is perhaps similar to asking what might have happened had the South won the Civil War or had the federal government kept its treaties with Indian nations. The imperial impulse of Manifest Destiny was too strong to stomach even an Anglo-Scandinavian-American "theo-democratic" presence within U.S. borders. Just as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* fueled the pop-

ular outrage for federal suppression of the Confederacy, so too did anti-Mormon literature sustain the drive to quash decisively Mormon political and economic autonomy.

However, during the build-up toward the end of the Mormon theocratic state, a few high-profile Gentiles such as Stansbury, Kane, Gunnison, Greeley, Burton, and Twain skillfully explicated this pivotal era in Mormon and Western history with fairness, ethnographic insight, and wit. These writers failed to save the peculiarities of Mormon marriage and theo-democratic government from dissolution. But with the help of cooperative Latter-day Saints, they did begin to propose new expectations for representational authority. Richard Burton's careful listening to Mormon women, Greeley's creation of the interview as a journalistic genre, and even Twain's fictive Brigham Young making humor at Twain's expense all show portrayed objects emerging as subjective coauthorities in the process of their own literary creation.

In considering these literary and journalistic precursors to what are very current sensibilities about ethnographic methods, it is worth noting the transforming effect of recent discussions about the literary nature of ethnography. In the late twentieth century, cultural anthropology has almost fully dismantled its scientific pretensions and embraced a literary metaphor for its self-definition. According to James Clifford, ethnography is allegorical in nature; it is a writing process and the finished written product is a literary genre with certain conventions and expectations.⁹⁵ These expectations were once hidden or disguised as method but are now revealed as imperatives of writing for particular effect to particular audiences.⁹⁶

It is perhaps ironic that while the literary sensibilities that spawned the first journalistic interview and presaged later developments in anthropology emerged from interaction with Mormons, minority religions have benefited less from emergent notions of cultural relativism than other kinds of groups. While racial and ethnic epithets have disappeared from polite society and respectable media, the deeply offensive term "cult" is still often unreflectively used to refer to minority religious groups by the mainstream media, religious crusaders, and academics. In the extremely rare instances when members of minority religions perpetrate crimes, the term "cult" is frequently tautologically employed as if such labeling explained actions. Still today, oppressive use of authority to quash dissent and difference becomes justified if the target group can be so labeled as outside the pale of civilization.⁹⁷ Recent examples include the 1985 bombing of the Afro-centric MOVE religious group by the Philadelphia police and the 1993 raid on the multicultural Branch Davidians by the ATF and FBI.⁹⁸

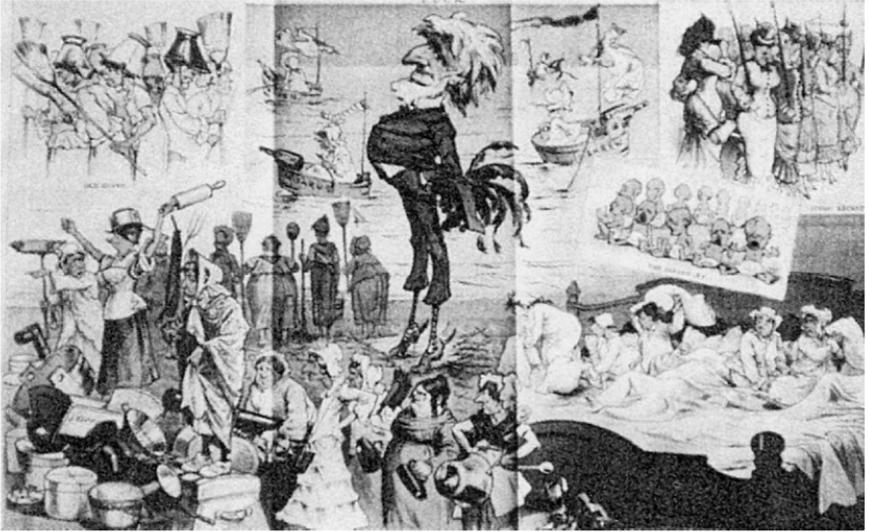
Perhaps in the story of nineteenth-century Mormon textual representations there are causes for reflection for those today who would write about groups who have not yet achieved the Latter-day Saints' current level of acceptance and respect. While putting theoretical and political agendas ahead of respect for unpopular religions' cultural autonomy may advance careers; and while sensationalistic exposés may titillate and excite readers as well as bring financial benefit to authors and publishers; such portrayals have real detrimental results for the religious liberties and livelihoods of people who belong to minority religious groups. Giving proper place to the observed—no matter how marginal they may be—at the discussion table of representational authority is no guarantee of protection against the detrimental effects of orientalizing defamation, but it is a moral witness that gives voice to the voiceless.

Appendix: Brother Brigham's Bed—An American Motif

Below are some depictions of "Brigham's Bed" from various popular periodicals and humorous prints. Note that all post-date the publication of *Roughing It*. It seems that America has Mark Twain to thank for the popular image of the "Mormon family bed."



"In Memoriam Brigham Young. 'And the Place Which Knew Him Once Shall Know Him No More.'" *Puck*, September 5, 1877.



"Utah Defiant—The Mormon Commander Mustering His Forces," which included, clockwise from the upper left, "The Old Guard," "The Infantry," and the "Knife-and Fork Brigade." *Puck*, January 14, 1880, drawn by J. Keppler.



"This Shop to Let." Printed and sold by E. Smith & Co.



“Brigham Young’s Successors:—New Rule. Last Into Bed Put Out the Light.”
Printed by J. Marks.

Notes

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1. C. E. Dutton, “Church and State in Utah,” *Forum* 5 (1888): 320.

2. From P. T. Barnum, *Struggles and Triumphs*, as quoted in R. Laurence Moore, *Selling God: American Religion in the Marketplace of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 118.

3. “Deseret” means “honey bee” in the language of the Jaredites—a people chronicled in the Book of Mormon. Mormons hoped their society would emulate the cooperation and industry of a beehive (Book of Mormon, Ether 2:3). While technically Utah was administered as a U.S. territory, Mormons sought the autonomy of statehood and prepared for what they hoped was coming by having the theocratic shadow government of Deseret administer much of the region’s affairs. See Dale L. Morgan, “The State of Deseret,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 8 (April, July, October 1940): 65–239; Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 201–31. For a critical look at Mormon government from a presentist point of view, see David L. Bigler, *The Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847–1896* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999).

4. Brigham Young chose apostle Orson Pratt to make the public announcement. See Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press), 323. "Polygyny" is the technical term still used by anthropologists for marriage forms involving more than one wife. More broadly, "polygamy" is any marriage form involving more than two people. "Polygamy" has popularly come to mean "polygyny" largely because it somehow came to be applied to Mormon marriage practices which are perhaps the most familiar example of a multiple marriage culture in the Western world. The theological justification for plural marriage can be found in a revelation received by Joseph Smith and recorded in the Latter-day Saint Scripture the Doctrine and Covenants, section 132.

5. As Foucault and many others have pointed out, Victorians generated discourse about sexuality quite vigorously in subaltern, scientific, and (beginning in a few elite circles) therapeutic forums. Taboos did not halt discussion of sex but probably increased it—draping it with a lurid sense of titillation. This is the main point of Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, vol. 1 (New York: Vintage, 1978).

6. J. Valerie Fifer, *American Progress: The Growth of the Transport, Tourist, and Information Industries in the Nineteenth-Century West* (Chester: Globe Pequot Press, 1988), 285.

7. See "'They Ain't Whites . . . They're Mormons': Fictive Responses to the Anxiety of Seduction," in Terryl L. Givens, *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 121–52.

8. George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (Toronto: Free Press, 1987), 324.

9. See also Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 87–93.

10. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 302.

11. One of the few dissenting voices in the view that civilization was evolving away from more immediate and "supernatural" forms of religiosity (which Tylorian theory held were illusory and based on incorrect thinking) was Andrew Lang, who argued that animism was based on not flawed reason but actual supernatural experience (*ibid.*, 320).

12. David S. Reynolds, *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1993), 3–11.

13. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 303, 317.

14. See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).

15. "A Cambridge Clergyman," *Mormonism or the Bible? A Question for the Times* (Cambridge: T. Dixon, 1852), and "A Clergyman," *Mormons, the Dream and the Reality; or, Leaves from the Sketch-book of Experience of One who Left England to Join the Mormons in the City of Zion, and Awoke to a Consciousness of Its Eronius Wickedness and Abomination* (London: Joseph Masters, 1852).

16. A.G. Paddock, *In the Toils: or, The Martyrs of the Latter Days* (Chicago: Shepard, Tobias, 1879); Metta Victoria Fuller, *Mormon Wives: A Narrative of Facts Stranger than Fiction* (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1856); and Jennie Bartlett Switzer, *Elder Northfield's Home; or, Sacrificed on the Mormon Altar, the Story of the Blighting Curse of Polygamy* (New York: J. Howard Brown Company, 1882). This genre of sensationally titled woman-escapes-from-the-Mormons narratives has not completely died out. Consider for example the successful paperback by Deborah Laake, *Secret Ceremonies: A Mormon Woman's Intimate Diary of Marriage and Beyond* (New York: Island Books, 1993).

17. Maria Ward [pseud.], *Female Life among the Mormons: A Narrative of Many Years' Personal Experience by the Wife of a Mormon Elder Recently from Utah* (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1858), 237.

18. Ann Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19, or The Story of a Life in Bondage, Being a Complete Exposé of Mormonism, and Revealing the Sorrows, Sacrifices and Sufferings of Women in Polygamy* (Hartford: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1875), 321.

19. Amanda Dickinson, "Polygamy Degrades Womanhood," *Women's Journal*, March 29, 1870, 29.

20. "Orientalist" is meant here in the dual sense of "compared to the Orient" as well as in the Saidian sense of a view manufactured by colonial culture that reveals more about the preconceptions of the colonizers than the native culture ostensibly under investigation. See Said, *Orientalism*. For examination of the Orientalist nature of anti-Mormon literature, see Givens, *The Viper on the Hearth*, 4, 15–16, 130, 132.

21. Sandra L. Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800–1915* (Aberquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 90. For a general overview of anti-Mormon polemics, see Charles A. Cannon, "The Awesome Power of Sex: The Polemical Campaign against Mormon Polygamy," *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (February 1974): 61–82.

22. For an analysis of the subliterate culture, see Ray Allen Billington, *The Origins of Nativism in the United States, 1800–1844* (1933; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1974). Two books exerted an especially powerful impact on nineteenth-century America: Maria Monk, *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, As Exhibited in a Narrative of Her Sufferings during a Residence of Five Years as a Novice,*

and *Two Years as a Black Nun, in the Hotel Dieu Nunnery at Montreal* (New York: Howe and Bates, 1836), and George Lippard, *The Quaker City; or, the Monks of Monk Hall; A Romance of Philadelphia Life, Mystery and Crime* (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart and Company, 1876).

23. David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (September 1960): 205–24. For anti-Catholic literature in particular, see Marie Anne Pagliarini, "The Pure American Woman and the Wicked Catholic Priest: An Analysis of Anti-Catholic Literature in Antebellum America," *Religion and American Culture* 9, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 97–128. While such writing was not leveled only against Mormons, its application to the new religion produced the first North American version of ancient blood libel legends and helped anti-Mormonism to emerge as a still-thriving social and intellectual movement itself worthy of study—America's homegrown bigotry in response to America's homegrown religion. Just as stereotypes of blacks as sexually aggressive, and Indians as "Indian givers," can be fruitfully interpreted as psychological inversions of the true nature of white Americans' interaction with these groups, so too can the image of Mormons secretly plotting to do violence to their Gentile neighbors be fruitfully regarded as an inversion of the more common reality. For Maria Ward's exposure as a fraud, see Richard F. Burton, *City of the Saints and across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861; reprint, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 229. It is perhaps worth noting that a "ward" is the term used by Mormons for the fundamental unit of church organization—the geographic area that makes up one congregation. To a Mormon, "Maria Ward" would have religious connotations like "Maria Church," "Maria Parish," or "Maria Monk" might have for other Christians.

24. See Sarah Barringer Gordon, "The Twin Relic of Barbarism: A Legal History of Anti-Polygamy in Nineteenth-Century America" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1995).

25. A. G. Paddock, *The Fate of Madam La Tour: A Story of the Great Salt Lake* (New York: Fords, Howard, and Hulbert, 1881), 366.

26. Harriet Beecher Stowe, "Introductory Preface," in Mrs. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *"Tell it All": The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism* (Cincinnati: Queen City Publishing, 1874).

27. During about five years in the 1850s and 1860s, more Mormons lived in England than in the Utah Territory. Continuing migration and slowing conversion rates reversed this. See Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 127–44.

28. For a general overview of Mormon defenses of plural marriage, see "The Blessings of the Abrahamic Household," in Carmon G. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 84–126; and David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Polygamy Defenses," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 43–63.

29. John S. Tanner, "Milton and the Early Mormon Defense of Polygamy," *Milton Quarterly* 21 (March 1987): 41–46.

30. Claudia L. Bushman, ed., *Mormon Sisters* (Cambridge, Mass.: Emmeline Press, 1976) provides a number of essays that give insight into the political and social views of women regarding polygamy and feminism. See especially Stephanie Smith Goodson, "Plural Wives," 89–112, and Judith Rasmussen Dushku, "Feminists," 177–98.

31. Dean L. May, *Utah: A People's History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 166.

32. See Helen Mar Whitney, *Plural Marriage as Taught by the Prophet Joseph: A Reply to Joseph Smith, Editor of the Lamoni (Iowa) "Herald"* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882). Also see Helen Mar Whitney, *Why We Practice Plural Marriage: By a "Mormon" and Mother* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884).

33. Whitney, *Plural Marriage*, 5, 7.

34. See, for example, Susa Young Gates, *Heroines of "Mormondom,"* Noble Women's Lives Series, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884), and Annie Clark Tanner, *A Mormon Mother; An Autobiography* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969).

35. This revelation is recorded in the Doctrine and Covenants (132). The Doctrine and Covenants is a collection of revelations, mostly Joseph Smith's, that Latter-day Saints regard as Scripture.

36. The inappropriateness and moral failure of nineteenth-century female reformers' "rescue mindset" regarding plural wives is demonstrated in Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874–1939* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 177–212.

37. May, *A People's History of Utah*, 124.

38. Michael Stewart, "The Legal History of Utah," in *Utah Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Alan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 322–26.

39. Dale L. Morgan, *The State of Deseret* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987), 7–27.

40. Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, 165.

41. Morgan, *The State of Deseret*, 13.

42. Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, vol.11, 124–25.

43. This was the world's first department store, and Brigham Young is credited as its inventor. See Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 92–93.

44. R. Laurence Moore uses Mormon history as an example for his argument in his *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 25–47; which is, in short: religious outsiders—particularly Jews, Mormons, and Catholics—have defined the character of the American religious landscape more than the religious mainstream has by experiencing to the fullest the unique brand of religious liberty America has to offer, and thereby they have defined the limits of that freedom.

45. Burton, *City of the Saints*, 1.

46. See Howard Stansbury (U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers), *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah; including description of its geography, natural history, and minerals, and an analysis of its waters, with an authentic account of the Mormon settlement* (Philadelphia: Lippencott and Grambo, 1852).

47. Burton, *City of the Saints*, 250.

48. John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons or Latter-day Saints in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake: A History of Their Rise and Progress, Peculiar Doctrines, Present Condition, and Prospects, Derived from Personal Observation during a Residence among Them* (Philadelphia: Lippencott and Grambo, 1852, 1860; reprint, Brookline: Paradigm Publications, 1993).

49. Thomas Kane's correspondence concerning his diplomatic mission to Utah during the Mormon war can be found in LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *The Utah Expedition, 1857–1858* (Glendale, Calif.: A. H. Clark Company, 1958), 265–93. See also Charles P. Roland, *Albert Sidney Johnston: Soldier of Three Republics* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964, 1993), 206–8.

50. See Will South, *Andy Warhol Slept Here? Famous and Infamous Visitors to Utah* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), 8, 11, 16.

51. See Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City*, 2 vols. (London, 1861); Ole Bech-Peterson, "Familiarizing Orientals: Nineteenth-Century Danish Literary Travelers among the Mormons," OASIS,

working paper no. 106, February 2000; Wilhelm Topsøe, *Fra Amerika* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1872); and Robert Watt, *Hinsides Atlanterhavet*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: P. Bloch, 1872–1874).

52. The story of the purposes and results of prominent Gentile visits to the Mormon kingdom before Mormon integration into American society and easy access to the region would need book-length treatment.

53. David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 193.

54. Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859* (New York: C. M. Saxton, Barker and Co., 1860).

55. *Ibid.*, 209–28. See also Horace Greeley, “Two Hours with Brigham Young,” *New York Tribune*, August 20, 1859.

56. These publications caused some of Burton’s numerous run-ins with the Society for the Suppression of Vice. See Jack Zipes, *When Dreams Come True: Classical Fairy Tales and Their Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 49–60.

57. See Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3–32.

58. Burton, *City of the Saints*, 224–28.

59. Fawn M. Brodie, *The Devil Drives: A Life of Sir Richard Burton* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967), 185.

60. Burton, *City of the Saints*, 482–83.

61. Fawn Brodie, Editor’s Introduction, *ibid.*, xxv, xxxvi.

62. It is not clear from the context of Burton’s statement whether he meant taking plural wives, entering the Endowment House, or both. This exchange is reported by Thomas Wright in his *Life of Sir Richard Burton* (New York: Putnam and Sons, and London: Everett and Co., 1905), 163–64, and may be apochryphal.

63. Burton, *City of the Saints*, 248.

64. There are two good biographies of Porter Rockwell: Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God/Son of Thunder* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966, 1993), and Richard Lloyd Dewey, *Porter Rockwell: A Biography* (Farmingdale, N.Y.: Paramount Books, 1986, 1993).

65. Burton, *City of the Saints*, 503–4.

66. Glenn S. Burne, *Richard F. Burton* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1985), 97.

67. Burton, *City of the Saints*, 1.

68. See Rodney Stark, "The Rise of a New World Faith," *Review of Religious Research* 26 (1984): 18–27; Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); and Eric A. Eliason, ed., *Mormons and Mormonism: An Introduction to an American World Religion* (Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001). The College of St. Hild and St. Bede at the University of Durham in England held a conference April 19–23, 1999, devoted to the question of whether or not Mormonism constituted a world religion. Amid much discussion about the viability of the concept of "world religion" itself by scholars such as Bryan Wilson, Ninian Smart, Douglas Davies, Malise Ruthven, and John Hinnells, a consensus emerged that Mormonism makes as good as, if not a better, case for being a world religion as any faith.

69. Regardless of what ulterior motives he might have had, it is difficult to come away from Burton's account without the sense that he was genuinely impressed with 1860s Mormon society.

70. This order encouraged militia and private citizens to kill all Mormons who refused to leave Missouri and made such action legal. See Richard L. Anderson, "Clarifications of Boggs's 'Order' and Joseph Smith's Constitutionalism," in *Church History Regional Studies, Missouri*, ed. Arnold K. Garr and Clark V. Johnson (Provo: Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1994), 27–70. Although it lay dormant for many years, the governor of Missouri did not officially rescind it until 1976 (Christopher S. Bond, Executive Order, June 25, 1976, governor's office, Jefferson City, Missouri).

71. I credit this observation to Professor Richard Cracroft of Brigham Young University. See Richard H. Cracroft, "The Gentle Blasphemer: Mark Twain, Holy Scripture, and the Book of Mormon," *Brigham Young University Studies* 11 (Winter 1971): 119–40.

72. Folklorist Jill Terry Rudy has collected significant evidence of a well-developed tradition of nineteenth-century Mormon self-deprecatory lore in "Portraits in Song: Gleanings from the Brigham Young Folksong Cycle," unpublished manuscript in author's possession.

73. On the tall tale in American folklore and literature, see Carolyn S. Brown, *The Tall Tale in American Folklore and Literature* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987).

74. Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (New York: American Publishing Company, 1872; reprint, New York: Penguin, 1980), "Prefatory."

75. *Ibid.*, 93.

76. *Ibid.*, 111.

77. *Ibid.*, 94.

78. Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 325.

79. Twain, *Roughing It*, 97. Perhaps Twain's appraisal of "Mormon beauties" is perhaps driven more by the internal logical requirements of his joke than by his observations. Richard Burton found Mormon women attractive and noted "noble regular features, the lofty, thoughtful brow, the clear transparent complexion, the long silky hair, and greatest of all, the soft smile of the American woman when she does smile" (Burton, *City of the Saints*, 251–52). Evaluations of Mormon women's attractiveness seem to have more to do with the rhetorical goals of the evaluator than any "objective" reality.

80. Twain, *Roughing It*, 97. Twain met Porter Rockwell but did not consider his appearance and demeanor worthy of his reputation as a man of action. This low appraisal may explain Twain's reluctance to believe stories about Rockwell.

81. See Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 219.

82. Twain, *Roughing It*, 98–102.

83. The question of the how large Brigham Young's family was depends, of course, on what year is in question. It expanded and contracted over the years with marriages, deaths, and divorces. In the span of his life, he was married to twenty-four women, sixteen of whom bore him children. See Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 420–21.

84. See Appendix. Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834–1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 40, 44, 45, 47, 50, 89.

85. For an account of the early problems with and eventual debunking of the once widely accepted theory that Joseph Smith had plagiarized a work by would-be romantic novelist Solomon Spaulding, see Lester E. Bush, Jr., "The Spaulding Theory Then and Now," *Dialogue* 10 (1977): 40–69. The main problem with the Spaulding theory turned out to be that once the Spaulding manuscript resurfaced it turned out to have very little to do with the Book of Mormon.

86. Twain, *Roughing It*, 102.

87. There is a widespread Latter-day Saint oral tradition which holds that Twain said that the book of Ether is aptly titled because it “puts you to sleep.” However, there is no documentation that Twain ever exploited the humorous potential of this double meaning of the word Ether. Of course, it would have been even more funny if Twain had played on the double meaning of Ether in his “chloroform in print” quip about the Book of Mormon. What seems to have happened, as is often the case in oral traditions, the Mormon folk “bettered” the historical record and put these words in Twain’s mouth. The fact that Mormons have taken pride in being mercilessly ridiculed by Twain is curious. Perhaps it is better to be mentioned negatively by Twain than not at all. Also, being made fun of by Twain puts Mormons in pretty good company. There may also be at work here an element of putting into a Gentile’s mouth a sentiment that good Mormons should not say. Thereby Mormons can say it vicariously. Twain’s assessment has been so often repeated by scholars to this day that one would wonder why hundreds of thousands of Mormons of all levels of education have made the Book of Mormon a centerpiece of their worship and missionary activity. Mormon scholars, of course, find much that is exciting and inspiring in the book and some non-Mormon scholars do as well, as Nathan O. Hatch demonstrates in *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 113–22.

88. Everett Emerson, “Religion,” in *The Mark Twain Encyclopedia*, ed. J. R. LeMaster and James D. Wilson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), 632.

89. Twain, *Roughing It*, 111.

90. Mark Twain, *Christian Science* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907).

91. Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah, the Right Place: The Official Centennial History* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1996), 173–78.

92. Bunker and Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image*, 147–49.

93. George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt’s New Overland Tourist and Pacific Coast Guide* (Chicago: Overland Publishing, 1878–79); Frank Goodyear, “Mormonism Captured: Photography and the Visual Representation of the New Zion” (panel presentation draft in author’s possession, presented at the October 1995 Western History Association Meeting), 7.

94. For an account of the federal campaign against plural marriage, see Eric A. Eliason, “‘An Awful Tale of Blood’: Theocracy, Intervention, and the Forgotten Kingdom,” in *FARMS Review of Books* 12 (2000): 95–112.

95. James Clifford, “On Ethnographic Allegory,” in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 120.

96. The watershed book in this movement was Clifford and Marcus, *Writing Culture*.

97. The list of religious movements put down or oppressed using political, social, and economic justifications is longer than space allows. Below I provide only a few examples: for the U.S. Army's campaign against the ghost dance of the 1880s and 1890s, see James Mooney and Raymond J. DeMallie, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), Robert M. Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), and Michael Hittman and Don Lynch, *Wovoka and the Ghost Dance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); for anti-Catholic sentiment peaking in mass riots and arson in Philadelphia in the summer of 1844, see Dennis Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia: Ten Generations of Urban Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982) and Dale B. Light, *Rome and the New Republic: Conflict and Community in Philadelphia Catholicism between the Revolution and the Civil War* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996); for the jailing and harassment of Amish, Mennonite, Jehovah's Witness, and other religiously motivated conscientious objectors during World War I and World War II, see Gerlof D. Homan, *American Mennonites and the Great War: 1914–1918, Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History*, no. 34 (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1994), Leo Driedger and Donald B. Kraybill, *Mennonite Peacemaking: From Quietism to Activism* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1994), Perry Bush, *Two Kingdoms, Two Loyalties: Mennonite Pacifism in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), and Lillian Schlissel, comp., *Conscience in America: A Documentary History of Conscientious Objection in America, 1757–1967* (New York: Dutton, 1968); for the raid on and jailing of hundreds of Short Creek polygamists and the break-up of their families by Arizona governor Howard Pyle in 1953, see Martha Sonntag Bradley, *Kidnapped from That Land: The Government Raids on the Short Creek Polygamists* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1996); for the mayor of Philadelphia's 1985 aerial bombing and burning of sixty-one homes as part of a campaign against the religious sect MOVE, see Robin Wagner-Pacifici and Rob Wagner-Pacifici, *Discourse and Destruction: The City of Philadelphia Versus Move* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) and Charles W. Bowser, *Let the Bunker Burn: The Final Battle with Move* (Philadelphia: Camino Books, 1989).

Another example of religious persecution in American culture is the late 1970s and early 1980s activities of the Cult Awareness Network (CAN) and other anticult organizations that, despite their overtly hostile stance toward new and small religions that require serious commitment from their members, managed to position themselves as a resource of "cult experts" often called on by the media for commentary. CAN promoted and engaged in the practice of kidnapping people who had elected to join unpopular high-commitment religious groups and subjected them to a kind of psychological

torture called deprogramming to return them forcibly to “normal” society. Deprogramming at its peak involved the forcible removal of proselytes from their community of faith and days of isolation from any contact except with the deprogrammers who worked vigorously and ceaselessly with their “patients” by using verbal and sometimes physical intimidation to get them to renounce their religion. While CAN focused its efforts on the most marginalized and vulnerable of American religions, groups as varied as the Unification Church (Moonies), the Children of God, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Scientologists, Mormons, Catholics, and members of the Eastern Orthodox Church had their members subjected to deprogramming. By the late 1980s, the methods of deprogrammers had begun to come under increasing condemnation. The Church of Scientology prevailed in its legal campaign against CAN and took over its operations. See, for example, David Bromley, *Strange Gods: The Great American Cult Scare* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1981); David G. Bromley, ed., *Brainwashing Deprogramming Controversy: Sociological, Psychological, Legal, and Historical Perspectives* (New York: Edwin Mellen, 1984); John T. Biermans, *The Odyssey of New Religious Movements: Persecution, Struggle, Legitimization: A Case Study of the Unification Church* (New York: Edwin Mellen, 1987); Gordon J. Melton, *Cults and New Religions* (New York: Garland, 1994); and Timothy Miller, ed., *America’s Alternative Religions* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).

98. The plausibility that the Branch Davidians were the victims of legally dubious raids in which the ATF and FBI contributed to the deaths of more than eighty men, women, and children is not well understood by the public and virtually ignored by the mainstream media even though it is well documented in many scholarly publications and eye-witness oral histories. See, for example, James D. Tabor and Eugene V. Gallagher, *Why Waco? Cults and the Battle for Religious Freedom in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Stuart A. Wright, ed., *Armageddon in Waco: Critical Perspectives on the Branch Davidian Conflict* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); David Thibodeau and Leon Whiteson, *A Place Called Waco: A Survivor’s Story* (New York: Public Affairs, 1999); David B. Kopel and Paul H. Blackman, *No More Wacos: What’s Wrong with Federal Law Enforcement and How to Fix It* (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1997); and Catherine Lowman Wessinger, *How the Millennium Comes Violently: From Jonestown to Heaven’s Gate* (New York: Seven Bridges Press, 2000).