Icebergs in the desert: the links between capitalist expansion and the spread of 'American' values in Utah, 1847-1896

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Doctor of Philosophy in History

March 2018

Keele University

Contents

Abstract

This thesis analyses debates over the economic future of postbellum Utah Territory, in order to demonstrate the connection between economic expansion and the promotion of a homogenous 'American' identity. Following the American Civil War, a dominant Republican establishment sought to reform Utah Mormons, whose practices of polygamy, theocratic government and economic protectionism represented a rejection of key party values. While support for reforming Mormonism was widespread, anti-Mormon advocates struggled to pass stronger legislation due to the limits of federal authority. Many Republicans came to believe that economic integration offered the potential for a gradual reformation of Utah. Creating systems of economic reciprocity and demonstrating the benefits of capitalist culture would weaken Mormons' desire for isolationism and erode their peculiarities. The development of a transcontinental railroad and promotion of mining in Utah became tools of assimilation, ways to spread the values of the dominant political power.

The Mormon leadership made efforts to resist these market pressures, both rhetorically and practically. It warned its followers of the long-term risks of economic integration and tried to introduce redistributionist initiatives which would foster group spirit and create a more equitable society. However, the reluctance of many Saints to adhere to Church regulation would repeatedly undermine these efforts, as the attractions of the free market made inroads that political reform had struggled to achieve. By the end of the century, a transformation had taken place within Mormon society. The encroachment of capitalist networks into Utah had damaged the Church's ability to maintain regional autonomy and resulted in the adoption of more 'American' business practices. While Mormon economic discourse demonstrated how fringe groups could respond to the pressure to adopt free-labour capitalism, the Church's

inability to create an alternative socioeconomic model shows how the expansion of

trading networks formed a key part of postbellum Republican nationalisation.

Acknowledgements

Around 18 months into this thesis, there was a joke circulating that I should be kept away from any new American history staff at Keele, because I had done such a good job of scaring off any who were assigned to be my supervisor. The upside to this prolific turnover is that I have been able to draw advice from a range of different perspectives and I must thank each person who served on my supervisory team. Axel Schaefer, Laura Sandy and Martin Crawford all provided enthusiastic and encouraging input to this research process. Anthony Kauders is deserving of individual recognition. He has been required to learn more about Mormons than I imagine he ever thought would be necessary, but he ended up being the one constant presence throughout my three years, and has never failed to offer support and insight. Outside of Keele, thanks must go to Dan Peart, who kindly volunteered a fresh set of eyes during the final stages of writing. I would also like to thank Andrew Heath, my supervisor during my undergraduate and masters degrees. I am not the only person who believes that Andrew has a profound impact upon his students. His passion when teaching and his willingness to nurture the interests of others have been invaluable to me personally and I would not have pursued this project without his influence.

I would also like to thank the staff and volunteers at the Church History and Utah State History libraries in Salt Lake City for their assistance with my research. The limited staff at the latter in particular never waned in their enthusiasm when helping out a pestering Brit in an otherwise quiet archive. I must also thank those associations which provided me with financial assistance, without which my research trip to Utah would not have been possible. The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences was generous in providing additional financial support, beyond my initial scholarship. Keele

Introduction

My thesis investigates how reformers in the U.S. federal government considered expansion of the American capitalist system into Utah Territory an effective way to alter the social practices of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as well as weaken the Church's control over territorial government. Having encountered hostility in their attempts to form settlements in the East, the Latter-day Saints had migrated to Utah in 1847. There, they quickly used their isolation, strong numbers and social cohesion to form, in their eyes, a religious kingdom. Mormon society was distinctive due to the Church's control over territorial politics, its co-ordination of certain economic activities and the practice of polygamous marriage. All three of these characteristics were an affront to the values of a postbellum Republican establishment attempting to spread its model for society across the rest of the nation. Despite the unpopularity of Mormons within mainstream American society, and strong support for legislation that would root out 'un-American' practices, the lack of non-Mormon (or Gentile) presence in Utah had resulted in federal law there being almost unenforceable. Following the American Civil War, however, Republicans in the federal government began to focus more strongly upon the Mormon question, and sought new methods to bring 'American' values to the Mormon people.

Sceptical of over-extending federal authority, many Americans believed that the best way to reform Utah would be by developing western infrastructure and increasing the infiltration of Gentile migration and investment into the Territory. Most often this approach prioritised the completion of the transcontinental railroad and the establishment of a mining industry in Utah. Eastern migrants and capital would erode the Mormon majority that gave the Church such a tight grip on local politics and

demonstrate the benefits, both economic and social, to be gained from adopting the laws of the free market. Economic expansion would become a tool of social reform; bringing Utah Mormons into national trading networks would simultaneously bring them into the national fold.

Members of the LDS leadership were aware of the risks that increased economic integration posed to Utah Territory. Having fled to the desert to escape persecution, there were political and religious reasons to be wary of any action which would increase the influence of Gentile America upon their communities. However, when analysing how the Church envisioned the economic future of the Territory, what quickly becomes evident is how Church leaders also criticised their political opponents for creating a nation too closely wedded to capitalist values which they considered to be socially corrosive.

A key aspect of early Mormonism was an opposition to the depersonalised market forces and individualistic focus of the Market Revolution. By the 1860s such values had been incorporated, through the free-labour ideology of the Republican Party, into the worldview of the controlling political power. As government support of westward expansion increased, these two competing economic outlooks collided. Church rhetoric identified the extension of Gentile business networks into Utah as a threat to the future of Mormonism. However, Church leaders also invoked more secular arguments, indicative of their role as figureheads for a group of American citizens concerned with protecting themselves in an increasingly 'national' market system. As well as preserving the distinctive nature of their religious community, Latter-day Saints sought to protect regional identity and maintain self-sufficiency in the face of an expanding capitalist system which threatened to undermine community ties and create systems of dependency which could weaken the autonomy of individual

regions.

In an attempt to prevent the integration of the Mormon economy, the Church employed a series of protectionist initiatives. Through these, they sought to boost local industry, develop home manufactures and reduce the reliance of the Latter-day Saints upon eastern capital for survival. The goal was not only to protect the interests of a religious group within a much larger, unfriendly political system; it was also to ensure that the Republican economic system would not be allowed to exploit Utah's resources at the expense of the long-term stability of the Territory. These two sides of the debate, between an expansionist capitalist ideology and Mormon protectionism, resulted in a half-century long battle for dominance. Both sides saw that the political future of Utah Territory could not be separated from the economic model that was allowed to develop inside its borders. To analyse debates over the economic development of Utah during the late-nineteenth century is therefore to investigate ideas relating to the ability of central governments to disseminate ideology throughout American history, the power dynamic between different regions of the United States, and the efforts to craft a coherent national identity through market forces following the Civil War.

In the following overview of the historiography, I will establish the significance of this thesis within three different schools of historical thought. Firstly, it builds upon recent efforts by Mormon historians to integrate the history of the LDS Church into broader narratives of American change, using the Mormon experience in Utah as a lens through which to view national debates over 'American' economic practices. Secondly, it contributes to recent works within Reconstruction historiography which have decentralised sectional conflict from our understanding of the period and shown that debates over postbellum national citizenship drew upon a wider set of influences

than often accounted for within the field. By analysing the pressures exerted upon the Mormon people by the infiltration of American capitalism, it also adds to works which have presented the expansion of a Republican national agenda as that of an imperial power seeking to breed homogeneity throughout the nation. Thirdly, my analysis draws upon the work of western historians, who have provided extensive evidence over the last fifty years of how eastern interests were able to exert influence over the settlement of the West. It also shows how western settlers were important political actors in their own rights, negotiating their own position within national power balances and resisting subordination to eastern elites.

Mormon history has long struggled with its own insularity. The historiography of the field, while made up of a wide range of rich and insightful works, has often been guilty of maintaining too tight a focus upon the Church itself, rather than establishing its place within the history of the United States. While it is readily acknowledged that the Church originated in the United States, and a considerable portion of its early history took place primarily in its borders, historians have often passed up the opportunity to fully discuss what Mormonism meant when viewed as the action of a group of American citizens. Instead, at times the approach taken has been the opposite. It is easy to establish a dichotomy between Mormons and non-Mormons, especially within histories of the nineteenth century in particular, when Church doctrine promoted a separatist worldview and many Americans viewed the LDS Church as existing on the fringes of acceptability. Many of the major events during the early years of the Church – repeated confrontations with groups of American citizens and state and national government administrations, separation in Utah, struggles with increasingly stringent federal legislation – lend themselves to framing Mormonism as a distinctive phenomenon in the history of the period, which warrant separate

academic analysis. Although the arguments made in the historiography are not homogeneous, the antagonistic nature of the relationship between these two sides, and the ways in which this conflict can help us to better understand the history of either the LDS Church or Utah, colour a lot of twentieth-century scholarship upon the subject.[1] Leonard J. Arrington and Richard Bushman, both leading historians held in high regard by their contemporaries in and out of the Church, have respectively described the history of the Mormons at the turn of the century as 'a great capitulation' and a 'colonization'. [2]

This is not to say that the castigation of Mormons within nineteenth-century politics should be downplayed. However, such a focus has resulted in a tendency to overlook the connections between Mormon society and the nation at large. Mormons should be more often portrayed as actors in a national system. These links are often hinted at, most typically by situating the foundation of Mormonism within the American experience.[3] Such accounts stress the ways in which the Church incorporated the history of the American continent into its religious narrative, making it 'the only major religion with American roots'.[4] However, there are still gaps in the historiography for

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[1] For the most clear examples of such a focus, see Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, 1971); Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859* (New Haven, 1960); Robert Joseph Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict, 1862-1890* (Salt Lake City, 1971); David L. Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847-1896* (Logan, 2005).

[2] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 409; Richard Bushman, 'The Colonization of the Mormon Mind', *Annual of the Association of Mormon Letters* (2000), pp. 14-23.

[3] The idea of Mormonism being particularly 'American' held such weight that it was the only religious denomination to be given its own book-length analysis in the 'Chicago History of American Religion'. See Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago, 1981).

[4] Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (Boston, 1979). Matthew Bowman has articulated this sentiment most clearly, describing the story of Mormonism as 'the story of America itself' in *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith* (New York, 2012), p. x. See also the intro to Claudia Lauper Bushman and Richard Lyman Bushman, *Building the Kingdom: A History of Mormons in America* (New York, 2001). Richard Bushman has attempted to mediate the relationship between Mormon and American history more clearly, arguing in his first history of Joseph Smith that although Mormonism drew strongly upon the culture of the New York region in which it originated, to emphasise this angle too strongly would run the risk of suppressing differences which make for the most interesting historical reading; Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Chicago, 1984), pp. 7-8.

more detailed research to be undertaken to incorporate Latter-day Saints into national narratives.

While a focus on the distinctive nature of Mormon and Gentile communities has resulted in historiographical shortcomings, these labels still remain useful as a heuristic framing device. My research draws the same distinction between Mormons and non-Mormons as much of the historiography that precedes it. The fact that Mormons used 'Gentiles' to denote all Americans who did not belong to their Church shows that this distinction cannot be overlooked entirely. Similarly, Mormons occupied such a central role within national political discourse because of the ways in which they deviated from social norms. The assertion of this thesis is not that historians have been creating false dichotomies; I will demonstrate throughout how the contrast between 'Mormon' and 'Gentile' was one of the main identifiers used throughout the nineteenth century. Rather, one of my main arguments is that this division has not been properly investigated as a means of understanding certain aspects of American identity and political culture during the late-nineteenth century. When discussing the future of Church-controlled economic institutions in Utah, and the impact of Gentile trading practices entering into the Territory, leading figures from both camps articulated clear distinctions between the two groups. However, they also situated the Church's attempts to impose a distinctive economic model upon Utah within wider processes of economic expansion, support for free-labour ideologies and unrestrained access to the resources of the American West. The postbellum period in Utah exposed divisions between two groups with markedly different visions for the local economy's role in a national marketplace. Both legitimised their visions, though, by claiming that their approach most closely fit with American ideals and represented a more appropriate, and fairer, model for American society.

Within Mormon historiography, there has been a growing awareness of the need to write histories which resonate more broadly. In reaching this point, Mormon historians have often had to negotiate the close relationship that their profession enjoys with the leadership of the Church itself. Such closeness has created difficulties when attempts to document Mormon history have clashed with a Church still striving to defend its public image and attract new members.[5] In the 1950s there was a shift away from histories which sought to either defend or discredit the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This move, labelled the New Mormon History and considered to have commenced with the publication of Juanita Brooks' *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, emphasised more impartial academic writing, to be achieved by allowing historians greater access to the Church's extensive archives.[6] Controversial events in the Church's history, such as the Massacre, were to be explored, while an effort was also made to move beyond 'great men' narratives in order to provide a more well-rounded understanding of life in Mormon society. In the introduction to a collection of essays intended to demonstrate the best attributes of this new historiographical approach, D. Michael Quinn emphasised that New Mormon Historians should 'avoid using histories as a religious battering ram'.[7] Provided with access to historical materials, academics would be able to provide rich and fulfilling histories which also protected the image that the Church sought to project to the rest of the world. Maintaining such a balance proved harder than originally imagined, however. Leonard Arrington, figurehead of the New Mormon History school and the first professional

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[5] For brief overviews of Mormon historiography, albeit ones which overlook the difficulties that have existed between certain New Mormon Historians and the LDS hierarchy, see Matthew Bowman, 'Mormonism and its Historians: The State of the Field', *Religion Compass*, Vol. 5, No. 12 (2011), pp. 720-730; Thomas G. Alexander, 'Historiography and the New Mormon History: A Historian's Perspective', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Vol. 19 (Fall 1986), pp. 25-49.
[6] Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Norman, 1950).
[7] D. Michael Quinn (ed.), *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Mormon Past* (Salt Lake City, 1992), p. viii.

historian to hold the position of official Church Historian, would ultimately be relieved of his position following the escalation of tensions between academics and the LDS hierarchy. Although aspiring towards objectivity in their writing, many authors found themselves having to contend with leading Church apostles, who became increasingly unhappy with histories which presented certain aspects of Latter-day Saint history in a less savoury light. This opposition culminated in Church leaders clamping down on access to and regulation of LDS histories, bringing the open access of the preceding years to a close.[8]

This tension within the identity of Mormons who write on the history of their own religion remains an issue. Richard Bushman, in defending his own approach to documenting the early life of Joseph Smith, has highlighted the difficulty that many in the field experience in balancing historical objectivity with the desire to protect the image of a religion that they believe still lacks mainstream acceptance.[9] Nevertheless, since the turn of the century there has been a revival of interest in producing the broader Mormon histories towards which the New Mormon History aspired.[10] As part of a 2009 roundtable in the *Journal of Mormon History* discussing the future of the field, scholars argued for a need to overcome the tendency to write insular Mormon histories. Although a number of different titles were used, including 'Post New Mormon History' and 'New-New Mormon History', the conclusion drawn

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[8] Leonard J. Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian* (Chicago, 1998); Gregory A. Prince, *Leonard Arrington and the Writing of Mormon History* (Salt Lake City, 2016).

[9] Richard L. Bushman, 'The Balancing Act: A Mormon historian reflects on his biography of Joseph Smith', *Common Place: the journal of early American life*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (October 2006), http://common-place.org/book/the-balancing-act/, accessed 14/4/2017; Bushman has also written on the impact of 'apologist' historians upon the writing of Mormon history – Richard L. Bushman, 'What's New in Mormon History: A Response to Jan Shipps', *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 94, No. 2 (Sep., 2007), pp. 517-521.

[10] For work which discusses the process by which the tension between Mormon apologetics and other Mormon studies came to subside throughout the late-twentieth century, see Benjamin E. Park, 'The Wall Between Church and Academy' in Blair G. Van Dyke and Loyd Isao Ericson (eds), *Perspective on Mormon Theology: Apologetics* (Sandy, 2017).

by the roundtable's contributors was the same: a more expansive outlook was needed. Matthew Bowman summed up well the attitudes of the contributors when he argued that it was time to recognise when writing historical work that 'Mormons looked not only up [to God], but around them'.[11] The actions of individuals, both prominent and otherwise, throughout the Church's history were not only a response to the demands of their faith, but also to events happening outside the confines of the Church. Most recently, Laurie Maffly-Kipp has called upon Mormon historians to understand that 'centrifugal forces are just as important as centripetal ones for understanding how people experienced Mormonism'. Seeking to differentiate between institutional ideals and how grassroots members of the Church 'lived their religion', she has argued that seeing Church members as more fully rounded individuals, who responded to their surroundings and incorporated or discarded different aspects of their religion, will lead to more accurate and more satisfying historical accounts.[12] New-New Mormon History offers the potential not only for more balanced Mormon histories, but also a better understanding of changes in national society.

This new approach to the historiography has been evident in much of the recent academic work upon the Church, with historians increasingly likely to adopt a wider perspective in their writing. W. Paul Reeve has produced insightful work analysing negotiations over space between Native Americans, Mormons and Gentile miners in disputed western territory, as well as work showing how Mormons were racialized within nineteenth-century political discourse.[13] Patrick Mason has documented

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[11] Matthew Bowman, 'Context and the New-New Mormon History', *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Summer 2009), pp. 208-13. From the same issue, see also W. Paul Reeve, 'Post New Mormon History: A Manifesto', pp. 223-5; J. Spencer Fluhman, 'Fashioning a New Mormon History', pp. 214-8.
[12] Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, 'The Clock and the Compass: Mormon Culture in Motion', *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Apr., 2017), pp. 1-17.
[13] W. Paul Reeve, *Making Space on the Western Frontier: Mormons, Miners and Southern Paiutes*

hostility towards Mormonism in the postbellum South.[14] J.B. Haws has provided a history of the image of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the second half of the twentieth century.[15] Works more closely suited to the issues of this thesis have recently been published from outside of Church ranks. Sarah Barringer Gordon's history of the constitutional debates over anti-polygamy legislation places the Church's legal defences within a climate of increased regulation of morality. She also compares Mormon social models with those of those of a politically-dominant North which drew strong links between Protestant monogamy and democracy following the Civil War.[16] Christine Talbot has taken a similar methodological approach in *A Foreign Kingdom*. Talbot uses polygamy to produce an analysis of northern political discourse regarding public and private spheres, in order to argue not only that the private family unit was a key component of Republican ideology, but also that adherence to such a model became an essential facet of national citizenship.[17] All of these works provide greater understanding of the role that Mormonism played in a broader national culture, one

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(Chicago, 2006); W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York, 2015).

[14] Patrick Mason, *The Mormon Menace: Violence and Anti-Mormonism in the Postbellum South* (Oxford, 2011).

[15] J. B. Haws, *The Mormon Image in the American Mind: Fifty Years of Public Perception* (Oxford, 2013).

[16] Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-century America* (Chapel Hill, 2002), pp. 122-130. The chapters of Gordon's work which look at the constitutional arguments invoked by the LDS legal defence are particularly useful for demonstrating the value that debates over Mormonism can provide to our understanding of broader changes within the United States. Gordon argues that the Mormon defence did a much better job than the prosecution in situating their argument for the constitutionality of polygamous marriage within American legal tradition. Their ability to do this over a prolonged period of time was one of the key reasons that anti-polygamy legislation took so long to enforce. These sections of Gordon's work not only provide an insight into the limits that judicial decisions placed upon federal jurisdiction in postbellum America; they also show clearly the ways in which Mormons repeatedly invoked their rights as American citizens and situated their values within a longer American tradition.

[17] Christine Talbot, *A Foreign Kingdom: Mormons and Polygamy in American Political Culture, 1852-1890* (Chicago, 2013). For other works which use aspects of Mormon society to comment on national cultures or politics in the late-nineteenth century, see Todd M. Kerstetter, *God's Country, Uncle Sam's Land: Faith and Conflict in the American West* (Chicago, 2008); J. Spencer Fluhman, *A Peculiar People: Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, 2012); Brent M. Rogers, *Unpopular Sovereignty: Mormons and the Federal Management of Early Utah Territory* (Lincoln, 2017).

which was undergoing dramatic changes following a civil war over the values that should make up American identity.

The integration of Mormonism into national narratives has not yet resulted in a detailed analysis of the relationship of Utah Territory to changes in the national marketplace during the postbellum era. Historians have documented the economic policies undertaken to make a success of Mormon towns and villages in Utah, as well as the measures taken to preserve the independence of the Church from Gentile pressure. However, the contrasting worldviews of the two groups have not been incorporated in a way which can inform our understanding of the economic changes that the nation underwent during Reconstruction. Most of Leonard Arrington's work, which has dominated discussion of Mormon economics for the last fifty years, presents Church policy as a rejection of mainstream American social values. To Arrington, the adoption of 'American' trading practices by the end of the nineteenth century was the result of brute force by Gentile interests, aggressive business manoeuvres supported by oppressive federal legislation in order to bring the Mormons to heel.[18] This interpretation fits with the conventional historiographical narrative, which portrays the last two decades of Utah's territorial history almost solely as a period of pronounced federal persecution.[19] Thomas Alexander and James Allen's more recent interpretation has tempered this argument somewhat, their history of Salt Lake City emphasising a

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[18] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*; Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Chicago, 1992).
[19] See footnote 1. Also, Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polgyamy: A History* (Salt Lake City, 1986). For histories which focus on expansion of federal authority from the 'Gentile' perspective, see Stephen Cresswell, *Mormons and Cowboys, Moonshiners and Klansmen: Federal Law Enforcement in the South and West, 1870-1893* (Tuscaloosa, 1991); Everett L. Cooley, 'Carpetbag Rule: Territorial Government in Utah', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Apr., 1958), pp. 107-130; Richard D. Poll, 'The Political Reconstruction of Utah Territory, 1866-1890', *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (May, 1958), pp. 111-126; David Prior. 'Civilization, Republic, Nation: Contested Keywords, Northern Republicans, and the Forgotten Reconstruction of Mormon Utah', *Civil War History*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (Sept., 2010), pp. 283-310.

more congenial relationship between certain Gentiles and members of the LDS Church, as well as how Church leaders welcomed certain aspects of integration into the national economy.[20] Nevertheless, there is still a gap in the literature for work which situates an economic analysis of Mormon Utah in the broader historical perspective of the 'New-New Mormon History'. While maintaining a protectionist stance against the invasion of free-market capitalism into Utah Territory, Church leaders, particularly Brigham Young, articulated the corruption that they saw in Gentile society. Americans were employing a socio-economic model which sacrificed the interests of individual communities in pursuit of economic growth.

Furthermore, expanding upon Alexander and Allen's emphasis on the connections between Mormons and Gentiles can help historians better understand how change was achieved in Utah by the time it joined the Union in 1896. While Church leaders may have used strong rhetoric to warn their followers of the dangers of economic integration, this thesis will demonstrate that many Saints were not willing to heed this advice, preferring to trade in ways which best suited their immediate needs. Church co-operationist initiatives were repeatedly undermined by the desire of a number of Saints to be unrestricted in their economic affairs, in a way which eroded the Church's control both over its followers and over Utah Territory. Home industries were undermined by Saints who chose cheaper imports instead. Consecration struggled to grab the hearts of Church members sceptical of the agenda of their fellow Saints. Warnings about the perils of the mining industry failed to outweigh the potential benefits to those who entered into it. By the time the Church abandoned its support for polygamy in 1890, many of the distinctive aspects of the territorial economy had

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[20] Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, 1984). Rodman Paul took a more negative perspective upon this same phenomenon, claiming that interactions between the two groups doomed Mormon attempts from the outset. See Rodman W. Paul, *The Far West and the Great Plains in Transition, 1859-1900* (New York, 1988).

disappeared. Local development drew more and more Saints into Gentile business networks, away from communalist endeavours run by the Church. LDS discourse taught that the temporal actions of the Latter-day Saints were inextricably linked with their future religious salvation. Defiance of such Church direction showed how the adoption of a 'Gentile' economic ethos could undermine the political authority and long-term independence of a quasi-separatist Mormon community. By showing how many Saints felt a sense of attachment to American capitalist networks, histories of Utah's economy in the late-nineteenth century can become a lens through which to see the connections between the westward expansion of Anglo-Americans and the spread of a system of social values which brought pressure upon certain communities to adopt mainstream American practices.[21]

Focussing on the gradual adoption of Gentile business ethics also helps to decentre polygamy from narratives of Mormon-Gentile interaction during this period. One of the main themes of the literature discussed so far is that it often emphasises the significance of polygamy for understanding conflict between the Church of Latter-day Saints and Gentile America. This tendency exists for a reason: the key legal and political events of this period were for the most part based around federal attempts to rid Utah of the practice. Furthermore, as Gordon and Talbot both demonstrate, plural marriage was the most explicit means of identifying the otherness of Mormon society, and was the aspect of Mormonism most frequently drawn upon in political debates and popular culture. However, a focus which restricts itself too tightly to the battle to reform domestic models in Utah does not provide a satisfactory explanation for the speed with which Utah society transformed in the 1890s once its presence was

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[21] For a work which deals with the change in Mormon business practices after the 1890 Manifesto, but does not touch upon any change that may have occurred before that point, see Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Chicago, 1996).

removed. Klaus Hansen has argued that in order to better understand the changes in Mormon society at the end of the century, it is important to understand the longer and quieter process by which the Mormon aspiration towards a political kingdom subsided, rather than focussing on the more dramatic end to polygamy.[22]

My thesis supports such an interpretation. However, while Hansen sees the decline of the political kingdom as a consequence of the success that the Saints had accomplished in securing a home for themselves, I argue that the desire for such a strong degree of separation decreased as Mormon society was drawn in by the development of infrastructure into the American West and the entrance of Gentile business interests into the local economy. From the end of the Civil War, a transformation took place, gradually at first but more quickly following the death of Brigham Young, who had been the strongest advocate of economic isolationism. Church rhetoric gradually evolved, moving away from consecration, collective labour and centralisation, towards a less regulated approach which allowed its people greater economic freedom and promoted the benefits of cooperation with Gentiles both locally and nationally. Such a shift occurred because of apathy at the grass-roots level towards the more intensive aspects of Church co-operationism. Earlier in the century, those who defied Church initiatives had met with strong criticism from the pulpit or the press. A group of the most outspoken dissenters was excommunicated from the Church in 1869 for their rejection of the right of their religious leaders to dictate the economic decisions of their followers. The justifications for such a strict approach stretched back to the Church's foundation. Mormonism had been born within a climate of economic dislocation caused by the development of the market economy. It had

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[22] Klaus J. Hansen, 'The Metamorphosis of the Kingdom of God: Toward a Reinterpretation of Mormon History', in D. Michael Quinn (ed.), *The New Mormon History*, pp. 221-239.

recruited strongly by appealing to those Americans who sought an alternative to the tumult of expanding economic networks. By the 1890s, however, such stubborn adherence to a religiously-aligned economic communalism was impossible. The day-to-day life of a Latter-day Saint, secure within a vast and growing community of their fellow believers, but also enjoying the benefits of communication and exchange with Gentile America, had undermined the Church's resistance to economic integration. The expansion of free-market capitalism from the East had played a key role in reforming the Latter-day Saints.

An awareness of the different methods the Republicans used to spread their postbellum agenda has been a key aspect of recent literature on Reconstruction. Historians have shifted their focus beyond a strictly sectional analysis, which looked more closely at the competition between Northern and Southern identities following the war, in order to examine how citizenship models impacted their entire nation. Such histories could still focus upon specific political debates relating to the attempts to enforce Republican ideology in the former Confederacy.[23] However, recent works have emphasised how Northerners saw the postbellum period as an opportunity to spread their vision for the United States to the rest of the nation.[24] Different historians have emphasised different aspects of Republican identity. Heather Cox Richardson has presented a process in which the Civil War created a federal government committed to free-market values and willing to subsidise private investment in national

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[23] For histories of Republican party ideology, see Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York, 1970); Heather Cox Richardson, *To Make Men Free: A History of the Republican Party* (New York, 2014).

[24] For examples of this kind of approach to viewing Republican governance, see Susan-Mary Grant, *North over South: Northern Nationalism and American Identity in the Antebellum Era* (Lawrence, 2000); Steven Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders: The United States and Its World, 1830-1910* (New York, 2016).

infrastructural projects, yet wary of providing any great degree of regulation for such initiatives.[25] Paula Baker has linked the increase in postbellum moral reform to Republican conceptions of citizenship and the nuclear family.[26] What ties these histories together are the ways in which they connect government action following the Civil War with the Republican motivation to promote their vision for a new, more homogeneous American identity.

This mission was aided in part by the expansion of central state authority during the Civil War, which greatly increased the scope and jurisdiction of the federal government.[27] However, in many regards federal officials struggled to assert their influence in a nation still wary of excessive centralisation of power. While this was fuelled in part by the resistance of former Confederates to the terms of their military defeat, it also drew upon a long tradition of leaving jurisdiction in the hands of individual states. In the West this problem was particularly germane because, although the federal government could lay claim to a greater degree of control over territories than they could to states, the comparatively underdeveloped nature of the region meant that exercising this authority proved difficult. Greg Downs and Kate Masur have characterised federal governance following the Civil War as 'powerful within narrow geographical boundaries but limited in their reach', restricted in its ability to operate in certain areas, and opposed by individuals or groups in others.[28] The assertion of federal power in the West, while seemingly endorsed by the Constitution, was still contested. Those living in western territories invoked the language of 'popular

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[25] Heather Cox Richardson, *The Greatest Nation of the Earth: Republican Economic Policies During the Civil War* (London, 1997).
[26] Paula Baker, 'The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 89, No. 3 (Jun., 1984), pp. 620-47.
[27] Richard Franklin Bensel, *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in Amerca, 1859-1877* (Cambridge, 1990); Brian Balogh, *A Government Out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, 2009).
[28] Gregory P. Downs and Kate Masur (eds), *The World the Civil War Made* (Chapel Hill, 2015), pp. 6-7.

sovereignty' from the 1850s, alongside a longer history of localised government authority, in order to exert agency in their regions and oppose the imposition of federal power.[29]

Recent work by William Novak and Gary Gerstle, however, has shown that state power can manifest itself in ways which are often overlooked when discussing the strength of national governments. The wide scope of government institutions and affiliations has allowed the state to assert its authority through non-centralised means.[30] Novak in particular has argued that the true nature of government influence in America can best be viewed by focussing on the 'infrastructural power' of the nation, particularly its involvement in areas such as defence, transport, communications, policing, infrastructure, administration and agriculture.[31] Such activity, which often includes a close working relationship between public bodies and private individuals or institutions, allows government authority and ideology to be spread in ways that are often missed by traditional definitions of state power. Gerstle, in his 2015 book *Liberty and Coercion,* argued that the long period of territorialisation that New Mexico, Arizona and Utah underwent resulted in the formulation of an area of constitutional exemption

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[29] For debates over popular sovereignty specifically in relation to Utah, see Rogers, *Unpopular Sovereignty*.

[30] William J. Novak, 'The Myth of the "Weak" American State', *American Historical Review* (June 2008), pp. 752-772; Gary Gerstle, *Liberty and Coercion: The Paradox of American Government* (Princeton, 2015). See also Peter Baldwin, 'Beyond Weak and Strong: Rethinking the State in Comparative Policy History', *The Journal of Policy History*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (2005), pp. 12-33. These works, which show a broader variety of state actions, draws upon earlier work done by social scientists and historians to expanding conceptions of state influence; See Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (eds), *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge, 1985).

[31] Such 'infrastructural' power is contrasted within the literature with 'despotic' power, the ability of a state to 'rule unchecked by other centers of power'. 'Infrastructural' forms of state influence are not unique to the United States, while certain aspects (such as defence spending or police presence) are synonymous with more traditional understandings of state power. Where distinguishing between the two becomes most useful, however, is in the fact that American government, more than European alternatives, has historically used 'infrastructural' influence than 'despotic' methods in forwarding specific political agendas. Looking at the less traditional forms that 'infrastructural' influence took is one of the key ways of promoting this newer interpretation of how government influence operates in the United States. See also Michael Mann, 'The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms, and Results', in John A. Hall (ed.), *States in History* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 109-136.

in which the federal government was able to consolidate its influence over western territories. In the interim, a struggle took place between those living in the West who sought greater recognition of their right to self-government and an American system that was increasing its influence through migration and the development of infrastructure and transportation networks.[32] Such gradual dissemination of 'national' values proved particularly useful in the case of Utah, whose residents had greater constitutional protections as American citizens than Native Americans, Chinese immigrants or Mexicans could enjoy. Latter-day Saints proved particularly resilient to the encroachment of federal authority, making a process of acculturation a much more attractive proposition for reform.

Noam Maggor has incorporated the expansion of American industrial capitalism into this line of argument. In his book *Brahmin Capitalism*, which focuses on the transition of Boston financiers from investment in cotton towards western industrial investment, he argues that a key aspect of the expansion of eastern capital into the West was a reassurance that, although impossible to achieve in its entirety, some degree of stability or uniformity could exist across the nation. Because of this, connections between individual entrepreneurs and government interests were key. It was only the government which could provide the legal structure, resources and enforcement powers that could allow for an integrated national economy to emerge. In this way, the creation of new markets and the expansion of national authority were inextricably linked, even at a point in time when official government authority has been interpreted to have been comparatively weak.[33] Much like Gerstle, Maggor does not

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[32] Gerstle, *Liberty and Coercion*, pp. 94-6.
[33] Noam Maggor, *Brahmin Capitalism: Frontiers of Wealth and Populism in America's First Gilded Age* (London, 2017). For an earlier argument about the desire to create stability, albeit from a political rather than an economic angle, see Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (London, 1967). For a localised case study of these attempts at rationalisation, see William G. Robbins, 'Nature's Industries: The Rhetoric of Industrialism in the Oregon Country' in Richard White and John

omit opposition forces from his accounts of this process. Central to his argument is that there has been a general acceptance of the fact that industrial capitalism emerged in the nineteenth century, without interrogating how that came to pass and how it was debated. Consequently, he exposes the degree to which Americans, both in cities and in the rural West, saw the connection between a burgeoning capitalist system and the growing authority of an eastern political elite and sought to control, mediate or outright oppose this process of change.[34]

The other main benefit that historians have gained from decentralising the Civil War from the historiography of this period has been that they have been able to show opposition to postbellum Republican policy beyond the former Confederacy. Increasingly, Reconstruction debates over the nature of American government, democracy, race relations and morality have been situated within longer-term national debates. Changes in the values that Americans associated with national identity and citizenship, and the opposition that these changes provoked, have been placed in a broader context, and situated within a longer chronology. In particular, women, Native Americans and residents of the American West have benefitted from this transition, their agency restored as active participants in conversations over what life in the postbellum American nation would mean.[35] Such histories allow for the turbulence of the mid-to-late nineteenth century to be seen more clearly. Gregory Downs has been one of the historians most closely associated with this historiographical trend, his work showing how many Americans feared that the Civil War could be the first of many 'civil wars', as the nation came to terms with its expanded borders and the competing social

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M. Findlay (eds), *Power and Place in the American West* (Seattle, 1999).

[34] For a similar argument from an earlier work, see Gerald Berk, *Alternative Tracks: The Constitution of American Industrial Order, 1865-1917* (Baltimore, 1994).

[35] Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders*; Downs and Kate Masur (eds), *The World the Civil War Made*; Heather Cox Richardson, *West From Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America after the Civil War* (New Haven, 2007).

and political worldviews within its own ranks.[36]

My thesis draws upon these histories of extra-legal federal expansion and opposition to assimilationist forces. It demonstrates that, throughout American history, dominant political parties have been able to disseminate ideology through means other than direct federal legislation and enforcement, principally, in the case of Utah, through expansion of capitalist networks. It also undermines historical consensus upon the spread of the American capitalist model by showing the unique way in which members of the LDS Church sought to resist this process. In the 1870s in particular there were a number of prominent political figures who argued that the best way to effectively alter the nature of Mormon society would be to allow westward migration and the economic development of Utah Territory to gradually erode or undermine the authority of the Mormon Church. Particularly when one considers the role that the federal government played in providing economic and political support for the development of infrastructure in the West, the connections between private economic and the spread of state ideology seem clear. Within this discourse, companies who invested in the development of the mineral resources of Utah Territory, or individuals who migrated westward in search of wealth in the mines, became agents of change for the postbellum American social model, undermining LDS separatism by bringing the pressures and allures of the marketplace to bear upon the Mormon people.[37]

Analysing late-nineteenth century Utah through this lens lacks the satisfying

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[36] Gregory Downs, 'The Mexicanization of American Politics: The United States' Transnational Path from Civil War to Stabilisation', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 117, No. 2 (April 2012), pp. 387-409. Steven Hahn has similarly used the concept of 'counter-sovereignties' when talking about this period, to emphasise the fact that despite the political power wielded by the Republican Party following the Civil War, many of the central tenets of American society were under debate throughout these years; Steven Hahn, 'What Sort of World Did the Civil War Make?' in Downs and Masur (eds), *The World the Civil War Made*, p. 341.

[37] Walter Nugent, drawing less subtle lines between migration and imperial expansion, has spoken of the 'millions of individual manifest destinies' that American migrants undertook throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when settling in the West. Walter Nugent, *Habits of Empire, A History of American Expansion* (New York, 2009), p. 232.

moment of transition that the 1890 Manifesto represents in many historical accounts. In fact, at first glance this method for 'Americanizing' the Mormons seemed to fall short. By the 1880s, frustrated at continued defiance of anti-polygamy legislation and the dominance of the Church leadership over local politics, Congress was finally able to pass stronger laws to prosecute polygamists, with the 1884 Edmunds and the 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Acts. In order to undermine the temporal strength of the Church, the second of these laws placed greater restrictions upon the LDS Church as a corporation, damaging its political and economic clout in the Territory. Polygamy conviction rates skyrocketed, from only a handful before 1884 to over 1,000 by 1893, with another 12,000 men and women excluded from voting for supporting the practice.[38] On the face of it, this marked a repudiation of the idea that Mormon Utah could be brought in line with the rest of the nation through the gentle forces of the marketplace.

However, despite eventually using more conventional methods to impose social values on the Latter-day Saints, capitalist expansion did prove to some degree effective. Within Church rhetoric, it had always been clear that promotion of home manufactures, cooperation among the Saints and avoiding trade with eastern merchants were all linked to the political integrity of the Mormon kingdom. To follow Church economic doctrine was to contribute towards the long-term survival of the religious community in the Utah desert. Those Saints who continued to trade with Gentile interests were fostering a dependency for economic survival upon the same Americans who were trying to undermine the Church's control in the region. By 1890, however, many Saints were committed actors in the national marketplace, and members of one of the two main political parties. More radical forms of protectionism

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[38] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 358-9.

within the LDS community, such as the Second United Order, were met with scepticism and half-hearted support and were quickly halted. Mining, held up by Brigham Young as the industry most indicative of the failings of Gentile capitalist society, formed an integral part of the territorial economy and provided livelihoods for countless Utahans, Mormon and Gentile alike. The Church had reduced its formal presence in certain aspects of the economy, with Church-owned enterprises passing into private hands. This is not to say that to participate in the local economy in this way necessarily marked a rejection of one's religious commitment. However, the strong links drawn between such action and the independence of the Mormon community, particularly how Gentiles equated the exploitation of wealth in Utah Territory with their long-term hopes for its 'Americanization', make it clear that both sides saw economic integration as one of the key methods of getting Mormons to more closely conform to the expectations attributed to American citizens.

An awareness that connections with eastern marketplaces threatened regional self-sufficiency was not unique to the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Settlers across the American West wrestled with the tension between the boost to regional development that eastern capital could offer and the networks of dependency that such eastern investment could create. The dominance of the East over the West, whether politically, economically or culturally, and the impact of the former upon the identity of the latter has been one of the key strands of western historiography since the revitalisation of the field in the 1980s. Overcoming the dominance of Frederick Jackson Turner's 'frontier thesis', writers within the 'New Western History' school have succeeded in altering long-held stereotypes and simplifications regarding the West which had constrained historical enquiry for so

long.[39] The idea of the 'frontier' has been pulled apart (and put back together in certain regards) by historians who argued that it was Anglo-centric and overly progressive in nature. Newer works have emphasised the exploitative nature of the settlement process, in relation to both indigenous communities and natural resources. The idealism attached to the region has been called into question, with historians arguing that the image of the West as a land of prosperity, opportunity and democracy jarred with the actual experiences of many settlers. By questioning these widely-held beliefs, especially relating to the myths of the frontier, New Western Historians have demonstrated the need for a better understanding of the different interest groups which influenced western migration, and how their agendas often undermined the romantic rhetoric associated with the region.[40]

One of the most fundamental developments of the New Western History has been its demonstration of the dependence of western settlements on eastern connections, in ways which often undermined the agency of western communities themselves or acted against the best interests of settlers looking to create stability. Newer histories are more likely to emphasise the role that the federal government and eastern business interests played in determining the location, nature and ultimate success of many frontier communities. William Robbins in particular has identified the

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[39] Turner's thesis, first given in an 1893 lecture during a special meeting of the AHA, identified the process of constantly pushing the American frontier westward as the defining feature of both western and American history. Through the inventions and innovations required to overcome the wilderness, pioneers created an American identity, shedding European customs in order to succeed. Turner's thesis proved problematic for western historiography for two reasons. Firstly, it became so widely accepted that it inhibited further research into the field of western history for decades to come. Secondly, Turner's assertion that, having inhabited the entirety of the contiguous United States, the frontier was now closed, was taken to mean that research into developments after this period was not warranted; Frederick Jackson Turner, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History', in Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921).

[40] For historical work seeking to write against or move beyond the 'frontier thesis', see Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American* West (New York, 1987); Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II and Charles E. Rankin (eds), *Trails: Toward a New Western History* (Lawrence, 1991); Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman, 1993); William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (eds), *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past* (New York, 1993).

expansion of capitalist networks as the chief framing device through which to view the history of the West.[41] Histories of western urban centres, which became dominant local political powers and profited from strong business ties with eastern markets, have shown how the average western settler very quickly became enmeshed within a national economic system geared towards the demands of eastern markets. Seen this way, western settlement represented the spread of urban networks, rather than individual enterprise.[42] Combined with the historiography of the Republican effort to use its connections with private interests in order to spread a socio-economic model across the entire nation, the dependency of these fledgling western communities upon such networks can be interpreted as a side-effect of eastern hegemony over settlements on the fringes of the nation.

Within recent scholarship, this idea of dependency has been given greater emphasis. Historians have moved beyond ideas of informal power relations based upon economic inferiority, or a race-based focus where authority was more explicitly enforced but only upon non-white residents of the American West. As the historiography has developed to show a wider expansion of federal authority during Reconstruction, those writing on the subject have felt more comfortable describing eastern policy towards the West as being equivalent to that of an empire towards one of its colonies. As the federal government came to grips with its new-found powers, it took advantage of the jurisdictional grey area that western territories represented in

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[41] William G. Robbins, *Colony & Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West* (Lawrence, 1994).

[42] Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830* (Cambridge, 1959); William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1991); Eugene P. Moehring, *Urbanism and Empire in the Far West, 1840-1890* (Reno, 2004); Carl Abbott, *How Cities Won the West: Four Centuries of Urban Change in Western North America* (Albuquerque, 2008); Jay Gitlin, Barbara Berglund, and Adam Arenson (eds), *Frontier Cities: Encounters at the Crossroads of Empire* (Philadelphia, 2012). For the significance of the railroad to this process of opening up the West to exploitation and connecting its settlements into national trading networks, see Carlos A. Schwantes and James P. Ronda (eds), *The West the Railroads Made* (Seattle, 2008); Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York, 2011).

order to expand and experiment with new means of exerting authority. While recognising that power relations between East and West were more formal than might previously have been recognised, such a trend within the historiography has not reduced the agency of western settlers. Rather it has coincided with the, previously mentioned, move to show how settlers interacted with eastern interests, either in opposition or cooperation.[43]

A number of historians have expanded upon the concept of eastern influence, moving beyond infrastructural or economic analyses in order to show how the image of the West within American national culture is also an eastern creation. In a 1994 article in the *Western Historical Quarterly* which sought to contribute to the debate over where and what the 'American West' is, David Emmons argued that it is a 'constructed society'. By this he meant that federal policy and eastern business played a critical role in not only the initial settlement of the West, but also the construction of western values. The proselytizing mood of Republicans following the Civil War found fertile ground in newly-formed western communities. Eager to spread not only the northern economic model but also social beliefs across the nation, Republicans were able to exploit the fact that many western towns and cities were dependent upon the North for their economic survival. In this way, eastern influence transcended the physical significance of western migration, constructing a myth of a utopian, individualist West. Such a myth masked the reality of nineteenth-century western

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[43] Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders*; Richardson, *West From Appomattox*; Downs and Masur (eds), *The World the Civil War Made*. One way in which the historiography could stand to benefit in the future might be to link this new way of looking at East-West relations with historical work on more formal empires. Within the more formal empire of the United Kingdom, John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson have discussed the ways in which fostering economic dependence within its colonies was discussed as a more effective means of maintaining influence and loyalty from its colonies. While not all western settlements were as oppositional as Mormons in Utah, as the language within the field adopts the language of empire, greater historiographical comparison may prove useful; John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1953), pp. 1-15.

society, which in Emmons' eyes was that 'the West was what the eastern power elites and myth makers wanted it to be'.[44] Richard Slotkin has made a similar argument, claiming that the myths and metaphors associated with the West were a means of masking a region built upon capitalist competition and supply and demand.[45] Exposing the discrepancies between the language used to describe the West and the reality of the region's relationship with the nation as a whole offers historians an opportunity to more clearly identify the power dynamics which underwrote western expansion in the late-nineteenth century.

Once historians had established that networks of dependency existed between East and West, the next logical step was to demonstrate their impact upon different western communities. While eastern investment was invaluable in providing the capital required for the extractive industries that typified many western towns, the tendency for such towns to focus intensely upon the production of one particular good for national or international markets undermined the balance of the local economy. Western towns were often dependent upon a continued eastern demand for their resources, and also had little control over fluctuations in national markets that could spell disaster for their residents. The groups that have proved most suitable for such an analysis tend to have lived in regions which were overly dependent upon production of one specific good, be it mineral, agricultural or lumber, for national or international markets. A number of case studies have been produced over the last twenty-five years which highlight tensions within communities whose extractive industries were built primarily upon eastern capital, but whose economies lacked protection during

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[44] David Emmons, 'Constructed Province: History and the Making of the Last American West', *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Winter 1994), pp. 437-459.
[45] Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1980* (Norman, 1994).

economic downturns that were beyond their control.[46] Often, leading western figures had to make a choice between securing better protection for their local economies from an over-reliance on eastern investment or maintaining a good relationship with those who provided the capital which offered the route for better development in the future.[47]

More recent work has attempted to provide the residents of such towns with greater agency, rather than portraying them simply as helpless victims of a capitalist system that was not designed with their best interests in mind. Elaine Naylor's case study of Port Townsend, a Puget Sound town which attempted to use its rich lumber resources as the means of becoming the leading settlement in the region, does an admirable job of showing how its residents recognised the dangers of a single-resource economy and sought to diversify in order to better protect themselves. Andrew Arnold's recent work on labour disputes in Pennsylvania mines places the actions of workers at the centre of negotiations, showing that they played a pivotal role in shaping the nature of railroad networks at the turn of the twentieth century.[48] Mark Eifler, in his case study of Sacramento, has added greater nuance to traditional ideas of the 'values' of Western settlers, by highlighting debates between entrepreneurs in

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[46] Norman Clark, *Mill Town: A Social History of Everett, Washington, from Its Earliest Beginnings on the Shores of Puget Sound to the Tragic and Infamous Event Known as the Everett Massacre* (Seattle, 1970); Mario T. Garcia, *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920* (London, 1981); Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln, 1983); William G. Robbins, *Hard Times in Paradise: Coos Bay, Oregon, 1850-1986* (Seattle, 1988); Michael Malone, *The Battle for Butte: Mining and Politics on the Northern Frontier, 1864-1906* (Seattle, 2006).

[47] Maggor, *Brahmin Capitalism*, p. 169.

[48] Elaine Naylor, *Frontier Boosters: Port Townsend and the Culture of Development in the American West* (Ithaca, 2014); Andrew B. Arnold, *Fueling the Gilded Age: Railroads, Miners, and Disorder in Pennsylvania Coal Country* (New York, 2014). For an earlier call for historical arguments which restore the agency of Western settlers, see William Cronon, 'Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner,' *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Apr., 1987), pp. 157-176. More recently the very concept of 'Manifest Destiny', widely accepted as being a key tenet of American identity during the nineteenth century, has been called into question; Andrew C. Isenberg and Thomas Richards Jr., 'Alternative Wests: Rethinking Manifest Destiny', *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (Feb., 2017), pp. 4-17.

the city who primarily sought to generate profits and other residents whose priorities were upon the stability of their towns and cities.[49] What these works make clear is the historical value that can be gained from looking at the vital role that 'losers' have played in affecting the form that postbellum American economic expansion would take. Members of western communities might have struggled with their role in a national economy in which the balance of power was clearly against them. However, the emphasis in the recent literature is upon how such individuals were not simply acted upon by eastern interests; they played an important role in negotiating processes of change, even if in the long-term they struggled to achieve their ends.

My thesis allows for Utah's history to be better incorporated into narratives of western settlement. Within western historiography, as in so many other instances, Utah is often considered an exception. Mormon historian Jan Shipps has referred to the relationship between the Beehive State and the rest of the West as a 'donut', claiming that western historians traverse 'around the Great Basin, taking into account and telling nearly every western story except the Mormon one'.[50] Utah's history deviates from those of other western regions in a number of ways. It was founded as a settlement for a religious community seeking to gain distance from the American people. Its original infrastructure was developed under Church supervision and assisted by large-scale public ownership and communal work programmes. Perhaps most importantly, it was able to emerge relatively free from the gaze of the federal government and eastern business interests. However, the dominance of the Church of Latter-day Saints over the state's early history, and the tendency to distance the actions of its members from other Americans, has resulted in historians overlooking

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[49] Mark A. Eifler, *Gold Rush Capitalists: Greed and Growth in Sacramento* (Albuquerque, 2002).
[50] Jan Shipps, 'Gentiles, Mormons and the History of the American West', in *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years Among the Mormons* (Urbana, 2002), p. 21

connections between Utah and the rest of the Far West. In the same way that Mormon scholars have been making efforts to integrate their histories into the historiography of the nation as a whole, there is untapped potential for viewing members of the LDS Church as more typically American western migrants, in a way that allows for certain factors within westward expansion to be identified more clearly.

Events in Utah differed from those of other newly-settled areas because they represented an instance in which eastern interests did not have the chance to dictate the conditions upon which settlement would be founded. Instead, they had to overcome an alternative economic and social model and, through this, the values which underpinned federal sponsorship of western migration can be seen more explicitly. In articulating what it was about Utah society that was in need of change, eastern reformers exposed the values that were associated with the dominant political power. This phenomenon has been investigated by historians of moral reform, particularly related to missionary work or the treatment of Native Americans.[51] This thesis refocuses such arguments, identifying them within debates over territorial economies. When Gentile business interests laid out their plans to extend capitalist networks to reform Utah, they revealed the ways in which a faith in free-market capitalism was inextricably linked to the expansion of the Republican social model. Not only that, the language of such individuals demonstrated a belief that it was through the spread of the Republican economic model that their political values could be most easily disseminated to communities adhering to alternative social orders.

At the same time, throughout this period Mormon leaders made it clear that they

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[51] On missionary work in Utah, see Jana Kathryn Riess, '"Heathen in Our Fair Land": Presbyterian Women Missionaries in Utah, 1870-90', *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Spring 2000), pp. 165-195; R. Douglas Brackenridge, 'Presbyterians and Latter-day Saints in Utah: A Century of Conflict and Compromise, 1830-1930', *The Journal of Presbyterian* History, Vol. 80, No. 4, (Winter 2002), pp. 204-225; R. Douglas Brackenridge, 'Hostile Mormons and Persecuted Presbyterians, 1870-1900: A Reappraisal', *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Summer 2011), pp. 162-228.

were aware of the pitfall that economic dependency could represent to western communities. Not only did Church co-operationist initiatives conform to the spiritual goals of their religion and their mission to build an earthly kingdom in preparation for the Millennium, they offered protection to a regional economy which had managed to prosper in its early years through an emphasis upon local self-sufficiency. Church leaders saw the risks that could emerge if Utah Territory became overly dependent upon eastern capital. Such concerns gained an added dimension due to the prolonged political campaign to wrest control of the Territory from the Church and bring an end to Mormon polygamy. Church leaders were only too aware that the attractions of the American marketplace posed one of the greatest threats to the ability of the Mormon community to preserve its independence and avoid the infiltration of Gentile influence into their ranks.[52] Although the religion of the Territory's inhabitants cannot be removed from an understanding of this period, to view the Latter-day Saints as secular actors, protecting the integrity of their local area and identifying the values of a looming eastern dominance, turns this aspect of Mormon history into a particularly useful episode in the history of northern nationalism. The Mormon people, so often sidelined as an anomaly from the western narrative, offer an important insight into the power dynamics within the settlement of the region as a whole, and the close link between expansion of an economic model and diffusion of social and political values during a period in which a more concrete model for 'American' citizenship was beginning to emerge.

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[52] This concern, over the long-term repercussions for community security when forced to buy off a rival or enemy group, was not exclusive to Utah Mormons. For this debate among Confederates during the Civil War, see Joanna Cohen, *Luxurious Citizens: The Politics of Consumption in Nineteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia, 2016), p.182. For Native American attempts to struggle with dependency upon Anglo-American society, see Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln, 1983).

This project therefore provides a fresh lens through which to view a particular point in American history at which the values of the nation shifted or began to consolidate under the authority of one dominant subsection of the population. In approaching this topic I have benefitted from the historical perspective of the 'borderlands' school. Addressing in part the arguments of American cultural historiography, borderlands historians study areas of jurisdictional ambiguity in the United States, typically its border with Mexico or different zones of Native American influence. Borderlands histories do not presume any narrative of dominance or subjugation between different groups. However, they have proved of great use in showing how groups on the fringes of mainstream American society can inform our understanding of the values of a dominant political power. The borderlands are also useful because they are areas in which such dominance could be opposed or subverted, a location whose residents could manipulate the influence exerted upon them.[53] 'Borderlands' serves as both a geographical and philosophical framing device. It denotes interactions between groups or individuals on the edges of their zones of influence, but it can also describe an area in which different outlooks can come into contact, removed from the gravitational pull of their centres. Typically such a methodological approach has focussed on centrist interactions with groups who were formally separated from the dominant political entity: Native Americans, Mexicans, slaves.[54] However, during the period covered by this thesis, Utah Mormons occupied

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[53] Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett, 'On Borderlands', *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (September 2011), pp. 336-361. Borderlands historiography provides a more tangible location for the kind of social interactions that American cultural historians have identified in work on 'fringe' groups. See Kenneth Keniston, *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society* (New York, 1965); David Brion Davis, 'Some Recent Developments in American Cultural History', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 73, No. 3 (Feb., 1968), pp. 696-707; Miri Rubin, 'What is Cultural History Now?' in David Cannadine (ed.), *What is History Now?* (New York, 2002); Peter Burke, 'Civilization and Frontiers: The Anthropology of the Early Modern Mediterranean', in John A. Marino (ed.), *Early Modern History and the Social Sciences: Testing the Limits of Braudel's Mediterranean* (Kirksville, 2002), pp. 123-141.
[54] David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest under Mexico*

a similar position in terms of their relationship to mainstream American governance. They resided on the extreme border of the United States, indeed for a period outside of it, and were outliers in terms of political influence and cultural representation.

A 'borderlands' approach is particularly valuable for looking at economic debates in Utah because, although on the periphery of American society, Latter-day Saints in Utah were still legally part of the nation. Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett have argued that one of the greatest benefits to be gained from borderlands history comes from looking at the limits of state power in distant regions.[55] This is especially relevant in relation to the Mormon Question, as many of the traditional forms used by the American state to exert assimilationist influences upon 'others' during this period were not available in the Territory. Unlike foreign neighbours or indigenous tribes, Mormons were citizens, meaning that formal language of empire did not apply. Utah's territorial status meant that its people were technically under federal control throughout the nineteenth century, but direct enforcement of federal law remained an unpalatable option during much of the postbellum period. Although Mormons were subjected to racist abuse, they were Anglo-American, which provided them with a protection which other fringe groups lacked.[56] Deprived of the more conventional forms of influence typically used against outside agents, state actors used corporate connections and economic power in an attempt to spread centrist values to the Mormon people. Furthermore, LDS rhetoric throughout the postbellum period indicates that Utah Mormons were not simply acted upon; on the contrary, they

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(Albuquerque, 1982); Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1810* (New York, 1991); Andrés Reséndez, *Changing National Identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800-1850* (New York, 2005); Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven, 2008); Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, 2010).
[55] Hämäläinen and Truett, 'On Borderlands', p. 360.
[56] Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color*.

recognised the connections between economic incorporation and assimilation into the national identity and took steps to oppose the process. By looking at a group less formally removed from the official national infrastructure, the influence of state-sponsored capitalist expansion can be seen more clearly. To analyse debates over the influence of Mormonism in Utah, during a period in which a culture of national belonging was beginning to soliditfy, shows how outlying groups were able to expose and resist conformist pressures.

While this thesis builds upon the efforts of borderlands historians to show how fringe groups responded to pressure from a dominant centre, it focuses primarily on how the federal government was able to use informal forms of influence to successfully alter the nature of Mormon society and bring it in line with the nation. To adopt such an argument should not be seen as a narrative of failure; to do so would be to prioritise the worldview of Church leaders over the wishes of their followers. To say that Latter-day Saints rejected the economic doctrines of their Church in order to have greater freedom within the marketplace is not to claim that they acquiesced to the wishes of a dominant political power, although that is certainly how Church leaders would have interpreted the situation. Nor is it to idealise the values of mainstream postbellum society. LDS concerns over the economic direction of the nation were valid and resonated beyond Mormon circles, as demonstrated by the Populist protests at the end of the century. Leonard Arrington, a staunch critic of capitalism, was able to take some small solace from the fact that by the twentieth century, many of the Church's criticisms had been more widely adopted by western interests.[57] This thesis aims to steer clear of any opinion on the advantages of disadvantages of the two competing systems that were proposed. Rather, to look at

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[57] Leonard Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 411-2.

these debates within Utah is to show how development of economic markets was

knowingly incorporated into an expansionist 'American' governance following the

Civil War, adding another strand to a growing historiography of postbellum quasi-

imperialism.

Given that this thesis deals primarily with internal economic debates in Utah, it draws

heavily upon both LDS and opposition newspapers within the Territory. Mormon

publications, in particular the *Deseret News*, are invaluable sources for identifying

the worldview of the Latter-day Saints. As well as editorials and news articles, most

issues also included transcriptions of church sermons in which followers were

provided with religious instruction. Given the close association in Mormonism

between religious and temporal discourse, these sermons served as much as

political statements as spiritual ones. The 'Journal of Discourses', a digitised

collection of notable LDS sermons, was an equally valuable resource for

encapsulating these arguments. While lacking the same dense extracts as LDS

publications, opposition papers, especially the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Mining

Gazette*, were more explicitly geared towards addressing the issue of Church control

of the Territory, and consequently proved rich sources of 'Gentile' economic policy

throughout the nineteenth century.[58] While newspapers during this period were

typically very partisan affairs, this does not detract from their value to my analysis,

concerned as it is with how economic expansion formed part of a wider political

battle over Mormon sovereignty.

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[58] The paper changed its name throughout the nineteenth century. The *Salt Lake Tribune* and the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, both of which feature in this thesis, were part of the history of the same publication.

Beyond newspapers, the modern Church's heavy focus upon genealogy means that there are a number of extensive resources that have been preserved and digitised which provided me with access to internal debates over LDS economic policy. The 'Journal History of the Church', an official history kept since the mid-1800s, is a day-to-day record of major Church events. Later in the century it drew most of its content from Church newspapers, which explains its decreased presence in my later chapters. Minutes of the School of the Prophets, a committee of Church elders, and samples of Brigham Young's incoming correspondence have been equally valuable in exposing how Church members discussed their changing economy outside of public scrutiny. Young's correspondence proved especially useful in highlighting the concerns of Church members over the Second United Order.

My analysis of the conflicts between the economic ideology of the LDS hierarchy and its place within an increasingly integrated American West is split into four chapters. Chapter 1 provides an extended discussion of the early years of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, from its inception up until the end of the American Civil War. It situates the Church's foundation and a number of its key tenets within the politico-economic climate of the Second Great Awakening and the Market Revolution. Joseph Smith's early life was heavily affected by the dislocation and frustrations created by these two events, and his early economic policies offered his followers the potential for order and a greater degree of agency, within a society which they perceived to be declining in community value and protection for the average worker. The chapter highlights the shortcomings of early Church co-operationist initiatives, before providing a brief account of the initial settlement of the Mormons in Utah Territory, in which a less formalised co-operation allowed for successful

settlement in the region. As the local economy matured and wealth began to circulate more freely within Utah, tensions began to emerge between LDS leaders and followers drawn away from their commitment to building up the kingdom of God.

The next two chapters cover a much shorter period of time, to represent the fact that the decade following the Civil War marked the high point both of Church commitment to communalist forms of living and Gentile belief that economic expansion across the West would provide the best means to 'Americanize' the Mormon people. Chapter 2 covers the years 1865-1869 and focuses on the completion of the transcontinental railroad. Union victory in the Civil War allowed Republicans to begin to turn their attention to other areas of the nation that were in need of reform, while also giving them the political control to be able to more effectively achieve this end. The railroad, long sought after as a means of connecting the nation and opening up new markets in the West, was viewed in relation to Utah as a key step in opening up the Territory to Gentile influence. Both inside and outside Utah's boundaries, non-Mormons spoke of the reforming effect that the railroad, and the mining industry that it would allow to flourish, would have upon Church dominance, as migration, investment and development brought Gentile reform into the midst of the Mormon community. The Church leadership, although supportive of the railroad because of the benefits that it offered to the Latter-day Saints, recognised these risks, and Church rhetoric attempted to keep the Saints focussed on development of local industry, supporting home manufactures and avoiding work in mining, which was held up as the worst example of the excesses of the Gentile capitalist order. A schism within the Church at the end of the decade, by a group of Mormons who rejected the right of Brigham Young to regulate their business decisions, demonstrated the limits of the Church's ability to command obedience from its followers, even at this early point, as

the benefits to be gained from more fully integrating into national markets proved too enticing for many Saints.

Chapter 3 covers the period from 1869-1877 and deals with the aftermath of the railroad's completion. Despite the best efforts of the Church leadership to continue to regulate the local economy, Gentile migration and increased territorial development meant that industries such as mining and banking became increasingly widespread. Sermons from Church leaders continued to attack the excesses of the Gentile social model, and the potential for it to undermine the Church's religious goals, as well as the long-term survival of the territorial economy if it became too closely enmeshed with national networks. The second half of the chapter focuses more closely on the Second United Order, an attempt by Brigham Young to install a more radical form of co-operative living, in the hope that it could realign the actions of his Saints with their spiritual goals. As I will show, the Order was short-lived, with many Saints complaining about the restrictions that it placed upon them, and the inability of their communities to adhere to a form of living which required them to put the best interests of their communities ahead of themselves. By the time of Brigham Young's death in 1877, many Orders had already ceased to operate, signalling the lukewarm commitment among the Saints towards economic co-operation.

The final chapter covers the period from 1877 up until the admission of Utah into the Union in 1896. Following the death of Brigham Young, there was belief in Gentile circles that more stubborn Church opposition would vanish along with him. While the commitment of Church leaders to protect and develop the territorial economy remained, the following two decades marked a gradual de-escalation in the tensions between the two different interest groups, at least over economic affairs. The Church gradually decreased its presence within territorial business, with working relationships

between Mormon and Gentile businessmen becoming more prevalent as the century drew to a close. Although the 1880s were marked by an increase in federal legislation and prosecutions of polygamists, they also witnessed a process where the distinctions between Mormon and Gentile economic activity within the region became less stark. By 1896, arguments about the obstructionist role that the Church was playing within the territorial economy had subsided considerably. Not only had the Church been increasingly hamstrung by federal legislation, there had also been a gradual acceptance that the Latter-day Saints could not be directed as strongly in their temporal affairs as they could in their religious direction. While the battle over polygamy had been hard-fought and had required strong intervention from federal law enforcement, the effort to secure control over the local economy had been won more peaceably.

'A household of faith': Mormonism as a response to the 'Market Revolution',

1830-1865

Mormonism was conceived during a period of considerable upheaval within the United States. The Market Revolution provoked a profound social transformation, untying long-standing conceptions of community structure. The pressures of land scarcity in north-eastern states, along with renewed immigration following the end of the war of 1812, pushed more Americans towards the adoption of capitalist trading practices. Traditional patterns of conducting business were gradually altered. Localised trading communities were gradually subsumed within wider, impersonal trading networks.[1] A profit-based financial outlook became increasingly prominent, replacing a subsistence-based form of living. This shift away from cash-free exchange, self-sufficiency and providing for one's kin resulted in what many perceived to be a breakdown in community values and social consciousness. At the same time, the democratic spirit of the American Revolution, and a growing belief in individualistic political representation, bled into the religious life of many Americans. The Second Great Awakening, a religious revival which spread across the North, rejected many of the more authoritarian or hierarchical aspects of American Protestantism in favour of denominations and sects which placed greater agency in the hands of the individual believer, with each church vying with the others to attract new members. Among more traditional Christian denominations, Baptist and Methodist congregations recruited heavily, the degree of autonomy that they bestowed upon the individual believer or local congregation proving well-attuned to the contemporary political climate. Less conventional religious groups thrived in this environment as well. The Oneida

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[1] On the community focus of pre-Market Revolution New England, see Michael Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1978).

community, Shakers and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints all offered responses to the tumultuous nature of post-revolutionary society by offering more radical reconstructions of American society. These groups proved successful by acclimating their religious doctrine to the political needs of their followers, 'their message and methods tuned to the patriotic aspirations of a young nation'.[2] The success of these religions, with their emphasis upon egalitarianism, personalised religious experience and democratised denominational structure, was such that religious historian Nathan Hatch labelled it 'the real American Revolution'.[3] Religious and economic change taken together, these post-war years were ones in which individualism, pluralism and commercialism created division among Americans.

This chapter focuses on the formation and implementation of a Mormon economic worldview within this climate, from the Church's inception up until the end of the American Civil War. The staunch criticisms of capitalist ideology that would come after the war were not new to the Latter-day Saints; from Mormonism's first days, Latter-day Saints believed that their Church offered an alternative to an increasingly fractious socioeconomic landscape. LDS economic doctrine promoted cooperation and redistribution, often by criticising a Gentile society that was gradually committing itself to the values of the Market Revolution. The centrality of kingdom building to the Mormon spiritual mission meant that the Church made repeated efforts to found separate communities built upon their values. Their attempts to build utopian communities gave their criticisms of Gentile America a physical form.

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[2] Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (London, 2004), p. 387. For the history of the Second Great Awakening in New York, where Mormonism originated, see Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (New York, 1950).
[3] Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (London, 1989), p. 23.

Richard Bushman has described early Mormonism as a religion 'struggling against American culture in order to realize itself'. Joseph Smith's decision to pray in the woods of Manchester, New York in 1820, during which he received his first communications with God, was a direct result of his frustration with the division and conflict that he believed the religious revivalism of the Second Great Awakening had wrought upon his state.[4] Early Mormon doctrine strove to reunite a people driven apart by competition. Such an objective resulted in an emphasis upon authoritarianism within the Church's infrastructure, but it also influenced its early economic policy. Smith's announcement of the Law of Consecration and Stewardship in early 1831 sought to create a people united as much in their temporal affairs as their spiritual. Consecration of wealth, provision for the needy and Church co-ordination of large-scale projects would serve to correct the path that American society was taking and restore unity within the hearts of its people.[5] To look at these initial attempts at economic cooperation provides clarity to the debates between two competing worldviews that would emerge once the Saints settled in Utah.[6]

In its formative years, formal Church co-operation never reached the levels that it would achieve later in the century. Its alternative economic outlook often existed as an undercurrent, forming a key part of LDS ideology but remaining limited in its

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[4] This research project is unconcerned with the veracity of Joseph Smith's claims or the legitimacy of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. As this thesis focuses on how Mormons and Gentiles perceived and experienced their world around them and the changes within it, it seems best to treat the religious experiences of Latter-day Saints, when mentioned, as they were experienced by the individual, so long as to do so does not contradict substantial historical evidence.

[5] For works which draw strong links between the foundation of the LDS Church and the socio-political climate of the early nineteenth century, see Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*; Robert V. Remini, *Joseph Smith* (New York, 2002); Gordon S. Wood, 'Evangelical America and Early Mormonism', *New York History*, Vol. 61 (Oct. 1980), pp. 359-386.

[6] Richard Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Chicago, 1984), pp. 7-8. Bushman, a practising Mormon, is not content to simply ascribe environmental factors to the Church's foundation story. Expanding upon the trend towards situating the Church within its contemporary context, he has portrayed Mormonism as a religion which drew inspiration from its surroundings but also distanced itself from them at the same time. See also *Rough Stone Rolling: A Cultural Biography of Mormonism's Founder* (New York, 2005).

implementation while Mormons dealt with more immediately pressing issues. Maintaining the Church's survival in the face of religious persecution and then enduring the initial isolation of settlement in the Utah desert took priority. Nevertheless, under both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, the Church leadership made it clear that a transformation of its followers' socioeconomic organisation, to one better-aligned to the values of their Church, was one of the steps ultimately necessary to bring about the Millennium. Young's actions in the postbellum period, when state-subsidised railroads brought Utah Mormons into contact with a Republican establishment newly galvanised behind its model of Protestant, free-market capitalism, can be traced back to these foundational years of the Church and its attempt to find meaning in a world which they perceived to be lacking in spiritual and social unity.

While the first three decades of the Church's existence provide hints at its postbellum efforts to create and maintain a distinctive form of social organisation, they also expose tensions within its ranks which would ultimately undermine its ability to retain its independence. Early attempts at consecration or communalism were hampered by the turbulence of repeated migrations, the paucity of resources among a poor LDS community and the flux created by Joseph Smith's murder in 1844. However, they also suffered from the reluctance of some Saints to follow the Church's economic direction. Particularly once they arrived in Utah, it became clear that it would be difficult to win the commitment of enough Saints to successfully establish certain forms of economic redistribution, as the benefits of an individualistic outlook became increasingly clear. As Gentiles came to associate such economic liberty with the ultimate decline of Mormon separatism after the Civil War, dealing with the apathy of

Saints towards cooperation would become a pressing concern for the future of the Mormon kingdom.

Economic developments following the War of 1812 created an environment hospitable to religious groups seeking a return to traditional social models and values. Advances in the construction of canals, railroads and turnpikes allowed for greater infiltration into inland markets, decreasing economic dependency upon access to the coast. National trade networks expanded, creating new, less personal business practices. Commercial marketing became a more realistic option for the average farmer, leading to a change in attitude towards their produce, with the best crops now being sent to market for profit, rather than being saved for family members. In manufacturing, these advances in transportation, combined with technological innovation, allowed men of means to streamline and compartmentalise the production process. There was a gradual shift away from individual skilled artisans producing goods within the home for local markets, towards different sections of the production process being undertaken by unskilled workers. More and more Americans moved towards wage-labour subsistence, with profits pressed into fewer hands as a result. All of these changes have come to be labelled collectively as a 'Market Revolution', a term most readily associated with Charles Sellers and his synthesis of the period under the same name.[7]

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[7] Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (Oxford, 1991). For other syntheses of this period, see Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics* (Homewood, 1974) and Harry L. Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* (New York, 1990). Such analyses of the changes in the American economic model draw a great degree of inspiration of Karl Polanyi's account of similar changes in nineteenth-century England. Polanyi's linkages between the formation of a market economy and the establishment of a nation-state are particularly apt for understanding the connections between Republican nationalism and capitalist expansion which form a key part of this thesis; Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston, 1944).

Sellers's particular portrayal has received criticism, considered by some to idealise pre-capitalist America and adopt an excessively negative perspective towards the changes within the early nineteenth-century economy. His tendency to reify the Revolution itself has also come under scrutiny, with historians accusing him of failing to bestow agency upon actors within the American economic system.[8] In his account, changes in the market are made to appear natural, operating outside the realm of human intervention. Both before and after the publication of *The Market Revolution*, a number of scholars, grouped under the label of 'moral-economy historians', shed light on the fractious nature of this process, and how citizens engaged with, and opposed, this transformation of the American economy.

Across a series of articles, Michael Merrill made clear his view that the journey towards a Market Revolution, built upon free-market capitalism, had become so widely accepted because the parameters of what constituted 'capitalism' were too broad. Too often, in Merrill's eyes, the expansion of any kind of trade had been conflated with the spread of capitalism. This oversight had resulted in the assimilation of any alternative models that Americans might have tried to employ into a narrative of the successful expansion of the capitalist model. Both Merrill and Christopher Clark sought to demonstrate that models and statistics of economic development were insufficient for understanding the process by which this expansion took place. They argued that because economic markets are created by individuals with particular priorities, aspirations or worldviews, other kinds of economies could exist, built upon motives that might not appear obvious at first glance.[9] In this way, historians have been able

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[8] Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway (eds), *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions*, 1800-1880 (Charlottesville, 1996). Daniel Walker Howe has attempted to restore the perspective of those Americans who might have welcomed the benefits to be gained from the Market Revolution in *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*, (Oxford, 2008).

[9] Michael Merrill, 'Putting Capitalism in Its Place: A Review of Recent Literature', *The William and*

to give farmers in post-revolutionary America greater agency and more nuanced motivations. Americans were freed from the notion that they were simply capitalists in waiting, restricted within their small communities until the necessary infrastructural and technological innovations had been made that would allow them to more fully enter a national marketplace. A broader range of explanations for the economic actions of such individuals or groups became available.[10] The work of 'moral economy' historians has been invaluable in identifying patterns and practices within American society which reveal the contested nature of the transition towards a more integrated, capital-driven economy. A running theme through one of Clark's later publications, *Social Change in America*, is the prevalence of 'producerism' within many communities, especially those with strong manufacturing traditions: a belief that 'distinguished between active producers of wealth and those who lived by the wealth produced by others'.[11]

Mary Quarterly, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Apr., 1995), p. 332; Michael Merrill, 'Cash is Good to Eat: Self-sufficiency and Exchange in the Rural Economy of the United States', *Radical History Review*, Vol. III, No. 4 (Winter, 1977), pp. 42-71; Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780-1860* (London, 1990). See also James A. Henretta, *The Origins of American Capitalism: Collected Essays* (Boston, 1992). The 'moral-economy' label stemmed from the ways in which its proponents attached community-mindedness to the actions of American farmers.

[10] For other works which demonstrate the opposition of certain groups to these changes in the national economy, see Jonathan Prude, *The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810-1860* (Cambridge, 1983); Stephen Hahn and Jonathan Prude (eds), *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America* (London, 1985). Naomi Lamoreaux has taken the first steps towards providing a more well-rounded portrayal of other groups as well, seeking to remove the idea of the capitalist as 'rational man' by situating merchants within their social and community networks in 'Rethinking the Transition to Capitalism in the Early American Northeast', *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 90, No. 2 (Sep., 2003), pp. 437-461.

[11] Christopher Clark, *Social Change in America: From the Revolution through the Civil War* (Chicago, 2006), pp. 110-11. John Lauritz Larson's recent synthesis of the Market Revolution alternated between showing the benefits and advances that economic development and industrialisation provided to the American people and highlighting the dislocation and deprivation that many Americans felt in a society that he believes betrayed its Revolutionary ideals by making ownership of property and accumulation of wealth of greater importance than the common good; John Lauritz Larson, *The Market Revolution in America: Liberty, Ambition, and the Eclipse of the Common Good* (Cambridge, 2010).

More recent work on the subject has moved away from debates over what does and does not constitute 'capitalist' activity, but has drawn upon some aspects of the work of 'moral-economy' historians by attempting to show the impact of these changes on a grassroots level. In a recent historiographical review, Seth Rockman highlighted the effort within newer academic work to identify 'ground-level evidence of a [capitalist] system in operation', with a focus on how these changes actually affected individuals, in order to incorporate histories of capitalism into social history.[12] This approach is particularly well-suited to my research, which is less concerned with concrete evidence of economic change, or adopting a definitive label for the economies of specific groups during this period. Latter-day Saints do fit the 'moral-economy' description of a group that sought an alternative to the transition to a capitalist society (or at least the impact upon values that such a transition seemed to be creating). However, more crucial to understanding the discourse between Mormons and Gentiles throughout the nineteenth century is how these changes were perceived. Language related to 'non-productive' members of society and the division caused by impersonal markets would be critical aspects of the Church's economic outlook, particularly once the Saints settled in Utah. Leaders within the LDS hierarchy contrasted their communities with an American society which was losing sight of the values upon which the nation had been founded. They invoked a form of constitutionalism which both criticised the harmful changes in the 'souls' of Gentile Americans, and further promoted their own values. The problem was not economic change within America per se; it was how Americans were allowing these changes to erode their social unity. However, before

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[12] Seth Rockman, 'What Makes the History of Capitalism Newsworthy?', *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Fall 2014), p. 442. Scott Sandage's work on 'failure' within American economic history has provided a valuable insight into the ways in which 'the pursuit of profit' came to form part of a national culture and impacted upon labels of success, manhood and Americanism; Scott A. Sandage, *Born Losers: A History of Failure in America* (Cambridge, 2005).

going into greater detail about the specific forms that these debates took within early Mormon doctrine, it is important to situate the Church's foundation within both the religious and social contexts of the time.

Religious revivalism in early nineteenth century America drew its inspiration from the same social changes which spurred the Market Revolution. Allan Kulikoff has drawn strong links between the emergence of a more individualistic idea of political representation following the American Revolution and an increased emphasis upon private property rights, but this individualism also informed the spiritual dilemmas that many Americans faced.[13] Much of the frustration that Americans began to develop towards the religious climate stemmed from a heightened scepticism towards the clericalism, hierarchy and authoritarianism within Protestanism. In line with this, many of the new denominations and sects that emerged to rival the dominant churches 'placed the responsibility for salvation' into the hands of the individual, removing their souls from the hands of religious authority in the same way that the Revolution had placed greater political sovereignty into the hands of white men.[14] This new onus upon the agency of the individual within the doctrine of these churches was considered by some to have produced a damaging competitiveness, similar to that which the Market Revolution had sown within secular society. The stability and community value provided by widespread membership in traditional Protestant churches was being eroded. With new religions in competition, flocks turned against each other in the hope

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[13] Allan Kulikoff, *The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism* (Charlottesville, 1992), pp. 103-126.
[14] Clark, *Social Change in America*, p.199. For work which seeks to demonstrate the strong link between Northern religious identity and political activity during this period, see Daniel Walker Howe, 'Religion and Politics and the Antebellum North' in Mark A. Noll (ed.), *Religion & American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the 1980s* (New York, 1990), pp. 121-145; Watson, *Liberty and Power*, pp. 54-57.

that their denomination would emerge supreme. The individualism of religious experience was wearing away at social cohesion, in the same way that the infiltration of market pressures and capitalist values was breaking down practices of community trading.

It is beyond the remit of this thesis to delve into the nature of prophecy and revelation, and whether or not links should be drawn between the temporal background of an individual and the nature of the communications that they receive from higher beings. However, it is certainly the case that the laws and ordinances announced by Joseph Smith following his interactions with the angel Moroni were well-suited both to address the difficulties that Smith and his family had encountered throughout their lives, and to cater to Americans in the same region who had suffered the same sense of financial and religious dislocation.[15] Throughout the early 1820s, after Smith's first vision but before the transcription of the Book of Mormon, his family struggled to survive financially in Palmyra, New York. Falling prices for farm goods resulted in problems of foreclosure, bankruptcy and uneven dealings with land agents. The Smiths found themselves on the wrong side of a local economy in which the new, disparate nature of many business dealings meant that debts were less easy to maintain than when most trade had been conducted within the local community.[16] Furthermore, the family had long struggled with its religious identity. Joseph's mother, Lucy, experimented with a number of different religions, finding satisfaction in none of them.[17] His father, Joseph Sr., while easily excited upon the subject of religion, could

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[15] For work discussing this tension within the historiography of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, see Richard L. Bushman, 'What's New in Mormon History: A Response to Jan Shipps', *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 94, No. 2 (Sep., 2007), pp. 517-521; Thomas G. Alexander, 'Historiography and the New Mormon History: A Historian's Perspective', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Vol. 19 (Fall 1986), pp. 25-49.
[16] Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism*, pp. 65-8.
[17] Lucy Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet* (Liverpool, 1853; reprint, New York, 1969), cited from Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, p. 41.

not reconcile himself to evangelicalism, and so was similarly adrift within the sea of competing faiths.[18] Joseph Jr. inherited this scepticism towards the existing churches, finding the tumultuous environment of competing denominations, a process described within one historical text as 'the progress of fragmentation […] *reductio ad absurdum*', disheartening and uninspiring.[19]

By the time that Smith came to officially organise the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1830, ten years after his first revelations, his belief that he had been chosen by God to lead the people into the Millennium had combined with his views on the pitfalls of an excessively individualistic American society.[20] There was a strong vein of authoritarianism within Mormonism and a belief that unconditional loyalty was required to Joseph Smith, the one true source of religious authority. At the same time, the Church offered its members greater access to the priesthood. Most male members of the Church were (and continue to be) admitted to the lay, or Aaronic, priesthood after reaching adulthood. This strong, but easily accessed, hierarchy appealed to two problems that the Mormon leadership identified within contemporary society. It provided a degree of order to a religious climate in which an emphasis upon the individual was causing discontent and a breakdown in social cohesion, while also providing the capacity for personal engagement that formed such a key part of the post-Revolutionary ethos. The ease with which Latter-day Saints could access the priesthood also spoke to those who felt neglected or mistreated by the fluctuations of the Market Revolution.

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[18] Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism*, pp. 36-8.
[19] Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (London, 1979), p.24.
[20] So closely connected was the Church's inception to this period of religious transformation that one historian has described the Latter-day Saints as the 'rowdy children of revivalism'; Mark Holloway, *Utopian Communities in America, 1680-1880* (New York, 1966), p. 216.

Such a religious model proved hospitable to Americans who, like the Smith family, were struggling to find their place within a shifting economic and social system. A number of historians have undertaken demographic analyses in order to argue that early Mormon converts were overwhelmingly drawn from areas which were struggling to adapt to the transition to a more heavily capitalist system.[21] Marvin Hill, responding to a spate of publications upon the religious revivalism of this period, documented the experiences of men such as Orson Pratt and Brigham Young, who would go on to be leading figures in the Latter-day Saint hierarchy. The lives of these men mirrored that of Joseph Smith. They were men who, although talented and enthusiastic members of their local communities, were unable to achieve any kind of economic stability, while also drifting somewhat aimlessly in their religious affiliation.[22] Such experiences were not limited to prominent members of the Church. To all members, the Church held the promise of order, stability and a promotion of traditional social values that proved comforting in a rapidly changing world.[23] The majority of those who joined the Church in its initial years were from the lower classes. Lacking education, they were particularly prone to dislocation in an economy in which unskilled workers were

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[21] In the specific case of the historiography of Mormonism's place within the Second Great Awakening, a number of historians have been critical of Whitney Cross's *The Burned-Over District*, long held up as the seminal text upon the subject, for failing to adequately explain the success and appeal of Mormonism. Mario De Pillis in particular disagreed with Cross's argument that religious revivalism can be explained in line with ideas of the frontier, with young, westering American men being more susceptible to the new religious ideas of the period. Instead, De Pillis used a fresh analysis of the demography of early Mormon converts in order to argue that economic and social dislocation is a much more effective means of explaining recruitment than some kind of western frontier identity; Mario S. De Pillis, 'The Social Sources of Mormonism', *Church History*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Mar., 1968), pp. 50-79.

[22] Marvin S. Hill, 'The Shaping of the Mormon Mind in New England and New York', *Brigham Young University Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Spring 1969), pp. 351-372. Newell Bringhurst has described the particular appeal of Mormonism to Young, describing him as a 'frustrated individual whom misfortune had repeatedly robbed of economic and social success', whose conversion 'represented a withdrawal from the freedom of Jacksonian individualism and free enterprise'; Newell Bringhurst, *Brigham Young and the Expanding American Frontier* (Upper Saddle River, 1986), p.24.

[23] Cross, *The Burned-over District*, p.145; De Pillis, 'The Social Sources of Mormonism'. For the willingness of Saints to accept the presence of religious institutions within democratic government due to the fractures of this period, see Patrick Q. Mason, 'God and the People: Theodemocracy in Nineteenth-Century Mormonism', *Journal of Church and State*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Summer 2011), pp. 349-75.

increasingly pushed to the margins, and in which routes to wealth or self-sufficiency were restricted to fewer and fewer people.[24] Even on the other side of the Atlantic, these demographics held true; Dean May has identified a similar tendency within the recruitment of working-class Latter-day Saints in the United Kingdom. He argues that the potential for all men to access the priesthood held particular appeal for individuals suffering from a perceived loss of power within the cities of industrialising England.[25]

Smith's fledgling religion also offered a reprieve from an Enlightenment rationalism that was becoming a typical component of this new American identity. The dominance of a Protestant worldview had resulted in a shift away from a belief in the supernatural, a transition which alienated many who still believed in the more mystical aspects of religious belief. Early Latter-day Saint doctrine was often less concerned with a rationalised faith. Seerstones, superstition and communication with heavenly figures all assumed a central role within Church lore from the outset, and such a focus proved appealing to many Americans. The centrality of religious 'primitivism' - the desire to restore churches to more traditional, or more pure, forms of belief – is indicative of another key theme of Mormon identity in these early years: the desire to retain a previous social order, along with its tradition and community values in the face of changes which were causing unrest to many Americans.[26]

Once recruitment of Saints had increased enough that consideration of a 'Mormon community' became viable, Joseph Smith conveyed a vision from God to co-

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[24] Marvin S. Hill, 'Quest for Refuge: An Hypothesis as to the Social Origins and Nature of the Mormon Political Kingdom', *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 2 (1975), p. 11.
[25] Dean L. May, *Three Frontiers: Family, Land and Society in the American West, 1850-1900* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 4-5. In her influential biography of the Mormon prophet, Fawn Brodie emphasised that Smith 'appealed as much to reason as to emotion' when attempting to gain new converts, which offered a welcome reprieve to individuals struggling with the 'excesses of the local cults'; Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith* (New York, 1945), p.99.
[26] Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism*, pp. 6-7, 71-72; Hill, 'The Shaping of the Mormon Mind in New England and New York'.

ordinate the temporal aspects of Mormonism, one which applied the Church's belief in promoting unity, social cohesion and order to the economic sphere. The Law of Consecration and Stewardship, drawn from a section of a revelation received by Smith on February 9th, 1831, was not only a directive from God which sought to co-ordinate the actions of Latter-day Saints in line with their spiritual beliefs; it also held the potential to provide relief to Saints struggling to find their feet within an American society which dramatically altered a number of the institutions and traditions that had provided them with stability. As part of the Law, Saints were encouraged to consecrate their property and wealth to the Church in order to help provide for the poor. Once consecrated, select bishops and elders would reapportion this wealth to individuals in the form of stewardships, the amount bestowed being relative to the needs of their families. The surplus garnered from these stewardships would be used by the Church to further provide for those in need, or to undertake Church projects to help towards the 'building up of the New Jerusalem'.[27] Communities, once they had embraced the Law, would be organised into 'United Orders', a religious label to describe settlements which had chosen to reorganise their society under Mormon values and which were committed to communalistic living. Agreeing to live within an Order was intended to be the final stage of economic co-operationism. These key principles would serve as the foundation of Church economic policy for the next sixty years, and would develop into further policies geared towards self-sufficiency and protectionism. Smith was eager to distance the Saints from other experimental communities which practiced more communistic forms of living, such as the Shakers or the Oneida Community. He emphasised the fact that consecration was not intended as a bulwark against free-

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[27] *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Containing Revelations Given to Joseph Smith, the Prophet with Some Additions by His Successors in the Presidency of the Church* (Salt Lake City, 2013), Section 42, verses 30-38, www.lds.org/scriptures/dc-testament/dc/42?lang=eng.

trade and private trading. Instead, it was simply intended to ensure that such trading patterns did not come at the expense of promoting the good of the group as a whole. This model, once it reached Utah, has been described by Donald Worster as a 'third way economy', seeking to retain many of the same structures as mainstream capitalist society, while attempting to maintain a strong sense of community among the Mormon people.[28] Described a different way, '[p]rivate property became church property, and private profit a community spoil'.[29] This fits with Smith's perception of the changes that his local area was undergoing at the time. Mormon co-operation during the 1830s has been described as an attempt to promote 'unity among a people fragmented by their individualistic search for economic well-being'.[30] Its aim was not necessarily to provide an alternative to wage labour or a more rationalised form of doing business. Rather it sought to combat a perceived change in values that the market economy had fostered in the hearts of many Americans. The Law of Consecration and Stewardship channeled the benefits of a capitalist system into a kinder form of social organisation.

In order to foster a spirit conducive to co-operation while maintaining some semblance of commitment towards free trade, Mormon doctrine promoted a vision of community which drew upon both traditional and contemporary conceptions of social obligation. Joyce Appleby has highlighted a changing definition of 'virtue' in the early nineteenth century, one which better suited the new emphasis on private enterprise. The long-standing notion of 'civic' virtue (the ability of men to rise above personal interest and work towards a common good) was replaced by the concept of 'private' virtue (which argued that the good of society as a whole was best promoted by the

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[28] Donald Worster, 'The Kingdom, the Power, and the Water', in Thomas G. Alexander (ed.), *Great Basin Kingdom Revisited: Contemporary Perspectives* (Logan, 1991), p. 26.
[29] Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, p. 106.
[30] Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Chicago, 1992), p.2.

ability of a man to provide for himself and his family). This change in the understanding of how one demonstrated one's virtue was a response to the new *modus operandi* of the American system, in which a pursuit of private wealth could be interpreted as the action of a citizen contributing towards the wealth and success of the state.[31]

Justifications of Mormon communitarianism co-opted language from both 'civic' and 'private' traditions, and drew them together in a way which allowed Church doctrine to meet the criteria of both. The Latter-day Saint community rhetorically presented itself as 'a kind of broad, privatised family', in which the obligations of a member of a society went beyond his or her immediate relations.[32] There was less of a distinction between the immediate household and the community as a whole. In this context, a third interpretation of virtue could exist, a hybrid between civic and private in which the desire to provide for one's family was expanded to relate to the whole. When an entire Saint's community was one's kin, the distinction between supporting dependents through individual enterprise and working for the common good could be blurred. Elder Heber C. Kimball, one of Brigham Young's two First Counselors, the closest advisors to the President, referred to the LDS Church as 'a household of faith', and this imagery extended throughout all aspects of Mormon society.[33] John Taylor, in an 1853 address in Salt Lake City, made repeated mention of the 'human family' whose salvation would be achieved through the actions of God.[34] The use of the words 'brother' and 'sister' to describe a fellow member of the Mormon community was more than a simple recognition of camaraderie or shared group membership. It

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[31] Joyce Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York, 1984).

[32] Christine Talbot, *A Foreign Kingdom: Mormons and Polygamy in American Political Culture, 1852-1890* (Chicago, 2013), p.15.

[33] Heber C. Kimball, 8th October 1852, *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 1, No. 32, cited from Talbot, *A Foreign Kingdom*, p. 41.

[34] John Taylor, 12th June 1853, *Journal of Discourses* (Salt Lake City, 1966), Vol. 1, No. 32, http://jod.mrm.org, accessed 17/11/2016. All further references to this collection to be labelled '*JD*'.

reflected the conception of a wider family unit in which all were obliged to support each other. In this way, Church leaders sought to provide an alternative to what they considered to be a decline in the values which underwrote public life within the new American order. They could offer a life built upon traditional values (albeit in a somewhat radical form), while still claiming to conform to the desire of the individual to aspire towards personal achievement. Church leaders could construct a religious society based upon cooperative values, and couch it in language which situated their actions within the new emphasis on striving for individual wealth. Latter-day Saints could still reap the benefits of the expanding economic system, while defending against the social erosion that their fellow Americans were bringing upon themselves.

The Church's links between its economic policy and its spiritual mission reinforced the notion that Latter-day Saints support the concept of individual initiative as a driver of social growth. LDS teaching drew strong links between the temporal and spiritual actions of the Church's followers, due to their conception of millenarianism, which placed a heavy emphasis upon location. The concept of the 'gathering' formed an intrinsic part of Church doctrine throughout the nineteenth century, with a particular focus on of forming an 'apocalyptic community set apart from the rest of society'.[35] The Church's settlements tied together the worldly, but also distinctly American, act of settlement building with the religious goal of putting the conditions in place that would beckon the second arrival of Jesus Christ. This added a contemporary agenda to religious activity: by building a kingdom of God, religious discourse gained a relevance 'to the here-and-now'.[36] Within the institutional structures that Church leaders sought

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[35] Matthew Bowman, *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith* (New York, 2012), p. 140.
[36] Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (London, 1979), pp. 36-7. Klaus Hansen made a similar argument, describing Mormonism as 'not only ultimate but proximate'; Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago, 1981).

to establish, the individual labour of a Saint could both support his community as a whole, and help to create the religious kingdom that would bring salvation to their people.

This millennial rhetoric conformed to the Church's language related to consecration and stewardship. The 'kingdom of God' promoted within early Mormon doctrine was a literal manifestation, based upon the story of Enoch in the Bible, whose good deeds were rewarded when he, along with his entire city, were taken straight into heaven. This was how Latter-day Saints incorporated their temporal actions into their spiritual quest: by adhering to Church policy in their worldly actions, they were directly contributing towards the construction of the community from which the Millennium would spring. One's individual actions could contribute towards a larger good, in the same way that the new emphasis upon 'private' virtue placed an onus upon individual success as a foundation for civil society. Joseph Smith even established an administrative body, theoretically separate from religious affairs, which was charged with statecraft and political oversight of the building of the kingdom. This group, consisting of close associates of Smith and called the Council of Fifty, was described by member John D. Lee as 'the Municipal department of the Kingdom of God set up on the Earth [...] to council, deliberate & plan for the general good & upbuilding of the Kingdom of God on earth'.[37]

At the same time, millennial rhetoric remained in line with the Church's particular worldview, and the concerns of its leaders over the direction in which the

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[37] Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks (eds), *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876*, 2 vols. (San Marino, 1955), cited from Klaus J. Hansen, 'The Metamorphosis of the Kingdom of God: Toward a Reinterpretation of Mormon History' in D. Michael Quinn (ed.), *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Mormon Past* (Salt Lake City, 1992), p. 222. For a more extensive work on the role of the Council of Fifty within Mormon history, see Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God & the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing, 1967).

souls of the American people were moving. Enoch's city was not solely a physical entity, although the necessity of its construction would provide one of the justifications for tithing and consecration throughout the nineteenth century. It was also a spiritual entity, a location where inhabitants could demonstrate their commitment to the values of God through their religiously-minded actions. In this way, it mirrored the concerns of many of those suffering dislocation during the Market Revolution. Advances in the wealth of a society as a whole were worth nothing if others within that society suffered in the transition. Within the Book of Mormon, Saints were also provided with an example of what would happen if such values were allowed to permeate their society more thoroughly with the story of the Nephites who, despite trying to create a united society founded upon ending poverty, were undone by their 'lust for power and wealth'.[38]

Despite the legitimising language used by Smith and his elders, Mormon co-operation did still represent a significant departure from norms within the American economy during the 1830s. Joseph Smith sought to distance his Church from other experimental communalist societies by claiming that Mormon consecration and stewardship did not mean that individual enterprise had been cast aside. However, if Saints followed the direction of the new Law directly, and donated all of their annual surplus to the Church, then the accumulation of considerable private wealth was impossible. To Church leaders, this tension was easily reconciled. The capitalist system was the most effective way of furthering production, both within and outside the Mormon community. The key difference was that Mormons were not willing, as their Gentile neighbours had been, to let the potential fortune to be gained through such a system distract from the values which they believed should underwrite a

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[38] Bowman, *The Mormon People*, p.31

society. In this light, the act of consecration became a 'radical critique of excessive individualism'.[39] Such values were religiously motivated, but they were also a product of the political climate, a response to the perceived rise in 'corruption' in Gentile America.

The language used by Smith in explaining and justifying the Law of Consecration and Stewardship to his followers drew heavily upon religious thought and language. However, the economic basis for the policy also invoked a traditionalist train of thought hearkening back to the American Revolution, which further allows for Mormon economic doctrine to be situated within a secular context. Joanna Cohen has recently translated the changes that Joyce Appleby identified within nineteenth-century republicanism into an economic analysis of the connections that Americans drew between consumerism and nation-building. Much as ideas of virtue shifted from prioritising the public good over private need towards a definition in which self-interest could work towards the good of the nation, Cohen argues that the desire of American citizens for greater freedom within the marketplace was gradually incorporated into the national identity. Whereas during the Revolution, patriots were encouraged to forego purchasing imported goods in order to show their support for the independence movement, gradually Americans, particularly in the North, 'forged consumption into a civic virtue', making the right of consumers to have complete freedom within the marketplace a key aspect of citizenship, as much as such a thing could be said to exist at the time.[40]

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[39] Talbot, *A Foreign Kingdom*, p.49. Leonard Arrington ends *Great Basin Kingdom*, his seminal work on Mormon economic policy, by situating the Church's economic thought within 'the cultural milieu of ante-bellum America' (p.411), and sees the entirety of the nineteenth century as a battle between a Church attempting to cling to this more traditional approach and an American society that increasingly linked individualism to national identity. See also, Arrington, Fox and May, *Building the City of God*, ch. 1.

[40] Joanna Cohen, *Luxurious Citizens: The Politics of Consumption in Nineteenth-Century America*

Smith's language situated LDS economic doctrine within the midst of this transition. When justifying consecration, the prophet occupied a middle-ground between Revolutionary ideas of abstention for the sake of a higher cause and the realities of the demand for freedom within the marketplace. In much the same way that Church conceptions of virtue represented a hybridisation of the traditional and the contemporary, Church communalism was an attempt to respond to changing economic conditions while protecting a certain set of values. The Law of Consecration, which encouraged Saints to forego their desire for personal wealth for the sake of group prosperity, was more closely in line with Revolutionary ideals of civic virtue. This idea would take on a broader significance once the Saints reached Utah, when the perils of outsider trading could be more explicitly linked with the security of the Mormon people. However, the fact that Smith distanced himself from more communistic forms of redistribution, and took care to emphasise the rights of the individual, showed an understanding that there were limits to the amount of self-sacrifice that Saints would tolerate, at least when it came to their finances. Even at this early stage, there were signs that many Saints were not as willing to support redistributionist economic policy.

Despite Smith's claims that his own form of economic co-operation was less radical than competing models, his detractors were not convinced. To them, the rhetoric of consecration and insular trading was simply another example of the deviance of LDS society. Mormon economic policy was at variance, perhaps threateningly so, with mainstream America. This was compounded by the concentrated nature of Mormon living, the tendency of these early Mormon communities to form their own militias and the expansionist language used to describe the religion's future. The Church's own doctrine, in its desire to pave an alternative

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(Philadelphia, 2016), p.3.

route from dominant social trends for its people and its strong links between the temporal and the spiritual, created a clear distinction between those who belonged to the cause and those who did not.

The sense of hostility that this bred within neighbours of Mormon communities was one of the main reasons that early attempts to implement the Law of Consecration and Stewardship fell short. No significant advances were made towards the economic goals of the Latter-day Saints during the early years of the Church's existence, as violence and persecution resulted in forced relocations. The repeated moves, from Kirtland, Ohio to Far West, Missouri to Nauvoo, Illinois, meant that Mormon communities were rarely established long enough for communalist initiatives to be attempted. Often these relocations took place so quickly that a great deal of accumulated wealth would be left behind. In the move from Far West to Nauvoo, the Saints abandoned $300,000 of property, which further damaged future attempts at co-operation.[41] The relative poverty of many new members of the Church was another obstacle, giving them little to offer to such endeavours, other than their labour and commitment. The same economic dislocation that turned many people towards the LDS Church proved a considerable obstacle to the ability of Smith to be able to implement an alternative socio-economic model.[42]

More formal co-operation also proved difficult because of the form that wealth within these new settlements in the Midwest tended to take. In order for wealth to be redistributed and the collective resources of the Saints to be pooled to fund construction of Church projects, an abundance of liquid capital was required. However,

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[41] Arrington, Fox and May, *Building the City of God*, p. 37.
[42] For the experience of the Saints in their pre-Utah settlements, see Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York, 1946); Richard L. Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*; Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise* (Salt Lake City, 2002).

it often proved difficult to acquire this within frontier communities where most wealth was in the form of property.[43] The attempts of Joseph Smith to circumvent this issue also met with frustration. He established the Kirtland Safety Society in Ohio in 1837 to more easily provide for the financial needs of Church members, particularly elders on missions, as well as to help better co-ordinate the debt that the Saints had undertaken in the construction of a temple.[44] However, the specie or property basis upon which notes could be redeemed was comparatively low, with confidence in the value of the note integral to the bank's long-term future. Among the Saints, this confidence could be borne but when a Gentile made a run on the bank, leading to rumours that it was stopping redemptions, confidence in the notes dropped precipitously, and the bank dissolved within two years.[45] Providing cohesion between different Mormon communities proved difficult as well. United Orders in Missouri and Kirtland came into conflict with each other. Each Order operated under different levels of cooperation, in line with the prosperity of their communities. The high number of landless Saints in the Kirtland Order meant that there was a considerable wealth disparity between themselves and those living under the Order in Missouri.[46] The management decisions of Smith himself have also come under scrutiny, both for his choice of appointments for particular roles, and his leniency towards those who failed to contribute adequately towards his goals.[47] Brigham Young, when looking back on this period, would comment that, although unwavering in his loyalty to his former leader, he did not agree with a number of the decisions that Smith made in regards to temporal activity. Young's

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[43] Ibid., p. 38.
[44] For histories of the Church's economic experiences in Kirtland, see Dean A. Dudley, 'Bank Born of Revelation: The Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Dec., 1970), pp. 848-853.
[45] John G. Turner, *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* (London, 2012), pp. 49-52.
[46] Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, pp. 115-6.
[47] Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago, 1968), p. 15.

more regulatory approach to co-ordinating communalist initiatives when President was a response to the leniency and tolerance of his predecessor.[48]

This concern over the lack of commitment among the Latter-day Saints was an issue to which Brigham Young would return in future years, when reflecting upon the shortcomings of these early attempts at co-operation. The problem of poor Saints with little to contribute to the Mormons' collected wealth was compounded by the fact that many who were better off were reluctant to donate to the cause. Church publication *The Evening and the Morning Star* would often lament the idleness of followers who were not contributing sufficiently to efforts which leaders thought would safeguard the long-term stability of their community.[49] Smith himself gave a revelation in Missouri in 1833, claiming that his followers 'do not impart of their substance, as becometh Saints'.[50] When trying to garner support for subsequent economic initiatives in Utah, Young repeatedly brought up the apathy and selfishness of Saints under previous incarnations, in the hope of avoiding the repetition of history. He would tell tales of men who, when asked to consecrate their surplus property by Smith, had responded: 'I cannot any way in the world, for I have not as much property as I want'.[51] Saints varied in the degree to which they were willing to oppose Smith's policies; some grumbled but struggled on, others were cast out of the Church for refusing.[52] It seemed that although Smith had clearly identified the ills that were causing many Americans to feel as if their lives were in stasis, many of his Saints remained unconvinced that his co-operationist policies were the remedy. The prophet would use less communalistic language when talking about the economic future of the Saints in later

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[48] Turner, *Brigham Young*, p.54.
[49] Arrington, Fox and May, *Building the City of God*, p.22.
[50] *Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 105, Verse 3, cited from Bowman, *The Mormon People*, p.58.
[51] Brigham Young, 17th January 1858, *JD*, Vol. 6, No. 26.
[52] Bowman, *The Mormon People*, p.58.

years, demanding only a tithe from his followers, rather than full consecration.[53] A full commitment to communalistic living, which offered no potential for individual profit, was a proposition that the Church leadership would be slow to return to.[54]

When LDS leaders looked back on their failed attempts at settlement-building in the East, persecution by non-Mormons would feature most prominently. However, the lack of unity that the Saints had demonstrated in their economic initiatives would be a strain that members of the leadership would often return to as well. It also proved a lesson from which many Saints were unwilling to learn. The problem of commitment would resurface in Utah and provide a much more enduring legacy, as solidarity in the marketplace and development of the territorial economy came to be more closely linked with the long-term independence of Utah's Mormon community. The violence endured by the Saints would remain the starkest reminder of the oppression that Mormons sought to overcome once they moved to the desert, but the refusal of many Saints to heed the messages of their leaders about the evils, excesses and corruptions of the new American industrial order would remain a constant cause of concern for Church leaders once they were finally able to establish a permanent community in Utah.

Life in the Utah desert provided Brigham Young and his Latter-day Saints with the opportunity to test whether they could found a society upon religiously-motivated co-operation, free from the Gentile persecution that they had suffered back east. Whereas attempts to form a stable Mormon community throughout the 1830s and 1840s had been inhibited by conflict with hostile neighbours, their solitude now allowed them to

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[53] Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, p.141.
[54] Mark P. Leone, *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Cambridge, 1979), p.13.

commit themselves more fully to the construction of Zion. Through group co-ordination, an irrigation and water management system was developed, allowing for widespread access to water, controlled by bishops of each ward.[55] Initial town construction was undertaken with a plat system, in which the Church leadership divided up their settlement area into ten acre blocks, each containing eight home lots, built around the block in which the Church's great temple was to be constructed. Such a system allowed for building to be undertaken in an orderly fashion, while enabling Saints to live in close proximity with each other and farm outside the centre. Crops were planted widely in the hope that they would grow sufficiently to provide for the following year's harvests. Through this, around fifteen thousand Saints were able to settle in Utah in a very short period of time.[56] All of this work was completed under the management of bishops within individual communities, their role as religious leaders making for a natural transition into civil leadership, providing order to new settlements.[57]

The solitude of the desert, and the unique circumstances of building a new community in an inhospitable environment, made this period notable in the history of Mormon co-operation. It is the period in which Church-sponsored co-operation was at its most effective. Irrigation, town planning and development of agriculture were all undertaken as a group, Saints tithing their labour, co-ordinated by leading members of the Church hierarchy.[58] So well-developed was Utah by 1860 that the Territory was

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[55] For the centrality of irrigation to the ability of the Latter-day Saints to establish their control over their environment and create strong local government, see Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (Oxford, 1985).

[56] Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, p.115.

[57] For short summaries of initial settlement in Utah, see Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago, 1968), pp. 68-9; Arrington, Fox and May, pp. 45-62; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, ch. 2; Ray Allen Billington, *The Far Western Frontier, 1830-1860* (Albuquerque, 1995), pp. 200-208.

[58] For an overview of the initial town-building effort in Salt Lake City, see Gustive O. Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom: Mormon Desert Conquest. A Chapter in American Cooperative Experience*

able to produce almost 400,000 bushels of wheat.[59] Such successful development of a new western settlement drew admiration from across the nation, despite the misgivings that many Americans still held about the Latter-day Saints.[60] In a discussion over whether to allow Utah (at this point named Deseret and covering a much larger territory than the present-day state) to have a delegate in the House of Representatives, Congressman Robert Milligan McLane of Maryland declared that despite widespread concerns over the religious activities of the Latter-day Saints, he knew nothing of them 'but the extraordinary fact that they have a power of organization which can collect the idle, the vicious, and the unproductive, and make in a short time the most prosperous community'.[61] An 1853 *New York Herald* article, while advocating the completion of a railroad that would overcome Mormon dominance of Utah Territory, still had to concede that Mormonism had 'so far manifested all the qualities of success; order, system, industry, education, stability, and intelligence'.[62]

However, despite these plaudits, this was also a period of early Church history in which economic development was less closely linked with the spiritual goals of the Church leadership. This period is often considered by historians to be one characterised by wide-spread co-operation through necessity, rather than through divine inspiration. It is impossible to remove the influence of Mormonism from the settlement of Utah due to the homogenous nature of its citizenry and the considerable

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(Francestown, 1947); Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City, 1952).

[59] Billington, p. 208.

[60] The significance of Brigham Young, and his authoritarian stance, to the settlement has attracted a variety of different historical interpretations from his biographers. For a more critical account, which portrays his presidency as controlling and restrictive, see Stanley P. Hirshson, *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of the Mormon Leader Brigham Young* (London, 1971). For more sympathetic accounts which emphasise his ability to co-ordinate his followers, see Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (Champaign, 1986); Turner, *Brigham Young*.

[61] *Southern Press*, (Washington, D.C.), 22nd July 1850, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov, accessed 23/3/17. All further sources from 'Chronicling America' to be labelled 'CA'.

[62] *New York Herald* (New York, N.Y.), 26th August 1853, 'CA'.

role played by the Church in co-ordinating labour. It is easy to connect the successful settlement of Utah with the coordination and group ethic that a shared religious outlook provided.[63] However, there is scope to place these foundational years in Utah alongside the histories of other, non-Mormon, western settlements. Reciprocity of labour to build up fledgling communities in Deseret was mutually beneficial, a necessity if life in hostile conditions was to prevail. Co-operation saved time, allowing for the gruelling work of clearing land and digging ditches to be undertaken more quickly.[64] Similarly, despite sermons given by Church leaders which attached religious values to the town-building actions of Latter-day Saints, such men should perhaps instead be viewed at this point through their significance as town planners. They allowed for a degree of order, often lacking in other attempts at western expansion, to exist during the formative years of what would become Utah Territory.[65] While the Church's strong hierarchy allowed for group action to be undertaken more easily, and while tithing of labour was utilised, there was no attempt to try and institute more extensive religious co-operation.[66] The Saints were not asked to consecrate their wealth or practice communalistic living at this early point. The fact that, during this

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[63] For an example of academic work emphasising such a connection, see Leone, p. 5.

[64] Arrington, Fox and May, p.47.

[65] One potentially key contributor to this difference may have been the demographics of Utah Territory, compared to other western settlements. Walter Nugent has distinguished between 'Type I' and 'Type II' frontiers in nineteenth-century America. 'Type II' frontiers were more typical across the West during this period, disproportionately male as men migrated alone in search of fortune. Such communities were more likely to suffer with instances of violence and criminality. 'Type I' frontiers, on the other hand, had more balanced demographics, consisting of families that had migrated together. Such communities, in Nugent's argument, made more 'substantive contributions to community building and stability'. Although not unique to Mormon society, LDS settlement in Utah, based around religiously-motivated migration rather than financial, lent itself to this 'Type I' form of frontier formation; Walter Nugent, 'Frontiers and Empires in the Late Nineteenth Century', *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Nov., 1989), pp. 393-408.

[66] The organisation that the Church provided should not be downplayed. In his overview of western expansion, Ray Allen Billington attributed Mormon settlement with 'a degree of co-operation rarely found among individualistic American frontiersmen'. He added an environmental angle to this debate, claiming that Mormon collaboration was a response to the harsh conditions they found themselves in; had they settled in a region more hospitable to speculation, their response may have been different ; Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (New York, 1967), p. 543.

period of less-spiritually focussed cooperation, organisation was more easily achieved suggests that there were motivating factors other than the drive to form a society based upon the Mormon economic worldview.

Such an analysis is further supported by the fact that by the 1850s, when settlement in Utah was better established and it became easier for individuals to garner greater wealth for themselves, tensions began to emerge regarding the spirit of Saints looking to make their fortunes through mining or trading. The lukewarm support of many members of the Church, particularly those who had been more fortunate in their business dealings, resulted in a renewed emphasis upon tithing and consecration, as well as rhetoric from leaders which sought to bring the actions of Latter-day Saints in line with their supposed spiritual values. The pragmatic need to survive on the frontier gradually subsided in the face of the potential wealth available to the enterprising Saint.

In one of the earliest attempts to provide an interpretation of Mormon history devoid of the polemic that had hitherto plagued scholarship on the subject, Hamilton Gardner identified the period from 1847 to 1868 as the first of three phases of co-operation among the Mormon people. According to Gardner, this phase was characterised by 'informal but nevertheless highly effective and efficient cooperation', during which the demands of desert settlement made clear to the individual settler the merits of working with their neighbour. Although less formal in its structure, certainly in terms of its place within religious doctrine, he argued that it was during these years that the Church came closest to achieving its goals of 'true' co-operation.[67] Such a claim provides an interesting subplot for looking at Mormon ideas of community-

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[67] Hamilton Gardner, 'Cooperation Among the Mormons', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (May, 1917), p. 463.

minded trading and traditional opposition to individualist speculation that underwrote much of this period. What is to be said about the merits of Church economic policy, and its influence upon the average Latter-day Saint, if the most explicit example of consensus upon the benefits of co-operation came at a time when formal Church economic institutions were of lesser significance?

One could interpret this phenomenon in two different ways. On the one hand, the success of the Latter-day Saints is an example of what could be achieved when a group of individuals embraced the benefits of shared labour and commitment to the goals of a wider community. In this light, these foundational years of Mormon settlement vindicated the language of co-operation that had been a key aspect of Latter-day Saint doctrine since the Church's foundation. On the other hand, the fact that such co-operation did not take the form of the institutions that Smith, Young and their associates had been preaching up until that point suggests potentially different motivations for reciprocity among the Saints. Although conforming to vague ideas of working together and putting the benefits of the group ahead of one's self, neither consecration nor the United Order were evident during the first ten years of settlement in Utah.[68] Jan Shipps has presented an alternative perspective, arguing that more elaborate forms of demonstrating devotion to God were unnecessary during this period. Due to the strong links drawn between religious salvation and the construction of Zion, the fundamental tasks undertaken to establish the Mormon community – tasks as simple as building houses or planting crops – were themselves sacred acts. The process of building up, and living in, the Mormon kingdom meant that distinguishing between the religious and the secular becomes difficult.[69] There is certainly some

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[68] Arrington, Fox and May, *Building the City of God*, p. 71.
[69] Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Chicago, 1985), p.125.

credence to this idea, and care should be taken in attempting to label economic action during this period as either the secular actions of typically American settlers or the communal effort of a religious group. Indeed the Latter-day Saints' own interpretation of these years would tend towards the latter. However, the fact that tensions would emerge in the 1850s, once pragmatism became less necessary and Saints were presented with a greater number of options to expand their private business interests, would suggest that focussing solely on religious motivations only goes so far in explaining the success of early Mormon co-operation.[70]

A more important question than how to label LDS society is to identify how it related to differing perceptions of 'community' and 'unity' held by certain groups of Americans. Both Thomas Bender and Robert Hine produced important work in the 1970s and 1980s which asserted that any identification of a decline in 'community-mindedness' within nineteenth-century American society was relative and relied upon ideal terms that rarely applied to the reality of life within particular localities.[71] In the absence of any concrete evidence of community decline, therefore, it may be more useful to analyse how different groups perceived the changes both within and outside their communities. For LDS Church leaders in the 1840s, the extent to which co-operation in Utah could be connected with official Church policy was of lesser importance than the fact that they had been able to create a stable, productive

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[70] Sydney Ahlstrom has highlighted a religious precedent for such a process, in which sects struggled to persist beyond their first generation, finding it difficult to keep 'worldly' distractions hidden from children raised within their communities; Ahlstrom, ch. 29.
[71] Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (New Jersey, 1978), Robert V. Hine, *Community on the American Frontier: Separate but Not Alone* (Tuscaloosa, 1980). Both men argued for a return to an often overlooked aspect of Ferdinand Toennies's labels of '*gemeinschaft*' and '*gesellschaft*', in which he allowed both phenomena to exist concurrently within a society, and in which a marked decline from the former to the latter was not inevitable; new forms of social organisation could create new models of community, different in form, but not in nature.

settlement for themselves, without interference from Gentile America, and in a manner befitting Mormon values.

Throughout the initial years of settlement in Utah, the focus of Church rhetoric remained upon the spirit of the Saints. Each construction of a home in Utah was presented as a work in honour of God. The emphasis was not necessarily upon the acts themselves, although deeds which benefitted one's fellow man certainly met the criteria of contributing towards a purer Mormon society. Instead, it was of greater importance that actions were undertaken with the correct values in mind. Saints needed to understand that it was better to contribute one's labour to the benefit of the group as a whole, and ensure that one always strove to create a society which provided for the interests of all members of the Church. Because of this, isolationism was not necessarily a priority for Church leaders, especially at a point in time when there were a great number of resources which could not yet be produced within the boundaries of the Territory itself. Certainly Brigham Young was not eager to promote trade with Gentiles who had shown nothing but hostility to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and development of home industries throughout the century would serve to work his people towards a point where they would not be dependent upon Gentiles for subsistence. In the meantime, to trade with the outside world was not inherently to act against the best interests of the Church, so long as such actions were undertaken in a manner which clearly served to build up and support Zion.

For all of the talk in Gentile circles following the Civil War that greater contact with the outside world would strike the death knell for Mormon society, Brigham Young was more than willing to support the development of connections with eastern society, so long as it was beneficial to the goals of the Mormon community. On the back of a member of the community being awarded a lucrative mail contract by the federal

government, in 1856 he sponsored the creation of the Brigham Young Express Company, which would have provided the Latter-day Saints with control of a considerable business transporting mail and goods across the region. It would also have allowed people (including new converts) to more easily move westwards. However, growing tension with territorial officials, which resulted the next year in the military occupation of Utah, led to the contract being revoked.[72] In remarks given in the Tabernacle in 1860, Young stated that he did not oppose Saints getting rich through external trade, so long as such wealth was accrued honestly, and so long as they remembered to 'wisely direct [their] earthly substance, as well as the energies of [their] minds, to the building up of his kingdom'.[73] He would often make remarks claiming that he did not fault the actions of Gentile merchants within their midst for seeking to gain large profits for themselves. Such men were not invested in the Church's higher purpose, but more was expected of the Latter-day Saints.[74]

In encouraging a spirit of benevolent business enterprise among the Latter-day Saints, Church leaders continued to contrast life in Mormondom with the divisions within Gentile America. Sacrifice in support of Church-sponsored communalism could hopefully be more easily borne if the pitfalls of the alternative were spelt out explicitly to followers. In a sermon at the Tabernacle in 1853, Elder John Taylor painted a vision of a mainstream American society in turmoil, where the fractious nature of competition between politicians, priests and capitalists was undermining social cohesion. 'Confusion, disorder, weakness, corruption, and vice of every kind are abounding', he told his listening audience, 'and the whole world seems to be confused and

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[72] T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints: A Full and Complete History of the Mormons* (London, 1876), pp. 345-6; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 162-9.
[73] Brigham Young, 4th March 1860, *JD*, Vol. 8, No. 2.
[74] Brigham Young, 9th April 1852, *JD*, Vol. 1, No. 8.

retrograding'.[75] Members of Gentile society were presented as covetous, scrambling for the perishable treasures of the earth. On the other hand, Latter-day Saints, Brigham Young asserted, should have loftier aspirations, aiming towards 'those principles that are calculated to endure, and that tend to a continual increase in this, and in the world to come'.[76] The kingdom-building narrative within Mormon millennialism allowed Christian ideals of avoiding greed and focussing upon religious salvation to be incorporated into an official economic policy for the Mormon community.

The value of an agricultural basis for society played an important part within this rhetoric. Latter-day Saints were encouraged to focus their efforts upon the development of crops rather than other, potentially more lucrative, endeavours. '[T]ake care of your grain', Heber C. Kimball warned at an 1853 conference, 'for it is of more worth to you than gold and silver'.[77] There was a practical aspect to this advice: Utah was still susceptible to poor harvests that could throw life in the Territory into disarray. The importance of strong harvests, as well as the belief in the providential nature of the Mormon mission in the desert, can best be demonstrated by the centrality in Church folklore of the arrival of a flock of seagulls to Utah in 1847. Plagued by crickets that were blighting that year's harvest, and driven to consider migration in search of food, the flock arrived from the west coast and devoured the crickets, saving enough of the harvest for the Saints to survive for another year. Many Saints took this miraculous occurrence as proof that their quest was divinely ordained. This is also the reason that today the state bird of Utah is the California Gull.[78]

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[75] John Taylor, 12th June 1852, *JD*, Vol. 1, No. 25.
[76] Brigham Young, 6th February 1853, *JD*, Vol. 2, No. 20.
[77] Heber C. Kimball, 13th August 1853, *JD*, Vol. 2, No. 22.
[78] Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, p. 104; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 49-50. A series of accounts and recollections of the seagulls can be found in *Journal History of the Church of*

Beyond the practicalities of survival, the promotion of agriculture also hearkened back to the political climate within which the Church was conceived. Despite the increased focus upon industrialisation and capitalist trade within American society, the image of the virtuous Jeffersonian yeoman persisted throughout much of the nineteenth century. This figure remained so central to American identity not just due to his vocation in and of itself, but also due to the values that he represented, most notably independence and egalitarianism.[79] Particularly within a society in which increasing numbers of Americans were being extracted from a life of self-sufficiency into one of wage labour, access to the essentials of sustenance offered the individual a considerable degree of control over their lives. LDS promotion of agriculture drew upon these same ideas of independence, but expanded them to relate to entire social groups, rather than the actions of the individual. Not only did a focus upon agriculture support more traditional conceptions of American social structure, it also offered political integrity to the Mormon community. Groups of Latter-day Saints who lacked the ability to subsist upon their own harvests were considered to be in thrall to the Gentile community against whom the Church had been contrasting itself. Even at this early point of settlement in Utah, Church leaders were aware that dependence upon outside interests for food could undermine their political integrity in the long run. Orson Hyde, an apostle who himself would come under criticism for his questionable commitment to Church economic doctrine, summed up this sentiment in an 1855

Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 9th June 1848, www.history.lds.org, accessed 1/2/2017. Further references to this collection will be labelled '*JH*'. William Hartley has provided a degree of clarity to the facts behind the seagulls' arrival which, while removing some of the drama and sensationalism from the story, leaves its major details intact; William Hartley, 'Mormons, Crickets and Gulls: A New Look at an Old Story', in D. Michael Quinn (ed.) *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Mormon Past* (Salt Lake City, 1992).

[79] Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (London, 1978).

sermon in which he counselled the Saints on how best to protect themselves against the discord befalling the rest of American society:

> 'Politicians oppose our gathering together. But if you will have plenty of wheat, pork and beef on hand, all hell cannot stop [new converts] from coming here. […] There is more salvation and security in wheat, than in all the political schemes of the world, and also more power in it than in all the contending armies of the nations. Raise wheat and lay it up in store till it will bring a good price; not dollars and cents, but kingdoms, countries, peoples, tribes, and tongues.'[80]

In line with this sentiment, the promotion of home manufactures and the development of local industry formed a key focus of Church rhetoric from these early years throughout the nineteenth century. Brigham Young sought to develop some kind of banking industry that would facilitate the development of trade within the Territory. Reminded of the problems that Joseph Smith had encountered with the reliability of the banknotes of the Kirtland Safety Society, he went to lengths to ensure that none of his notes would be printed without the backing of specie. In this way, the Church was able to circulate $10,000 in gold-backed notes between 1847 and 1850, to be used for local trade, while producing seven times this value in gold pieces in support of external trade.[81] When discussing the benefits of such an endeavour, Young invoked the same ideas of political independence through economic self-sufficiency, declaring 'I want to cut off the thread that connects us with the gentiles'.[82] The California Gold Rush, not yet the divisive issue that it would later become among the Saints, supported the bank

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[80] Orson Hyde, 18th March 1855, *JD*, Vol. 2, No. 34.
[81] Leonard J. Arrington, 'Banking Enterprises in Utah, 1847-1880', *The Business History Review*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Dec., 1955), p.313.
[82] 'General Church Minutes', 23rd June 1850, Box 2, Folder 20, Church History Library, cited from Turner, *Brigham Young*, pp. 180-1.

by providing greater wealth to allow for the circulation of notes, especially from those Saints who had visited California and could be persuaded to tithe a share of their diggings to the Church. A group of Mormons returning from fighting in the Mormon Battalion during the Mexican War played an integral role in the discovery of gold at John Sutter's mill, which sparked the Gold Rush in the first place. Furthermore, before Brigham Young had brought the Saints to Utah, a group of Latter-day Saints, led by Samuel Brannan, had sailed around Cape Horn with the blessing of the President in the hope of finding a new home for the Mormons. This group benefitted from being slightly ahead of the crowd when gold was discovered. Hoping that these Saints who had been so fortunate would share their wealth and support their brethren in the desert, Young had letters sent requesting that they pay tithes out of the gold that they had unearthed. Although some were forthcoming, many more were accused of neglecting their commitments to the building up of Zion. Young was certain that the Saints in California had easily accrued $100,000, but he had received nowhere near one tenth of that in tithing.[83] Brannan was typical of a worldly sentiment that would encroach upon a greater proportion of the Mormon people later in the century. He gradually distanced himself from the Church, openly criticising Young for seeking to isolate his people from the rest of the nation. To Brannan, it seemed illogical for the Mormons to distance themselves from a society which held the promise of great wealth for Saint and Gentile alike.[84]

Despite the half-hearted support of Latter-day Saints in California, enough gold made its way into the hands of the Church leadership to allow for Brigham Young's bank to maintain its stability. The reliability of this banking system served to support

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[83] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 146-7.
[84] Kenneth Owens, 'Far from Zion: The Frayed Ties between California's Gold Rush Saints and LDS President Brigham Young', *California History*, Vol. 89, No. 4 (2012), pp. 5-23, 56-57.

the development of a variety of home industries, each of which offered the promise of decreasing the reliance of the Latter-day Saints upon external markets. Along with the promotion of farming, significant efforts were made to manufacture paper, cotton, iron and sugar in particular. Missions were established to colonise more southerly areas of the Territory that were more conducive to growing cotton, with areas with rich mineral resources also targeted for settlement. To compensate for the fact that American converts to the Mormon Church tended to come from backgrounds in farming rather than manufacturing, attempts were made during foreign missions to convert skilled workers. European converts were often more likely to possess specific craft skills, due to the level of industrialisation within the western portion of the continent.[85]

Crucial to this drive to increase production in Utah was that Latter-day Saints supported domestically produced wares. Manufacturing a range of different goods within the boundaries of the Territory was only half of the battle. If Saints were choosing to spend their money on external merchandise, when similar products could be purchased within the Mormon community, then the effort was all for naught. 'Produce what you consume', Young stated in a message to the territorial legislature in 1852, 'draw from the native elements the necessaries of life; permit no vitiated taste to lead you into indulgence of expensive luxuries, which can only be obtained by involving yourselves in debt'.[86] Saints who chose to import goods, either to save money or to follow particular American fashions, were sacrificing the long-term goals of God's kingdom for short-term expediency, demonstrating the same lack of concern for their wider community that was plaguing Gentile society. Again, it was not the act of trading for profit that so upset Young; it was when alternative options were available which

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[85] Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, p. 112.
[86] Orson F. Whitney, *Popular History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1916), p. 92.

would have been more valuable to the Mormon cause that the Saints received criticism. A renewed emphasis upon the Word of Wisdom from Church officials in the late 1850s drew upon similar motivations. The policy, inspired by a revelation received by Joseph Smith in 1833, forbade Saints from consuming alcohol, tobacco or caffeine. This was often justified along health lines, and the detriment that such substances could have upon the individual, but the strictness of the Word fluctuated throughout the early years of Mormonism, as other priorities took precedence. In the context of the drive for economic self-sufficiency, however, the Word of Wisdom took on greater significance. Seeing as most of the products forbidden by the Word could not be produced within the Territory, to consume tobacco or to drink alcohol not only represented a rejection of God's wishes, it also drained money away from his kingdom. At the 1865 General Conference, Young took his followers to task for their willingness to deprive their community of such wealth, claiming that over $100,000 a year was lost from Utah on tobacco alone. 'This is poor economy, and is displeasing to the Lord, because it retards the development of his purposes', Young lamented.[87] Throughout this period, the religious aspects of the Word of Wisdom were often downplayed in favour of an approach which sought to demonstrate the temporal damage of such consumption. Discouraging Saints from purchasing from eastern markets was certainly motivated in part by the bitter memories of their experience in their former settlements. However, avoiding goods in order to further political goals also hearkened back to Revolutionary ideals of non-consumption as resistance.[88] Abstention from imported goods was a means of reinforcing community values and demonstrating political opposition. The development of home industries operated in a similar fashion. To improve the

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[87] Brigham Young, 9th October 1865, *JD*, Vol. 11, No. 21.
[88] Cohen, *Luxurious Citizens*.

production machinery at one's disposal provided a greater degree of independence, in line with the Jeffersonian concept that republican ideals could be promoted through the ability of the individual to greater control technology.[89]

Despite the lofty goals which underwrote the drive to promote home industry, these early forays into new industries frequently met with frustration. Production of sugar beets did not become significant enough to contribute meaningfully to local industry until the 1890s, following difficulties procuring the necessary machinery and the quality of the raw products available. An early attempt at a woollen mill similarly fell short due to a lack of available wool. Freak weather events, harvest failures and technical difficulties served to delay the establishment of an iron town in Parowan.[90] Despite a boost provided by the blockade of Southern ports during the Civil War, the cotton industry was also slow to develop owing to a lack of expertise and equipment.[91]

Such attempts were often also undermined by the lack of enthusiasm among the Mormon population, either to go and work in particular fields or to support the products of such endeavours. For all that Smith, Young and other leading Mormons had attempted to demonstrate the evils that came from forgetting one's communal obligations, they struggled to instil long-term commitment to co-operation or local industry among their followers. The distance and separation involved in settling remote areas of the Territory to support new products made the call to mission a trying experience. John D. Lee recounted that he had accepted the call to move south to help

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[89] Barbara Clark Smith, 'Food Rioters and the American Revolution', *The William and Mary* Quarterly, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Jan., 1994), pp. 3-38. For the historical links between technology and American republicanism, see John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900* (New York, 1999).

[90] Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, pp. 123-4. On sugar, see Anderson, *Desert Saints*, p. 135.

[91] Whitney, *Popular History of Utah*, p. 179; Bowman, *The Mormon People*, p. 111.

found an Iron Mission even though it was 'revolting to his feelings'.[92] The practical difficulties that new industries faced in an isolated desert environment were obstacles that could be understood by Young. However, it was the decision of Saints not to patronize or endorse the products of home manufacture that repeatedly baffled him and led to public condemnation. Income through tithing fluctuated considerably throughout the 1850s, as Saints prioritised their immediate interests over projects that they were told to support by their leaders.[93] To many, the personal benefit that they could enjoy from purchasing cheaper imported goods, in years when life could be precarious if harvests were poor, outweighed their commitment to Church projects and co-operationist initiatives. Those who chose to sell their goods to external markets also came under scrutiny, if they had done so while simultaneously failing to tithe the appropriate amount to the Church. The willingness of some Saints to focus on their own prosperity when Church leaders were going to such lengths to promote self-sufficiency among the Mormon people as a whole was jarring. As First Counselor, Heber Kimball had overseen recruitment to the Church in the United Kingdom, making appeals to Britons who felt a sense of dislocation within an industrialising nation. In 1853, he lambasted these same Saints for the failure of some among them to respond more positively to their chance to create a new economic reality in Utah by conducting themselves more conscientiously in the marketplace. Citing the damage that such a decision was having upon local industries, he quoted Jesus in order to make it clear that to defy direction in this manner was to betray their religion: '[e]xcept ye are one, ye are not mine'.[94]

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[92] John D. Lee, 2nd December 1850, in Gustive O. Larson, (ed.), 'Journal of the Iron County Mission, John D. Lee Clerk,' *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 20 (April 1952), p. 114, cited from Turner, *Brigham Young*, p.182.
[93] Arrington, Fox and May, *Building the City of God*, pp. 60-1.
[94] Heber C. Kimball, 13th August 1853, *JD*, Vol. 2, No. 22.

In attempting to reform the ways of half-hearted followers, Mormon orators would repeatedly return to the connection between the worldly actions of Latter-day Saints and their religious aims. The goal was to reach the day when the Mormon people would 'become of one heart and of one mind in temporal things, as well as spiritual', and realise that salvation lay in contributing all of their possessions towards the 'building up of this kingdom'.[95] Latter-day Saints distinguished themselves from other Christians who believed that redemption would be achieved by more strictly focussing upon the spiritual. Saints were told that simply envisioning salvation was of no use without the physical labour through which to execute and demonstrate their beliefs.[96] Combined with the kingdom-building narrative of their particular brand of millennialism, the specific physical labour required was to work with one another to build Zion. The Law of Consecration and Stewardship meant that a level of more complete communalism remained the ultimate means of achieving this balance between the two aspects of Mormon belief. In the 1850s, however, the priority was upon ensuring that Saints undertook economic actions with their community in mind, and that they were supporting the physical development of the Mormon kingdom, even if a more strictly religious form of economic organisation was beyond them at that point.

Zion was supposed to be for those who were already pure of heart, but repeatedly Church leaders were forced to remind their flock that they were failing to live up to their obligations as members of the Mormon community.[97] Young made this link explicit in an 1852 sermon in Salt Lake City when he told his audience that what was stopping them from being 'as holy as the Church of Enoch' was that they 'will not

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[95] Orson Pratt, 7th April 1855, *JD*, Vol. 2, No. 41.
[96] Brigham Young, 8th October 1855, *JD*, Vol. 3, No. 16.
[97] Arrington, Fox and May, *Building the City of God*, p. 9.

cultivate the disposition to be so'.[98] In his eyes, the Saints were plagued with the same issues of individualism and selfishness that had provided much of the inspiration for Church membership in the 1830s. To have members of the Mormon community demonstrate the same shortcomings as Gentile America was much more injurious to Young than to witness it from other Americans. Young would claim that he knew what to expect from non-members of the Church, and therefore how to deal with them, but 'a devil with a Saint's cloak on is one of the meanest characters you can imagine'.[99]

Young knew that part of the reason that his pleas often fell on deaf ears was that life in Utah had become less precarious by the end of the 1850s. By that point, the necessity of co-operation in order to survive the initial years of desert life had subsided and greater opportunities for financial success began to present themselves to Saints willing to grasp them. Young knew that hard times had drawn the people together, and that the lack of immediate danger that Saints now faced ran the risk of undermining commitment to the economic aims of the Church. When 'war and trouble are on hand', the Saints would rally together, but it was 'in calm weather, when the old ship of Zion is sailing with a gentle breeze, and when all is quiet on deck, that some of the brethren want to go out into the whaling boats to have a scrape and a swim'.[100] When persecution and privation had been more recent memories for the Latter-day Saints, they had been willing to follow direction more closely in order to survive. Now though, such action no longer seemed necessary. Saints were reminded that, although their new-found prosperity was a blessing, they should not be blinded by the 'deceitfulness of riches', and should maintain their focus upon the task at hand.[101]

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[98] Brigham Young, 6th April 1852, *JD*, Vol. 1, No. 31.
[99] Brigham Young, 8th October 1855, *JD*, Vol. 3, No. 15.
[100] Brigham Young, 17th January 1858, *JD*, Vol. 6, No. 26.
[101] Heber C. Kimball, 19th February 1865, *JD*, Vol. 11, No. 13. It is tempting to interpret such arguments as stemming from the strong religious basis of Mormon communities, representing a call

This interpretation of the problems befalling co-operation was reinforced by the fact that wealthier members of the Mormon community often faced the harshest reprisals from Church leaders. It was often those who had benefitted most from life in Utah who proved reluctant to contribute to public works, a trend that would dog Young throughout the rest of his life. Poorer members of the Church, often portrayed as the victims of this greed, were held up in contrast to richer members who were not seen to be doing their part. 'A great many of the people would give me millions, if they had it', Young told the Saints during a sermon on the subject of deficits within the Church's funds, 'but most of those who have it will not part with it'.[102] Those who lived in more remote settlements, further removed from the pressures of interaction with national markets, were seen to more fully embody values befitting of the Latter-day Saints. Saints in the city interacted with the Gentile 'froth and scum of hell' arriving in greater numbers, and were beginning to absorb their ways.[103] Those in rural areas, while less fortunate in their economic status, were better representatives of the values of the Church. Saved from the temptations of market forces, and also forced through their less developed surroundings to work together, they were better able to embody the values of co-operation, community mindedness and self-sufficiency which had formed such a key part of Church identity in its formative years. In the 1830s, the Saints had drawn heavily from rural areas, able to appeal to those who felt cast aside and dislocated by the fissures created by the developing capitalist system. Now the same

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for spiritual integrity in the face of worldly temptations. However, secular groups throughout the West identified the same pitfalls within their regions. Especially as Republicans within the national government came to be associated with the interests of financiers and industrialists, the damage that Americans were doing as 'consumers' to the spirit and security of the nation came under attack. For this argument within western communities, see Norman H. Clark, *Mill Town*, p.37; Mark A. Eifler, *Gold Rush Capitalists*, p.15. For a focus on this phenomenon within national politics more generally, see Steven Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders*, ch. 9 and 11; Heather Cox Richardson, *West From Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America after the Civil War* (New Haven, 2007).
[102] Brigham Young, 10th October 1860, *JD*, Vol. 8, No. 52.
[103] Heber C. Kimball., 19th February 1865, *JD*, Vol. 11, No. 13.

divisions that had drawn people into the Mormon fold were beginning to create divisions among the Saints themselves.

Brigham Young's response to these shortcomings was not to move towards mediation, but to reinforce his commitment to co-operationist policies. In 1854 he reinstituted the Law of Consecration in an effort to refocus the minds of his Saints upon economic and social unity. Having overlooked the Law during the early years of Utah settlement for the sake of practicality, its reintroduction marked an attempt to refocus the minds of the Latter-day Saints upon the values of kingdom building. Saints were advised to consecrate all of their property to the Church in exchange for stewardship, so that the collected resources could be put to use on Church projects and developing home industries. Such an approach might not have been considered necessary if Saints had been more forthcoming in paying their tithes to the Church, but the deficit in Church funding, combined with a lack of territorial funds from the federal government, drove Young into action.[104]

Newly arrived Saints were placed under particular pressure to consecrate their belongings to the Church. Although in the majority of circumstances Saints simply had their consecrated wealth returned to them, promising wealth to the Church provided insurance against the debts that new arrivals owed, having had their travel across the desert paid for through the Church's Perpetual Emigration Fund.[105] Such a practice ensured that individuals could not exploit the Church by simply leaving to settle elsewhere after having received free travel to the West. Under consecration, to do so would be to surrender all of one's property to the Church as compensation. Although

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[104] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 145-6.
[105] On Church support of British migration to Utah, see William Mulder, 'Immigration and the "Mormon Question": An International Episode', *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Jun., 1956), pp. 416-433; P.A.M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1965)

this was a considerable demand upon Saints who often had few worldly possessions, it was considered a necessary response. Disaffection with and abandonment of the Church community was a serious issue during the 1850s, as the difficulties of life in the desert, struggles with Church regulation and the allure of potential wealth elsewhere drew a number of Saints away from Deseret.[106]

The consecration movement would die out by 1858. Congress's unwillingness to pass laws formalising land ownership in Utah made redistribution of land a difficult prospect, and the situation was unlikely to change when such laws would place a great deal of wealth into the hands of the Church. However, it was also clear by that point that consecration held little appeal to a great number of Saints. By the time that the Church moved away from a strong emphasis upon consecration, less than half of Mormon households had dedicated their wealth.[107] It was becoming increasingly clear that many Latter-day Saints would not adhere to Church economic policy in the same way that they did to spiritual or political direction. Such results provoked disappointment from Church leaders. They continued to castigate Saints for falling under the influence of the 'Gentile' emphasis upon the pursuit of private profit and the gains to be made from speculation in the market. Such men were accused of coming to Utah under false pretences. Brigham Young warned Saints who chose to invest in their personal interests rather than channel their money towards the Church: 'either stop in your course and change it, or you will never enter the celestial kingdom'.[108] For all of their efforts to promote co-operation through consecration, leading figures made it clear that they knew that any improvements in the spirit of the Saints would be hard-

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[106] Polly Aird, '"You Nasty Apostates, Clear Out": Reasons for Disaffection in the Late 1850s', *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Fall 2004), pp. 129-207.
[107] Arrington, Fox and May, *Building the City of God*, p. 74; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, p. 146.
[108] President Brigham Young, 13th January 1867, *JD*, Vol. 11, No. 43.

won. 'The Gentile god has great influence even over the Saints', warned Orson Pratt, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the second most influential leadership group within the Church hierarchy, and possibly the most out-spoken advocate of cooperation among the Church leadership. An 1855 sermon of his upon the progress being made on Church projects recognised that the battle to win the minds of the Saints over this issue would be arduous, that it would 'take years to eradicate covetousness from our hearts'.[109]

It became increasingly clear that many Saints had joined the Church and moved to Utah in order to carve out a better life for themselves within the existing world, rather than work to change that world into something new. The Law of Consecration and Stewardship aimed to create a religious kingdom in which like-minded Saints could come together as a family and ensure that none were forced to live in poverty, the obligations of the individual to the larger group providing for all. The inability of Saints to live by these values demonstrated to Young that they were more concerned with immediate financial improvement than commitment to bringing about long-term social change. Young would tell tales of Saints who would postpone their repayments to the Perpetual Emigration Fund until they had secured a good home for themselves, and would arrive expecting 'the highest wages for their labour', when they could not yet prove as productive as longer-standing members of the community.[110]

Many Saints were accused of having a much greater sense of obligation towards their temporal debts than those owed to their Church, and exploiting certain aspects of Mormon co-operation to their own advantage. The economic contract between the Church and its Saints was informal. The fact that official land ownership

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[109] Orson Pratt, 7th April 1855, *JD*, Vol. 2, No. 41.
[110] Brigham Young, 6th October 1854, *JD*, Vol. 2, No. 14.

(at least in the eyes of the Government) was not yet established meant that Saints could often choose to overlook their debts to the Perpetual Emigration Fund or shrug off the expectation that they contribute tithes to the Church. Young would repeatedly return to the fact that Saints demonstrated greater urgency to meet their debts to Gentiles than to the Church, an occurrence which to him seemed absurd considering the higher reward that Saints stood to gain if they succeeded in their construction of Zion. 'If they owed a Gentile they would pay their debts', Young railed in an 1855 address upon the state of the P.E.F., 'but when they owe the Church and kingdom of God they can lie down and sleep in peace, though they owe thousands of dollars, and say, "O! well it is all in the family, we are all one, it is no matter whether the debt is paid or not"'.[111] Arrington, Fox and May have described Young in Utah as existing 'out of time and place', drawing upon the 'social idealism' of Joseph Smith when opinion among the Saints had moved on.[112] It was certainly the case that Young's re-emphasis of consecration in the 1850s, in response to the half-hearted nature of early communitarianism, demonstrates a psychological distance between his conception of the Mormon kingdom and the life that his converts envisioned for themselves.

This dispute between immediate economic gain and long-term formation of an ideal society most clearly manifested itself over the issue of gold mining. One of the chief motivations for settling in Utah, rather than more hospitable locations, was its isolation and the opportunity that this offered for the Latter-day Saints to build their own society free from Gentile interference.[113] However, the discovery of gold in California and the surge in westward migration that this caused brought the Saints back into

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[111] Brigham Young, 16th September 1855, *JD*, Vol. 3, No. 1.
[112] Arrington, Fox and May, *Building the City of God*, p.12.
[113] When the Latter-day Saints arrived in Utah it was actually still part of Mexico, but within the year it had been annexed by the United States following victory in the Mexican War.

contact with mainstream America.[114] Such contact could prove useful to the Saints, as demonstrated by the value that gold discovered by Mormons provided in backing up Brigham Young's bank notes. Saints were also able to exploit the somewhat captive market that gold emigrants presented, purchasing goods and wagons at very low rates, or picking up those that had been abandoned upon the trail. This provided a much-needed boost to the local economy, especially in 1848 when survival through the year was less than certain.[115] Brigham Young met such dealings with scepticism, however, and was eager to ensure that potentially lucrative deals did not create short-termism among his Saints. In 1850, when the Saints had been fortunate with their harvests, the temptation was great to sell their crops to hungry migrants for a good price. To do so meant depriving the community of stores for future, potentially less bountiful years and removing food from local markets where they could instead provide for one's fellow Saint. 'You have no right to sell your flour to the emigrants, to feed horses and mules', Young told his Saints, 'and rob this people of their bread'.[116]

Saints were similarly discouraged from travelling to California themselves in search of gold. Although a handful of individuals were sent by Young to secure gold for the Church, the majority of Saints who asked permission to leave for California were advised to stay in Utah and support the colonising mission. In doing so, Young linked his refusal to the ongoing inability of his Saints to demonstrate unity since arriving in Utah. 'If the people were united', he explained when justifying the denial of a request to go to California in 1849, 'I would send men to get the gold, […] When the people can bear riches, they will have them'. The allure of wealth would prove too great for

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[114] For work on the mining rush in the Far West, see William S. Greever, *The Bonanza West: The Story of the Western Mining Rushes, 1848-1900* (Norman, 1963).

[115] Brigham S. Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners in Great Salt Lake City, 1849 and 1850* (Salt Lake City, 1983).

[116] *JH*, 6th September 1850, cited from Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners*, p. 25. For Young's views on mining, see Reeve, *Making Space on the Western Frontier*, pp. 90-1.

the undedicated Saint, who would fall into the same pitfalls of selfishness and corruption that typified the worst of Gentile America, leading a man to oppress his fellow Saint.[117] An industry which offered immense amounts of wealth to the individual was not, in Young's view, the remedy for the lack of dedication to co-operation shown by his Saints.[118]

In seeking to convince Saints of the evils of mining, Church leaders again emphasised the benefits of making economic choices which matched one's spiritual alignment. In an 1849 sermon, Young told his followers that they were welcome to go to the mines, but should not return if they did. Better instead, he said, to 'lay up your treasures in heaven, where moth and rust can not corrupt'.[119] To defy the religious direction of the Church hierarchy for the sake of worldly wealth was short-sighted, which Saints would come to realise if they spent their life pursuing riches rather than committing themselves to building up Zion. Saints who stayed in Utah would be richer in the long run, not only because of the better judgement they would receive from God, but also because they would be contributing to the development of the Territory, which would simultaneously help to work towards the Millennium.

As with the debate over home manufactures, the critique of gold mining operated on three levels. Firstly, and most practically, it removed Saints, their wealth and their productive capacity from Utah Territory. Secondly, it fostered interaction with a Gentile America that had shown hostility to the Latter-day Saints since the Church's inception. Thirdly, to allow Latter-day Saints to seek their wealth in the mines was to risk them becoming overtaken by individualist values. If, instead, followers stayed in

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[117] *JH*, 24th February 1849.
[118] Ibid., 25th February 1849.
[119] Ibid., 24th June 1849.

the Territory and followed Church direction, Young and his apostles would lead them to the creation of an alternative society, devoid of the corruption that Americans had brought on themselves by embracing the capitalist system. This was no small matter of economic choice to Brigham Young and his close associates; co-operation had been received through revelation, making rejection of such practices a transgression against God. Furthermore, the centrality of kingdom-building to Mormon conceptions of millennialism meant that not only did such transgression mark the individual, it was a direct obstacle to the creation of Zion. The encroachment of capitalist trading practices and the allure of the gold mines became heretical within Church rhetoric.

The first forty years of the Church's existence set the stage for the economic debates that would emerge once the Civil War had ended. The Latter-day Saints had emerged as an alternative to the division created by the religious factionalism and socio-economic dislocation of the early nineteenth century, leaving a strong legacy within Church discourse in which salvation was conditional upon commitment to traditional values of co-operation. Early attempts at consecration and cooperation, while hampered by a difficult relationship with non-Mormons, highlighted the close links that Church doctrine drew between spiritual righteousness and a rejection of the socioeconomic changes of the Market Revolution. They also exposed a tension between Church direction and the agenda of individual followers, who often prioritised their immediate economic needs over utopian visions of religious community. In the Church's early years, when persecution had galvanised Mormon identity and settlement building had forged basic co-operationist practices, these tensions over the temporal worldview of many Saints could be swept under the rug. However, as the rest of the nation began to catch up to Utah, the inability of the Church to develop a wider

definition of familial obligation became an increasingly divisive issue. Throughout the 1850s, the first signs began to emerge that market forces possessed the potential to undermine Church sovereignty within the Territory. Following the Civil War, when the eyes of the nation turned more fully towards Utah, these tensions would boil to the surface and further damage the attempts of Brigham Young to create an independent Mormon kingdom.

‘In the wake of the iron horse’: The railroad as an agent of ‘Americanizaton’ in Utah, 1865-1869

On 10th May 1869, the final spike was hammered into the First Transcontinental Railroad at Promontory Point in Utah, signalling its completion and providing the first rail connection between the two coasts of the United States. Cast in gold and driven in with a silver hammer, the spike represented the culmination of six years of construction work. The newly-completed railroad offered faster and safer journeys to migrants, the potential to open up the raw resources of western territories to commercial exploitation and new markets for eastern goods. For Republicans, it was one of the clearest endorsements of their political philosophy, providing fresh land and greater accessibility for industrious Americans to continue their expansion across the continent.

The Church of Latter-day Saints had played an integral role in the railroad's construction. Brigham Young had been one of the first to invest in stock of Union Pacific, the company created to build the westward portion of the railroad. He also purchased the contract to construct the section of the line that ran through Utah Territory, providing valuable employment to members of the Church. Considering the significant role played by the Latter-day Saints and their apparent enthusiasm for the railroad's arrival, it may seem somewhat surprising that Young himself was absent from the celebrations at Promontory Point. By the time of its completion, Young had grown frustrated by delayed payments for construction work that had resulted in him paying workers out of his own pocket. He was also protesting the fact that the decision had been made to have the track run through Ogden, rather than Salt Lake City.

Young's absence was indicative of the troubled relationship of many members of the LDS Church towards the railroad. The same changes that Republicans were

hopeful would spring from the railroad's completion threatened the long-term stability of the Mormon community in Utah Territory. Young and his close associates praised the transformative effect that the transcontinental could have upon the effort to bring Saints to join them in the desert, as well as facilitate the spread of the Mormon message outwards. However, they also made it clear to their followers that increased contact with Gentile America risked allowing beliefs and practices to seep into Mormon culture which could undermine the mission to build the Kingdom of God in the West.

The economic values of Yankee America, portrayed as fractious and individualistic within early Church doctrine, had been gradually spreading and developing throughout the nineteenth century. Financial investment in the Union war effort, however, and the willingness of the Republican Party to facilitate the expansion of corporate interests throughout the 1860s, resulted in an explosion of economic growth. No longer competing with a plantation economy in the South for regional or national supremacy, the northern capitalist industrial model was able to expand much more quickly following the end of the war. Expansion of a Republican nationalism across the West was therefore simultaneously an expansion of the northern economic model. The Church's comparative isolation up until the end of the Civil War had insulated LDS society to a certain degree from the magnitude of economic change sweeping the nation. Within both Mormon and Gentile discourse, the railroad was the factor that would end this isolation and bring the LDS system into closer contact with American capitalism.

Debates during this period over the impact of the railroad upon Utah Territory provide an insight into the political ramifications of integration into national infrastructural networks for western settlements. Republicans, vindicated by victory in the Civil War, saw it as a means of spreading their free-labour model. To many

Mormons, it represented the expansion of values of selfish competition against which their religion so often contrasted itself. To have this pressure being applied by Gentiles who also often showed outright hostility towards the Mormon Church made the threat of conquest through commerce even more severe. As in their earlier attempts to co-ordinate the economic activity of the Latter-day Saints, the problem did not lie with the economic system itself; Brigham Young's support for the railroad's completion made it clear that he saw the benefits that it could provide to the local economy. Rather, it was the concern that if offered the chance to engage in more mercantile forms of trading, many Saints would lose focus from the higher goals towards which they were working with their brethren, falling into the same patterns of cutthroat competition with one's neighbour and undermining community action that plagued mainstream America. Loss of independence, by exposing one's self to national economic fluctuations, impacted upon most western settlements. For Latter-day Saints, attempting to maintain a distinctive, separatist society, such dependence posed a risk not just to their economic stability, but their political future and their religious salvation as well.

The Civil War years were relatively calm in Utah. Brigham Young had been replaced as Governor of the Territory in 1858, the result of a military expedition led by President James Buchanan.[1] However, this did not dramatically alter day-to-day life in

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[1] The events which led to President Buchanan deciding that a military expedition was necessary to remove Young have been widely debated by historians and have often been prone to oversimplification, either of Buchanan's motives or the incompetency of some of the individuals involved. Factors cited include incendiary language used by former territorial judges to describe the situation in Utah, the desire of Buchanan to show political strength, the theocratic nature of Utah's government, and concerns about Mormon influence over the local indigenous population. Regardless of which were most significant, the end result was a poorly-organised military campaign, with soldiers forced to confront the scorched earth tactics that the Latter-day Saints employed, ill-equipped to cope with a winter in the Utah desert. Young would eventually peaceably relinquish his position as Governor, with federal troops deployed at nearby Camp Douglas to more closely supervise the Mormons. For histories of the 'Utah Expedition', see Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-*

the Territory, nor did it decrease his political influence. The number of Gentiles in Utah remained comparatively low into the early 1860s, meaning that the majority of the territorial population was made up of members of the Church, willing to support their religious leaders within local politics and to co-ordinate their society around the values of the Mormon Church. While the Church's relationship with the American people remained frosty, tensions stayed bubbling under the surface, attention drawn elsewhere by the demands of the American Civil War. The last thing that the Union war effort needed was to concern itself with a potentially hostile Mormon community in the West, one which if so inclined could disrupt the Union's connections with California and the Pacific Coast. Abraham Lincoln himself was said to have stated his desire to avoid provoking any problems with the Mormon Church directly to Utah journalist T.B.H. Stenhouse, comparing his approach to the Latter-day Saints to one that he had with a stubborn log in his youth:

> 'Occasionally we would come to a log that had fallen down. It was too hard to split, too wet to burn, and too heavy to move, so we ploughed around it. That's what I intend to do with the Mormons. Tell Brigham Young that if he will let me alone, I will let him alone.'[2]

The first legislative attempt to impose any degree of federal regulation upon Utah had been passed during the Civil War. The 1862 Morrill Act prohibited the practice of polygamy, an effort to root out one of the 'twin relics of barbarism' identified in the

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1859 (New Haven, 1960); David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, *The Mormon Rebellion: America's First Civil War, 1857-1858* (Norman, 2011); Brent M. Rogers, *Unpopular Sovereignty: Mormons and the Federal Management of Early Utah Territory* (Lincoln, 2017).

[2] T.B.H. Stenhouse to Brigham Young, 7th June 1863, 'Brigham Young Correspondence', Church History Library, cited from Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (Boston, 1979), p. 170.

original Republican platform, the other being slavery. However, no efforts were made to enforce the law during wartime, nor was any step taken to try and address the theocratic control that the Church of Latter-day Saints wielded at the expense of the influence of territorial officials.

Once the Confederacy had been defeated, however, attention turned back to Utah. Latter-day Saints found themselves the focus of a northern political culture which supported the formulation of a more homogenous national identity. Susan-Mary Grant has documented the emergence of an antebellum 'northern nationalism', in which Northerners, provoked by their growing disdain for southern slavery, became wedded to the idea that theirs was the only social model which should exist within the United States.[3] This vision for the nation was galvanised by the Civil War, military conflict having affirmed the superiority of the northern model. Following the war, Republicans in government sought to reunite the nation through the promotion of their particular model for national citizenship, and sought to reform groups which deviated from it. They used their political dominance during Reconstruction to try and create greater uniformity across the nation.[4]

While Grant focussed on the role that sectional conflict played in the formation of this northern identity, more recent historical work has shown how the development of this coherent northern ideology held repercussions across a broader geographical arena. The American West has proved particularly useful in this regard, showing how the expansion of a coherent 'Americanism' had repercussions across a wider area

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[3] Susan-Mary Grant, *North over South: Northern Nationalism and American Identity in the Antebellum Era* (Lawrence, 2000). Melinda Lawson has taken a different perspective on the formation of a sense of 'national' identity, linking it to the need for patriotic sentiment during the Civil War, as well as showing the opposition within the North that such moves towards a more coherent nationalism engendered. See Melinda Lawson, *Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North* (Lawrence, 2002).
[4] On how public life shifted towards support for the exertion of greater government authority that this represented, see Morton Keller, *Affairs of State: Public Life in Nineteenth Century America* (London, 1977).

than just the South. Looking further afield also demonstrates that areas which were less closely associated with the conflict over slavery could also cause Northerners to articulate and more keenly promote key tenets of their ideology.[5] This would become more pertinent in the 1870s, as enthusiasm for civil rights reform in the South waned and attention shifted to other groups. Mormon Utah would come under scrutiny due to the deviation of Latter-day Saints from Republican norms, as well as the attempts of the Church leadership to resist the adoption of more 'American' social practices.[6] With the North's victory also having confirmed the supremacy of federal authority over states' rights (and therefore firmly solidified its influence over territories), the post-war period marked the beginning of intensified conflict between the Church of Latter-day Saints and Gentile America over the future of Utah Territory.

This conflict played out in a number of different ways. At the peak of Radical Republicanism in Congress, Americans were willing to support direct federal intervention in order to enforce moral and social norms, a continuation of the Civil War mentality that strong action could and should be taken to maintain the integrity of the American model. However, this approach would meet with growing opposition in the 1870s, as Democrats and moderate Republicans sought reconciliation with former Confederate states. Beyond sectional conflict, arguments about the power of state and local governments still held considerable weight within political discourse, meaning that formal federal intervention in western territories remained an unpopular option.[7]

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[5] Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman, 1993); David M. Emmons, 'Constructed Province: History and the Making of the Last American West', *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Winter, 1994); Heather Cox Richardson, *West From Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America after the Civil War* (New Haven, 2007).

[6] Stephen Cresswell, *Mormons and Cowboys, Moonshiners and Klansmen: Federal Law Enforcement in the South and West, 1870-1893* (Tuscaloosa, 1991).

[7] For the attempts of officials to force members of the LDS Church to adhere to federal law, see Gustive O. Larson, *The 'Americanization' of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, 1971); David L. Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847-1896* (Logan, 2005). For changes in, and debates over, federal authority during this period, see Gary Gerstle, *Liberty and*

Despite this, the conviction behind northern reform efforts remained, with a continued belief that Republican values should be spread to the rest of the nation, aided by a newly-expanded and rationalised approach to governance.[8] There was also a spiritual motivation to federal forays into the West. Close ties between Protestantism and northern Republicanism meant that attempts to secure conformity to national laws were transformed into what John Stuart Mill described as a 'civilizade', an attempt to gradually reform manners as well as enforce the law.[9] The Latter-day Saints found themselves increasingly connected economically as well. They became more intricately linked with northern trading networks, a transition which, although not entirely opposed by the Church leadership, served to further bring mainstream values to bear upon their community.

This postbellum northern system against which Utah Mormons increasingly contrasted themselves drew inspiration from several different areas. Mormon polygamy exposed the close association between monogamy and democracy within mainstream political discourse. The nuclear family model was held up as the one best suited to protect the democratic spirit amongst the American people, and instil it within future generations. Commonly linked with Protestantism, this idealised structure, with men representing the public face of the family and women guarding private integrity and raising future citizens, drew upon Revolutionary ideas of 'republican motherhood'. Over the course of the nineteenth century, it had adjusted to the changes to household

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Coercion: The Paradox of American Government (Princeton, 2015); Noam Maggor, *Brahmin Capitalism: Frontiers of Wealth and Populism in America's First Gilded Age* (London, 2017).

[8] On the rationalisation and bureaucratisation of postbellum government, see Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (London, 1967).

[9] John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (1869), cited from Todd M. Kerstetter, *God's Country, Uncle Sam's Land: Faith and Conflict in the American West* (Chicago, 2008), p. 33. The idea of Protestantism being closely linked with 'American' values speaks to the ways in which that particular branch of religion came to dominate the spiritual landscape in the United States. Other religions, which deviated from mainstream religious practices in certain ways, came to become increasingly ostracised within the national mindset. See J. Spencer Fluhman, *A Peculiar People: Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, 2012).

structure brought on the by the Market Revolution. Men and women became locked into more concrete roles, with (male) work increasingly conducted outside of the home and women restricted to a more purely domestic role.[10] Central to this conception of the nuclear household was its monogamous nature. The nuclear family became the lynchpin for democracy, an environment in which the proper values of the nation could be protected. Chief Justice Morrison Waite would formalise this connection between monogamy and the strength of American society in his 1879 Supreme Court ruling, rejecting the protection of polygamy under 'freedom of religious practice'. 'Upon [marriage] society may be said to be built', Waite ruled, 'and out of its fruits spring social relations and social obligations and duties with which government is necessarily required to deal'.[11] *Reynolds v. United States* not only settled the centrality of monogamy to American democracy, it also legitimised the right of the federal government to act in defence of the institution.

Just as prominent as the nuclear family model within Republican ideology was the role of the free labourer, and its close affiliation with the capitalist system. Republican political rhetoric drew upon the tenets of Weber's Protestant work ethic and its promotion of the virtue of 'labor'.[12] The campaign to abolish slavery led to a formal adoption of the idea that personal industry was the best way to judge one's worth. This held, simultaneously, that man should not be restricted in his strife towards individual productivity.[13] The West occupied a special place within this free-labour

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[10] Paula Baker, 'The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 89, No. 3 (Jun., 1984), pp. 620-647. For a more detailed look at how this argument linked with political and constitutional theory, see Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-century America* (Chapel Hill, 2002).

[11] Reynolds v. United States, 98 U.S. 145 (1879). For a detailed analysis of the constitutional debates over monogamy, see James A. Clayton, 'The Supreme Court, Polygamy and the Enforcement of Morals in Nineteenth-century America: An Analysis of Reynolds v. United States', *Dialogue* 12 (Winter 1979) pp. 46-61.

[12] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: New Introduction and Translation by Stephen Kalberg* (Los Angeles, 2002).

[13] Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil*

ideology, offering a wealth of resources to the industrious labourer who, through his own hard work, could gain financial security. Western expansion and American free labour were so intertwined that debates over the type of economy that would take hold in western territories were the leading factor in the exacerbation of antebellum sectional tensions. However, in 1865, with the threat of slavery in western territories extinguished, the path was cleared for labourers to migrate across the continent, taking capitalist trading practices along with them. So closely was the independent labourer tied to the Republican vision that the spread of such men and their economic mindset across the nation became a political act, the westering migrant acting as an agent of political expansion.

This movement of enterprising Americans to other areas of the nation was facilitated by the rapid development of infrastructure during the 1860s. While Republicans retained faith in the potential of the unrestrained American worker, there was a recognition that, particularly in the West, there was a need for support in establishing the ground work for successful communities.[14] Protracted debates over the future of western territory before the Civil War had cemented the belief in the minds of Republican leaders that they had a duty to ensure that that area would serve the needs of a free-labour society.[15] With this in mind, subsidisation of railroads, homesteading, surveying, campaigns against hostile indigenous communities and countless other federal initiatives were used to support western migration.[16] Joining

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War (New York, 1970); Heather Cox Richardson, *To Make Men Free: A History of the Republican Party* (New York, 2014).

[14] Such support was also a response to the emergence of large corporations that Republican war policy had facilitated, a political gesture to workers drawn towards the Democrat Party. See Richardson, *To Make Men Free* p. 44-5.

[15] Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, p.58.

[16] Such strong government support for economic development stemmed from the Union war effort, in which Republican attempts to finance their military campaign resulted in growing co-operation between the federal government and business interests. See Phillip Shaw Paludan, *A People's Contest: The Union & Civil War, 1861-1865* (Lawrence, 1996), ch. 6.

the nation together with a transcontinental railroad also served a broader political purpose, helping to spread the Republican model for an ideal society.[17]

Beyond the specific political light in which Northern Republicans viewed it, the transcontinental railroad had long been sought by the American people more generally. Its construction had been discussed within Congress since the 1840s as an essential link to developing settlements on the Pacific Coast. Once safe travel routes had been established by early pioneers (including members of the LDS Church), Americans spoke excitedly of the benefits that the railroad would bring, especially following the California Gold Rush and the dramatic increase in migration to the West Coast. A Pacific rail link would speed up travel times, making routes much safer at the same time. It would connect citizens across the breadth of the nation and make shipping of goods in both directions much easier. However, despite widespread consensus over the benefits that a transcontinental rail link would bring, sectional disagreement over suggested routes had blocked any definitive action being taken. Northern and Southern interests repeatedly obstructed the construction of routes on the opposing side of the Mason-Dixon Line due to the political advantage that it would provide within the debate over the expansion of slavery into the western territories. The Civil War changed all this and, free from the opposition of Southern congressmen, a route from Iowa to California was approved in 1862, with construction starting the following year.[18]

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[17] Elliott West has attributed Republicans' desire to more fully connect the nation not just to the Civil War, but also to the speed with which such a large territory of land was added to the nation with the acquisitions and annexations of the mid-nineteenth century. In the face of such rapid migration, which went against a long-standing belief that westward movement would be a gradual process, West identifies a two-pronged dissemination of 'American' values – the first economic, the second moral/cultural – which was used to try and consolidate the American West; Elliott West, 'Reconstructing Race', *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2003), pp. 1-14.

[18] For histories of the railroad's construction and the political significance that came to be attached to it, see Robert William Fogel, *Railroads and Economic Growth: Essays in Econometric History* (Baltimore, 1964); Carlos A. Schwantes and James P. Ronda (eds), *The West the Railroads Made* (Seattle, 2008); William G. Thomas, *The Iron Way: Railroads, the Civil War, and the Making of*

There was another layer of discourse related to the railroad, which concerned the potential that it held for reforming Utah Territory. Despite the unpopular position that members of the LDS Church held within mainstream American society, reforming Utah proved a difficult task. Even following the Civil War, when federal officials were prepared to take a stronger stance against Mormon theocracy, the Morrill Act made little impact. The dominance of Church leaders within territorial politics and the sheer numerical superiority that Mormons possessed meant that it remained impossible to secure convictions for polygamy. Attempts to pass stricter laws to rectify this issue met with opposition from legislators or newspapers in the East who believed that more direct intervention in Utah would represent an over-extension of federal authority. Such criticisms during this period were inevitably tied up with tensions over the Reconstruction of the former Confederacy. Southern representatives were unwilling to authorise expansions of centralised power that could one day be used against their own states. Others were concerned that harsh measures would result in war, while western representatives or those with business connections in the region were concerned that communications with the Pacific coast could be severed if relations soured with the Latter-day Saints.[19]

In this political context, where the need for change was identified but effective means could not be found, the railroad held out hope that Utah could be reformed gradually, without the need for further government intervention. Many Americans, often eastern conservatives or Westerners who feared the disruption of a government

Modern America (New Haven, 2011); Richard White, _Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern_ America (New York, 2011).

[19] For Congressional debates over the reformation of Utah, see Richard D. Poll, 'The Political Reconstruction of Utah Territory, 1866-1890', _Pacific Historical Review_, Vol. 27, No. 2 (May, 1958), pp. 111-126; David Prior, 'Civilization, Republic, Nation: Contested Keywords, Northern Republicans, and the Forgotten Reconstruction of Mormon Utah', _Civil War History_, Vol. 56, No. 3 (Sept., 2010), pp. 283-310.

campaign in Utah, earnestly believed that the railroad would boost migration of non-Mormons to the region, as well as better integrate Utah's economy into national markets, serving to undermine the Church's control of the Territory. This idea garnered support across the nation. The *Daily Alta*, a California publication, argued that the railroad, rather than being a boon to Latter-day Saints, would 'doom them' by surrounding them with rival cities which would undermine their prominence in that region.[20] On a visit to Utah Territory, Vice-President Schuyler Colfax claimed that Mormons had been 'brought into close juxtaposition […] with the civilization of the continent', and that if they resisted the pulses of eastern society, Mormons would only serve to 'dwarf and destroy [their] own prosperity'.[21] The *New York Tribune* even suggested that the railroad could have an impact upon the spiritual integrity of Latter-day Saints, arguing in the immediate aftermath of its completion that it had made the process of migrating too easy for Mormon converts, and that therefore 'the moral effect of the journey [was] lost'.[22] In the face of Mormon defiance, the railroad, and the merchants and migrants that it would bring with it, was seen as an agent of conquest.

Historians of the American West have discussed how market forces and the pressures of the capitalist system played a considerable role in the formation of both western settlements and western identity. William Robbins has gone so far as to label it the most important factor in understanding the settlement of the region.[23] The language used to describe the potential impact of the railroad upon Utah Mormons would support the idea that expansion of infrastructure and economic markets were

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[20] 'The Future of Salt Lake and Mormonism', *Daily Alta* (San Francisco, CA), 10th May 1867.

[21] 'Colfax on Polygamy: Speech of the Vice-President in Salt Lake City', *Daily Cleveland Herald* (Cleveland, OH), 18th October 1869.

[22] *New York Tribune* (New York, NY), 19th August 1869, NCUSN.

[23] On the ability of eastern interests to create myths which came to be accepted as formative to the typical 'Western' identity, see David M. Emmons, 'Constructed Province: History and the Making of the Last American West', *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Winter, 1994); Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1980* (Oklahoma, 1994).

simultaneously seen as a means of spreading eastern values.[24] This was not necessarily vindictive on the part of eastern Americans; the centrality of free-labour to their worldview meant that the assimilation of separatist Utah was simply a part of their mission to spread a superior and more appropriate social model to the nation as a whole.[25] Instead, debates over the impact of the railroad fit more closely with William Cronon's observation that the biggest conflicts in the West involved groups who 'defined abundance – and the "good life" – in conflicting ways'.[26]

This way of viewing the merits of economic expansion were not confined to debates over Utah. The idea that greater levels of integration into American markets was the best means of increasing political influence had been used when discussing the authority of the United States within both domestic and foreign environments. The presence of American citizens in Texas, originally having moved in a quest for greater wealth and economic independence, presaged the Mexican War of the 1840s. The idea of increasing economic connections was raised throughout the mid-nineteenth century as a means of imprinting influence upon British America.[27] Ray Allen Billington has identified support within Congress for a gradual process of migration to the American Northwest in the 1840s in order to settle questions over the status of Oregon.[28] During Reconstruction this idea was applied as readily to the South as it was to the West. In a region still devastated by the damage of the Civil War, many political figures saw investment in greater economic development in the South as the most effective way to garner greater political support and smooth relations with former

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[24] Steven Hahn shares this interpretation of the significance of such expansion, describing homesteading and railroad legislation as 'more political than economic intent'; Steven Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders*, p. 242.

[25] For an insight into the mindset of those who sought to invest in the West, see Maggor, *Brahmin Capitalism*, ch. 3.

[26] Willian Cronon, 'Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner' *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Apr., 1987), pp. 157-176.

[27] Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders*, p.318.

[28] Ray Allen Billington, *The Far Western Frontier, 1830-1860* (Alberquerque, 1995), p. 156.

Confederates.[29] To many, it was the preservation of a peculiar, non-industrial economic model in the South which was the biggest obstacle to its reconciliation with the rest of the nation.[30] Such an approach to spreading imperial influence also fit with Republican 'free labor' ideology, placing the expansion of a deregulated economic system at the centre of American expansionism.

Gentiles in Utah, led by General Patrick Edward Connor, shared the enthusiasm of their eastern counterparts, talking about the railroad in similarly glowing terms. Sent to Utah during the Civil War to protect overland routes from Native Americans, Connor remained in the Territory once hostilities had ended, and became the figurehead around which non-Mormon political activity centred. Unhappy with the political control of the Mormon hierarchy within the Territory, Connor believed that opening Utah up to industry would redeem it from its 'infamy and degradation', transforming it from the 'foul and filthy ulcer upon the body politic' that it currently represented.[31] Eager to spread such ideas, in 1863 he established the *Union Vedette*, a newspaper critical of church policy run from the military base at Camp Douglas. Frustrated at the church's control of the legal system, the *Vedette* wrote with optimism that the 'rapid approach of the iron horse from the East and West will in a few years solve the problem so far as the Mormons are concerned. An influx of Gentiles will take possession of the promised land, outvote the Saints, and either compel them to behave civilly or emigrate to some other locality'.[32] So certain were the writers at the *Union Vedette* that the railroad would upend the control of the Mormon church within

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[29] For the history of this 'New South' movement, see C. Vann Woodward, *A History of the New South, Vol. IX: Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951); Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After* Reconstruction (Oxford, 1992); Michael W. Fitzgerald, *Splendid Failure: Postwar Reconstruction in the American South* (Chicago, 2007).

[30] James C. Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984* (Lexington, 1984).

[31] E. B. Long, *The Saints and the Union: Utah Territory During the Civil War* (Chicago, 1981), p. 263.

[32] *Union Vedette* (Camp Douglas, UT), 18th January 1867.

the Territory, they would go on to state that if 'Mormonism can withstand the assaults of intelligence, […] and the influence of daily and rapid commerce, we are content'.[33]

Those who travelled to visit Utah in the mid-1860s shared Connor's confidence in the moralising effect that the railroad would have upon polygamous Mormons. Travel literature played a key role in sponsoring migration, tourism and investment in the American West, as well as providing eastern audiences with an image of distant parts of the country. Republican journalist and writer Samuel Bowles stated that Mormon society could not withstand greater contact with the outside world, declaring that 'the first whistle of the locomotive will sound its requiem'.[34] Englishman William Hepworth Dixon, writing about his own experience in Salt Lake City, argued that it would be impossible to overcome the problem of polygamy through political action, due to the religious foundation of the community. 'Why not' instead 'encourage railway communication; and bring the practical intellect and noble feeling of New England to bear upon the household of many wives?'[35] The weight of American society and culture would be too much for the peculiarities of Mormondom to bear.[36] The motivations of these individuals varied wildly, but their views combined to ensure that,

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[33] Ibid., 22nd January 1867, cited from Robert Joseph Dwyer, *The Gentile Come to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict* (Salt Lake City, 1971), p.57.

[34] Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent: A Stage Ride Over the Plains, to the Rocky Mountains, the Mormons, and the Pacific States, in the Summer of 1865, with Speaker Colfax* (New York, 1869), p.108.

[35] William Hepworth Dixon, *New America* (London, 1867), p.358.

[36] The idea of transforming Mormon society through westward migration and economic development also fit with contemporary rhetoric relating to the settlement of the West more generally. The region was not only made to represent a safety valve for the pressures of eastern urbanisation, in the Jeffersonian mould. Boosters, railroad interests and promoters advertised the West as a bountiful region, which only needed the presence and labour of hard-working Americans to reap its rewards. Much as the West could be redeemed through republican virtue, Utah could achieve its true potential if enough Americans could be convinced to settle there. For the mythical image of the West, see Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (London, 1978); Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment*. For the role of boosterism, see David M. Emmons, *Gardens in the Grasslands: Boomer Literature of the Great Plains* (Lincoln, 1971).

well into the 1870s, the transcontinental railroad was viewed as a safe means through which to destabilise the control of the LDS church over Utah Territory.[37]

Within Mormon discourse, discussion of the railroad revealed an awareness of both the benefits and shortcomings that a rail link to the rest of the nation offered. Despite confidence in Gentile circles that the railroad would undermine Mormon society, there is little evidence that Latter-day Saints were so concerned about its completion that they opposed it entirely. Although contemporary polemics concerning Utah often painted a picture of a Mormon community that deliberately sought to isolate its people from the rest of the United States, it is seldom argued within the historiography of this period that Utah was ever truly independent of American society, nor that this was the aim of Mormon leaders.[38] More often, the Church sought to ensure that economic integration did not come at the expense of Mormon distinctiveness. Republicans saw the railroad as a physical manifestation of the western expansion of free-labour capitalism, a means to make the nation more united and more prosperous. To LDS leaders, however, it threatened to instil values within the Latter-day Saints that could prove injurious to their economic and social goals. The emphasis within Church discourse of the 1860s remained upon promoting co-operation and internal economic development, with a healthy dose of anti-mercantile sentiment to reflect the fact that Utah's economy was becoming more advanced and

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[37] The establishment of capitalist networks as an assertion of power by one group over another, such as the railroad represented, forms a key part of John Lauritz Larson's interpretation of the changes in the nineteenth century economy across the nation as a whole. Continuing the recent historiographical dominance of the idea that the Market Revolution did not occur naturally, he connects it explicitly with the political designs of dominant interest groups and their desire to exert influence over others; John Lauritz Larson, *The Market Revolution in America: Liberty, Ambition, and the Eclipse of the Common Good* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 167.

[38] Most Mormon historians who look at the nineteenth century Utah economy have argued that independence was never a realistic proposal, but Thomas Alexander and James Allen have been particularly explicit in their history of Salt Lake City; Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, 1984). See also, Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago, 1968); Robert O. Cowan, 'Steel Rails and the Utah Saints', *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Fall 2001), pp. 177-196.

the business options of the Latter-day Saints were expanding. The railroad offered a number of benefits which meant that the Church supported its completion, but it also risked bringing about the same divisive spirit that Joseph Smith had criticised when revealing the Law of Consecration and Stewardship. Brigham Young's Saints had already demonstrated a scepticism towards aspects of religious economic doctrine which impinged upon their temporal interests; now the railroad threatened to undermine Church communalism and bring Gentile America into Zion. The response of Church leaders was to try and emphasise the perils of economic integration to their followers, as well as to introduce further measures which could safeguard the local economy and keep the focus of the Latter-day Saints upon their spiritual goals.

Brigham Young in particular showed no aversion to the completion of the railroad, declaring that '[w]e want to hear the iron horse puffing through this valley'.[39] The clearest benefit that the railroad would provide to the Mormon people was that it would make the process of migration much less painful for Saints looking to join their brethren in the desert. For all the talk of the Mormons' solitude, there was a clear desire among them to have greater connection to the rest of the nation. The *Salt Lake Daily Telegraph*, at that point a pro-Mormon publication, claimed that Mormons were 'getting tired of being shut out from the rest of mankind by inhospitable deserts', and welcomed the railroad, which would provide them with better communication with the rest of the nation.[40] The benefits of improved communication were a common theme within public discourse. The *Deseret News*, the official publication of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, proudly proclaimed shortly before the railroad's completion that Utah was now on the 'highway of nations', before going on two weeks

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[39] Brigham Young, 26th May 1867, *JD*, Vol. 12, No. 14, cited in Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 236.
[40] 'The Railroad', *Salt Lake Daily Telegraph* (Salt Lake City, UT), 1st May 1867.

later to say that the lack of a strong travel connection had allowed false impressions of the Mormon people to be spread.[41] The railroad would 'be worth thousands of missionaries' to the Mormon community, as Gentiles would be able to visit Utah and find out for themselves that Latter-day Saints were being misrepresented.[42] More than that, it would also make it easier for Latter-day Saints to spread their message outwards, the railroad in this way serving to bring about the Millennium more quickly.

Support for the railroad was not confined to speeches and editorials; the Church leadership participated in the railroad's construction. Upon the establishment of a territorial government in Utah in 1852, one of the first actions taken was to send a memorial to Washington requesting a bill for the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Coast. That enthusiasm had not waned despite the increased tension surrounding the 'Mormon Question' within national politics following the Civil War. The fact that Young himself had bought shares in the Union Pacific Railroad Company was the most explicit example of support within the LDS hierarchy for its construction. Young was subsequently made a director of the company in 1865. He also purchased the contract to construct the section of the railroad which would run through Utah from Echo Canyon to Ogden. This allowed the Church to use its members to undertake the work, rather than run the risk of an influx of Gentile workers. It also provided Mormons with a considerable source of income. 'We must help [President Young] out and do this work', a member of the School of the Prophets told his brethren at a meeting in 1868 concerning the construction work; 'it is easier to do the work than to herd the devils after they come here'.[43] Despite these qualms, once finished the railroad was met with celebration within the Territory's borders. On the day of its completion, stores closed

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[41] *Deseret Evening News* (Salt Lake City, UT), 10th February 1869, *JH.*
[42] 'Intercourse – What It Is Doing For Us', Ibid., 24th February 1869, *JH.*
[43] 'Minutes of the School of the Prophets held in Provo, Utah', 1st June 1868, Utah State History Archives.

throughout Salt Lake City to allow people to take part in the revelries, where a brass band played 'Hard Times Come Again No More'.[44] 'It is difficult now to imagine what the coming of the railroad meant to the people of that day', Clariss Young Spencer, daughter of Brigham Young, recalled when writing about the day when the two lines met.[45] Enthusiasm within the church hierarchy for the railroad was so strong that when Salt Lake City was overlooked as the point at which the railroad would be completed (the more northerly Ogden was preferred), Brigham Young was incensed, aware of the benefit that a connection to the main centre of the Mormon population would provide to his people.[46]

Despite their support for the railroad, leading Mormons were not deaf to Gentile claims that it would be the undoing of the Latter-day Saints. Within sermons and newspaper editorials, the Church hierarchy made it clear that it was aware of the pressures associated with the railroad. 'We are told', Elder George Q. Cannon informed followers in a speech in 1868, 'that when the railroad is competed there will be such a flood of so called 'civilization' brought in here that every vestige of us [...] shall be completely obliterated'.[47] The *Deseret* News used such arguments as a call for the Latter-day Saints to remain vigilant and committed to the goals of economic communalism. The Saints, it claimed, would be 'guilty of blind fatuity if [they] were to sit supinely down and allow [Gentile merchants] to carry their threats into execution without making an effort to ward off their attacks'.[48] Awareness of the potential with which Republicans viewed the railroad did not mean that the Saints were overly concerned about its impact, however. The *Deseret Evening News*, on multiple

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[44] *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, UT), 11th May 1869.
[45] Clariss Young Spencer and Mabel Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home* (Salt Lake City, 1940).
[46] Cowan, 'Steel Rails and the Utah Saints', p. 187.
[47] George Q. Cannon, 7th October 1868, *JD*, Vol. 12, No. 57, cited in Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, p.174.
[48] 'Thirty-eighth Semi-Annual Conference', *Deseret Evening News*, 14th October 1868.

occasions, republished articles from eastern newspapers which, while opposing the need for direct government intervention in Utah, suggested that the railroad was going to provide the means by which the Mormon problem would be rectified. 'Instead of "stern legislation," backed by armies', one such article from the *New York Weekly Times* argued, '[…] we submit that the Mormon question may best be "fixed" […] by the converting influences which follow in the wake of the iron horse'.[49] The articles were presumably included in the *News* because they rejected the necessity, or legality, of federal interference in Utah. However, it is telling that the argument of the 'converting influences' of the railroad were considered of so little concern that it could be included in an editorial intended for an almost entirely Mormon readership. Faith in the Mormon worldview, that the spirit of the Saints could combat the corrosive tendencies of the American capitalist system, underwrote the Church's attitude towards national trading networks.

Despite this confidence, extensive efforts were made to remind the Latter-day Saints of the stakes involved in their battle to preserve their independence. Church leaders had made clear the numerous benefits that they saw in the railroad's completion. However, it did run the risk of becoming a poisoned chalice, with a number of potential pitfalls which threatened to weaken the Church's control should the Saints be led astray. While train links offered the potential for Saints to reach the desert more easily, or procure goods that they could not produce at home, they also opened the door for non-Mormons and eastern capital to infiltrate the region. Chief among these concerns was the impact that the railroad could have upon potential mining ventures within the Territory. While scepticism towards the mining industry had been present in Brigham Young's rhetoric since 1849, it had been less of a pressing issue, one which

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[49] 'The Mormon Question', *New York Weekly Times* (New York, NY), 16th March 1867, *JH*.

primarily focussed upon keeping the Saints from being tempted westward by the allure of gold. Distance had been a contributing factor in those early years which had helped to contain the issue of mining. The railroad threatened to upset this equilibrium, however. It raised the spectre of mining taking place within the Territory, something which had been constrained by the Church up until that point but which could potentially spiral beyond their control if Gentiles arrived in the Territory in sufficient numbers. Furthermore, the railroad allowed for the high levels of capital investment required for more intensive mining to become an option for eastern corporations.[50] If a mining industry took hold within Utah, it could undermine agriculture, which leading Saints saw as being the purest foundation for their society, while increased access to eastern goods and markets ran the risk of weakening commitment to home manufactures among the Mormon community. By looking at the response within Mormon circles to these potential changes to the economic model of Utah, rather than the railroad itself, connections between the expansion of the U.S. capitalist system and the transmission of 'American' values can be seen more clearly. Within Mormon discourse, mining and unfettered competition in the marketplace represented the most damning examples of the unrestrained capitalism that typified Gentile America. Brigham Young, in attempting to warn against entering the industry, used it to emphasise the vices of an eastern social model that had lost sight of the values upon which the nation had been founded, vices which threatened to consume any groups who did not conform to the post-war model of national citizenship.

Mormons in Utah were not alone in imbuing the mining industry with such political and ideological significance. W. Paul Reeve has documented the ways in

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[50] Clark C. Spence, *British Investments and the American Mining Frontier, 1860-1891* (New York, 1958), p.6.

which eastern business and other interests linked the spread of capitalist models, especially mining, with the civilizing mission of the American system. In Reeve's argument, capitalists themselves saw mining as promoting 'deeply held American values such as competitiveness, risk taking, individualism, industry, and progress ushered in by the market revolution'.[51] The ethos behind Republican policy, however, with its faith in the idea that American society sought to benefit most if the individual was simply allowed liberty in the marketplace, meant that these traits were viewed as beneficial, rather than socially corrosive as Brigham Young interpreted them.[52]

The strong response of Young towards the mining industry is not surprising, considering the links that non-Mormons drew between the establishment of a Utah mining trade and the downfall of Mormon theocracy. Federal policy had demonstrated the importance of mining to the region as early as 1861, when Congress had annexed all territory west of the thirty-ninth meridian from Utah, creating a separate Nevada Territory. Annexation of land was well within the jurisdiction of federal officials in their control of US territories, and Gentile residents of western Utah had been complaining for almost a decade about the lack of order and authority being provided by a Mormon leadership concentrated in the east of the Territory. However, the annexation was no doubt motivated by the rich deposits of silver within the region, with the discovery of the Comstock Lode in 1859 leading to a simultaneous increase in federal interest.[53]

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[51] W. Paul Reeve, *Making Space on the Western Frontier: Mormons, Miners and Southern Paiutes* (Chicago, 2006), p.20.

[52] The extent to which the realities of postbellum Republican governance lived up to its ethos, either in terms of the freedom that the average American was actually able to exercise or the extent to which the federal government actually distanced itself from economic matters, has been the source of too extensive a historiographical debate to include in its entirety here. For key texts, see Heather Cox Richardson, *West From Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America after the Civil War* (New Haven, 2007); Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern* America (New York, 2011); Gregory Downs and Kate Masur (eds), *The World the Civil War Made* (Chapel Hill, 2015); Steven Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders: The United States and Its World in an Age of Civil Wars, 1830-1910* (New York, 2016).

[53] Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, p.171. For a detailed account of the politics behind the annexation of Nevada, see Michael Bowers, *The Nevada State Constitution*, 2nd ed. (Oxford,

Such wealth residing in the hands of a seemingly separatist community did not sit well with federal officials. The fact that Mormons were in no rush to remove those precious metals from the ground was an additional insult. Even at these early stages, conflict over mining was serving as part of a larger struggle over political and economic control over the region. The importance of mining wealth to political influence in the area was made clear in an 1865 letter from Charles Durkee, then Governor of Utah Territory, to James R. Doolittle. Written in response to a bill which would strip land from Utah and give it to Nevada, Durkee tried to make the argument that to remove the mineral wealth of that area from Utah would undermine the process by which the gradual development of a mining industry in Utah could bring about a 'proper and peaceful solution of the Mormon problem'.[54] The centrality of the industry to the development and settlement of the West was made clear during the ceremony for the completed railroad at Promontory Point. Along with the gold spike driven into the railroad, three more spikes were commissioned for the event: one made of gold from California, one made of silver from a Nevada mine, and a third a mix of metals from Arizona. Even though the ceremony actually took place in Utah Territory, no such spike was made from its mineral resources.[55]

Within local politics, the significance of mining to the economy played an equally critical role. Most of Patrick Connor's attempts to undermine Mormon authority within Utah were based upon the idea that the railroad would make it possible for non-Mormons to come and exploit the mineral resources of the Territory. When gold ore

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2014), pp. 5-9. Tensions between Mormons and Gentiles in this region, where a mining industry developed earlier than in the east, were indicative of those which would encompass the entire Territory by the 1870s. Gentiles collaborated with federal officials in an attempt to install a secular order that would promote mining interests, in the face of a territorial government dominated by the Church of Latter-day Saints. See also Hal Rothman, *The Making of Modern Nevada* (Reno, 2010).
[54]'Governor Durkee to James R. Doolittle', 4th December 1865, Church History Library.
[55] J. N. Bowman, 'Driving the Last Spike: At Promontory, 1869', *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (June 1957), pp. 96-106.

was discovered in 1863, Connor saw his opportunity, declaring 'I have no reason to doubt that the Mormon question will at an early date be finally settled be peaceable means'.[56] The impact of mining upon the region would be the same as that envisioned for the railroad: it would allow for a gradual erosion of Mormon authority. The *Union Vedette* claimed that any attempt to try and discourage mining in Utah would be as pointless as trying to 'dam up the waters of the Nile with bulrushes'.[57] Mining would be an industry free from the heavy regulation of the LDS Church, one in which Mormons did not already hold a significant economic advantage. Gentiles in Utah could take up mining free from concerns over church interference in their economic activities.

Brigham Young's response in attempting to deter his followers from taking up mining themselves was twofold. Firstly, he sought to remind Latter-day Saints that although striking gold might provide them with great riches (if they were lucky), such wealth would be fleeting and therefore did not provide a strong foundation upon which to build a permanent society. Young himself did not deny that Utah possessed mineral wealth. However, he believed that the conditions were not yet right for the Mormon people to have access to it. 'Obey council', he instructed followers at a meeting in Nephi, 'and [do] not go to the gold mines, unless you are sent. God is hiding the gold in these mountains until we are prepared to receive it'.[58] Accusations were often levelled at church officials of helping God to hide the gold by deliberately downplaying the mineral wealth of the territory, or occupying land under which minerals were said to lie, so that Gentiles could not access them. Regardless of the truth of these claims, it is certainly true that the church leadership actively discouraged Saints from turning

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[56] Fred B. Rogers, *Soldiers of the Overland* (San Francisco, 1938), cited from Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, p. 201.
[57] *Union Vedette*, 1st January 1863, cited from Brigham D. Madsen, *Glory Hunter: A Biography of Patrick Edward Connor* (Salt Lake City, 1990), p. 106.
[58] *JH*, 9th May 1869.

to mining. In response to an 1868 letter requesting permission for a group of Saints to take up mining in Sanpete, Young expressed his dismay that any of his brethren would seek out gold which, if it became widespread throughout the Territory, 'would make our now peaceful valleys a perfect babel of confusion and strife'.[59] The President often emphasised the small return that most ventures into mining produced, arguing that 'the people have spent twenty dollars for every one they have obtained from the mines'.[60]

The idea of transience was a key aspect of this anti-mining rhetoric. Church leaders were attempting to build a permanent community, upon which Mormon values could flourish before their eventual spread across the rest of the nation. In their minds, the best social model for achieving this would be one which drew upon Jeffersonian ideals of independent farmers, invested in agriculture in order to build up prosperity within the local area. Mining towns lacked the permanence of those based on agriculture. Men poured into settlements, eagerly seeking their fortune in the ground, but leaving just as quickly once the wealth had dried up.[61] Brigham Young wanted no such future for his people, and countless editorials were devoted to extolling the virtues of agriculture over mining. In a letter to the *Millennial Star*, the official British publication of the LDS Church, Elder Samuel W. Richards, a former editor of the *Star* himself, heaped praise upon the development of Utah, pointing out its growing prosperity which, due to its basis in agricultural interests, was not 'fluctuating like mining interests'. He went on to add that surrounding areas which had focussed on mining had 'rapidly become impoverished and depopulated'.[62] Elder John Taylor, in a speech

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[59] 'Brigham Young to D. B. Funk', 3rd February, 1868, Church History Library.
[60] Matthias F. Cowley (ed.), *Wilford Woodruff: History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals* (Salt Lake City, 1909), p.442, cited from Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, p.202.
[61] On the instability of Western mining towns, see Duane A. Smith, *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps: The Urban Frontier* (Bloomington, 1967).
[62] *Millennial Star* (Liverpool, UK), 5th December 1865, *JH.*

in the Salt Lake City Tabernacle, assured his listeners that the Saints were 'a long way ahead' of those working in mining. The reason for this, he asserted, was that they had not 'been following a vague phantom', but had been 'cultivating the earth, raising cattle and sheep'.[63] For all the talk of mineral wealth, real value was to be found through tilling the earth. 'Our gold is gathered from the garner', a *Deseret News* editorial proclaimed, 'our silver is dug from fruit, butter, eggs, and similar productions'.[64]

Brigham Young's second line of reasoning for opposing mining, linked to the first, was that it would create dependence upon outside interests for survival. This idea of dependency would be a recurrent theme within much of Young's economic discourse, understandable considering the hostile relationship between Mormons and many Gentiles. In the case of mining, Young linked it with his arguments in favour of agriculture. Not only, he argued, was agriculture a more noble pursuit for Latter-day Saints, but if they chose mining over farming, they would still need agricultural products to survive. Mormons would be choosing an uncertain industry over a more secure farming profession, while making themselves 'slaves to the producers of food and clothing'.[65] Much better, in Young's eyes, to eschew mining altogether and keep the potential wealth from agricultural production for themselves. Beyond the local level, investing in mining would make the Mormon people dependent on outside interests, as they lacked the machinery or the markets to make any use of a fortune in minerals themselves. Young warned that a mining boom in the Territory would 'weld upon our necks chains of slavery, grovelling dependence and utter overthrow'.[66] The way in which the entire mining industry operated, from the individual prospector all the way up to the large mining companies, was utterly opposed to the economic and social

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[63] *Deseret Evening News*, 6th April 1867, *JH.*
[64] 'Palpable Facts Sustain It', Ibid., 22nd May 1867, *JH.*
[65] *JH*, 9th August 1865.
[66] John G. Turner, *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* (London, 2012), p.315.

values that a religiously-based society strove for. There was none of the concern for the communal good that made up such a large part of Mormon discourse, none of the virtuous independence that came from making a living through farming. Instead, Young claimed, there was greed, dependency and precariousness throughout the whole endeavour.[67]

There were practical motivations for Mormons to avoid mining. However, the way in which leading Mormons structured the discourse around the subject set themselves apart from the traditional narrative of the settlement of the American West. While Gentiles were portrayed as selfish individuals, recklessly chasing after an uncertain fortune, Mormons were presented as diligent, responsible workers helping to build a stable, honest society. If anti-Mormon activists in the east could imbue the railroad and western migration with a political, quasi-imperial power, Mormon leaders could reverse this pattern as well. Within Mormon writing, gold-seeking Gentiles were attributed with the corrupt, individualistic values of the political system to which they belonged, more concerned with quick profit than creating healthy fledgling communities.

The eastern capitalist system was usually referred to implicitly within Mormon discourse during this period. When eastern society came under criticism, the focus was usually either on its treatment of women, in order to justify Mormon polygamy, or the corruption of its political system in the face of perceived overextension of government authority. There were moments when views of eastern economic practices also came under criticism, though, most often when church leaders were

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[67] Concerns about mining creating dependency were not unique to the Mormons. Noam Maggor, in an analysis of the state and territorial constitutions drawn up in the Far West during this period, identifies a broad pattern in which delegates at constitutional conventions identified the threat to the long-term stability of their area if they became overly dependent on mining or extraction of other raw materials. Maggor excludes Utah from his analysis, perhaps because of the distinctive form of their local government and economy; Maggor, *Brahmin Capitalism*, ch. 5.

looking to justify their own collectivist or protectionist initiatives. Sermons and editorials promoted a church policy which aimed to ensure that no Saint would go wanting or have to live in poverty; the needs of all would be provided for by pooling together the wealth of the Mormon people. Eastern society, with its commitment to a form of capitalism which emphasised the liberty of the individual and a scepticism towards economic regulation, was considered to lack the same compassion, and church leaders were desperate to ensure that a focus on private profit and individualism would not be allowed to permeate Utah society. George Cannon identified such tendencies as having their roots in the high societies of Europe, and worried that an 'aristocracy of wealth' was emerging in the United States, while the rest of society was 'steeped in misery and squalid poverty'.[68] Church leaders did not understand how Gentile interests could argue that their model for society was the superior one, when so many went hungry in the east. 'Have we any among us who are crying for bread?' Elder John Taylor asked his followers in a Tabernacle sermon.[69] Church measures were ensuring that Mormon society would be founded upon a concern for the needs of all. While pursuit of private profit was permitted, even encouraged, if not suitably controlled it could disproportionately build up the wealth of some, with the rest left wanting. The *Deseret News* frequently gave coverage to attempts at cooperative societies in the East or in other countries; one editorial asked 'why cannot intelligent labor be so organized as to save to itself the great profits which as so often made by a single proprietor?'[70] Such editorials situated the Church within broader experimentation with co-operation, in opposition to a global economic system that was increasingly using 'capital as a tyrannical master which would enslave [the people]

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[68] *JH*, 6th April 1869.
[69] Ibid., 6th April 1867.
[70] Ibid., 19th March 1869.

and make them its mere tools'. Such statements often continued the 'producerist' sentiments of the Revolutionary period, the belief that the 'laboring man is admittedly the wealth-producer' who 'should have a higher interest in the material prosperity which his labor creates'.[71] Unconcerned with social equilibrium within Utah, or supporting a society which promoted communal values, the unrestrained trade which often accompanied western expansion would destabilise a Mormon community which opposed many of the values of the postwar economic order.

Criticisms of the character of Gentiles were not confined to those in the mining industry. The completion of the railroad threatened to exacerbate the already tense relationship between the LDS hierarchy and merchants within Utah Territory. Since the arrival of the Latter-day Saints in the region, Brigham Young had voiced concerns about men who made a living through trading and freighting, rather than farming or artisanal trades. Merchants were criticised for using their trade connections to import goods which could be sold more cheaply than those produced within Utah, while freighters were accused of charging exorbitant prices to ship Mormon-produced goods to potential markets.[72] The combination of the two was considered to be greatly detrimental to attempts to build up the Mormon economy, as Saints were undercut on both ends as they sought to get a fair price for their goods.[73] Not only were the Saints being undermined within the marketplace, their inability to establish a self-sufficient local economy ran the same risks of creating a dependency on outside interests that would come to be identified with the railroad and mining. As early as 1857, Young had warned his followers that the easiest way to conquer the Mormons would be for the

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[71] 'Plutocracy – Cooperation', *Deseret Evening News*, 24th November 1869.
[72] Rodman W. Paul, *The Far West and the Great Plains in Transition, 1859-1900* (New York, 1988), pp. 108-111.
[73] 'Cooperation', *Deseret Evening News*, 7th October 1868.

government to pay Gentiles to carry in merchandise year after year.[74] Protecting local trade and decreasing imports from outside the Territory was not just a mission in boosting the fortunes of Saints, it was also a deterrent against increased Gentile influence in Utah.

Brigham Young repeatedly took merchants to task for having their own best interests in mind, rather than taking actions which would better serve the needs of the community. He was not opposed to men turning a profit on their investments or their work, but he felt that those made by merchants were excessive. 'I could not be honest and do as they do', he despaired, 'they make five hundred percent on some of their goods, and that too from an innocent, confiding, poor, industrious people'.[75] Within a community focussed on building local infrastructure through tithed money and labour, where harvests were still precarious and cash money was scarce, for merchants to claim such high profit margins was seen as offensive. The *Deseret News* questioned what merchants actually did to aid in the development of the city, before warning that class of men that the Mormon people knew the individuals who 'would not spend a dime for the benefit of this community, but would grow fat upon our industry'.[76]

Such criticism was not confined to Gentile merchants, although their threat to Mormon society was often more easily articulated. Mormon merchants who were seen to be profiting excessively from trade with their brethren were also criticised within the local press. When trading with Gentile merchants, Saints at least knew what they were getting themselves into. It was clear that such men were not concerned with building up the Mormon community, and were solely focussed on making money. Mormon merchants, on the other hand, were supposed to share their brothers' concerns and

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[74] 'Remarks of 24th October, 1857', *History of Brigham Young*, Church History Library, cited from Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, p.196.
[75]*JH*, 9th August 1865.
[76] *Deseret News*, 2nd November 1865, *JH.*

ambitions for building up the kingdom, so when they engaged in the same trading practices as Gentiles, the people were 'deceived and suffer through their avarice'.[77] Forces that could erode the control of the Mormon Church did not always take a physical form that could be singled out. In this case, Mormons were accused of having absorbed the values of private profit and self-interest which typified business relations in the east, and were undermining Mormon society from within. In supporting a move towards a greater degree of co-operation among the Saints in 1868, Elder George Bywater cited the development of 'broad liberal margins of gentilism' among the Saints as a motivation.[78] The accumulation of wealth in the hands of such men not only undermined Church goals, it also created greater wealth disparity among the Mormon people. 'There should be no class in our community separated by interest and sympathy from the mass of the people', the *Deseret News* warned in an 1869 editorial.[79] Such men were accused of being more concerned with how best they themselves could benefit, rather than how they could serve the kingdom of God.[80] The travel writer William Hepworth Dixon articulated the effect that the actions of merchants could have upon the spiritual control of the LDS Church in Utah, noting in 1867 that down Salt Lake City's Main Street, commerce had taken over and reduced the visibility of the church's influence around the Temple, claiming that 'the power of Brigham Young has broken and retreated before that of the money-dealers'.[81]

The business practices of merchants, combined with attempts by a number of Gentiles to subvert political control of the Mormon Church within Utah Territory, provoked Brigham Young into stricter action. From 1866 onwards, Mormons were

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[77] *JH*, 9th August 1865.
[78] 'Minutes of the School of the Prophets held in Provo, Utah', 15th September 1868, Utah State History.
[79] 'Plutocracy – Cooperation', *Deseret Evening News*, 24th November 1869.
[80] Brigham Young, 3rd February 1867, *JD*, Vol. 11, No. 44.
[81] Dixon, *New America*, p.189.

warned that to trade with Gentiles was to act against the wishes of the LDS Church. Justification for such a strong approach drew upon the ideas of the profiteering actions of Gentiles, but also warned Saints that to enrich Gentiles would be to enrich men who would use their wealth to try and destroy the religious basis for Utah society. Apostle George A. Smith, cousin of the Church's founder, implored Saints not to 'go and buy of men who would use that money to cut your throats'.[82] The policy was linked with the spiritual message of the church, with Brigham Young warning the Saints that those who transacted business with Gentiles would 'be poor in time and in all eternity'.[83] Scripture was invoked in defence of the practice, with Elder Samuel W. Richards saying that the current policy of avoiding trade with Gentiles reminded him of a Bible passage which predicted a time when 'no man buyeth [merchants'] merchandise any more'.[84] The temporal act of buying and selling goods was imbued with religious virtue, where choosing the correct place of business was a statement of support for the Mormon kingdom.

Utah's Gentiles were understandably upset at this development. The *Union Vedette* used the episode as a fresh opportunity to criticise church control of the Territory. In response to a sermon in the Tabernacle calling for particular Gentile businesses to be avoided, it argued that 'the people of this Territory are capable of knowing where, as well as when, to purchase goods and give their patronage to those who can advance their interests'.[85] Rejecting the idea that Gentiles were actively trying to disrupt matters within Utah, the *Vedette* instead called for freedom from persecution and painted the actions of Gentile merchants in a more favourable light. It argued that

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[82] Brigham Young, 8th October 1868, *JD*, Vol. 12, No. 56, cited from Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons* (Chicago, 1992), p.90.
[83] *JH*, 9th August 1865.
[84] *JH*, 22nd January 1867.
[85] 'The Tabernacle', *Union Vedette*, 1st January 1867.

purchasing goods in the East, transporting them at great cost and selling them at generous rates was a very strange way of trying to show hostility towards Utah Mormons. It volleyed a charge back at the church hierarchy, questioning who it really was who had been 'drawing the heart's blood from the community for the past two decades?'[86] Brigham Young's defence was that Mormons had the right to collectively choose where to shop, but this was of little consolation to Gentiles who saw the controlling hand of the church behind all economic activity.[87]

Alongside the Gentile boycott, Young took measures to continue the development of local goods, so that Mormons would be dependent on outside interests for as few products as possible. Mormon leaders repeatedly extolled the virtues of home manufactures, as products which kept wealth in Mormon hands and did not enrich Gentile businessmen. 'That which is manufactured here', Elder George Q. Cannon instructed listening Mormons, 'though it costs ten times the amount it would cost in the east, is the cheaper for that is the commencement of our independence'.[88] The church continued the work that it had started before the Civil War, attempting to create new industries throughout the Territory and encouraging Saints to sign up to colonising missions in the region where different resources could be produced. Sheep rearing was widely encouraged in the hope of providing greater supplies of wool. The value of dairy farming was proclaimed in a series of *Deseret News* editorials.[89] Any product which was currently being imported, which could reasonably be grown or made in Utah instead, was supported by leading Mormons. Merchants were told that they would better serve God by giving up their trading practices and supporting the

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[86] Ibid., 3rd January 1867.
[87] *Salt Lake Daily Telegraph* (Salt Lake City, UT), 21st December 1866, cited from Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, p.53.
[88] George Q. Cannon, 7th April 1867, *JD*, Vol. 12, No. 5, cited from Gustive O. Larson, *The 'Americanization' of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, 1971), p.15.
[89] *Deseret News*, 24th February 1869, *JH.*

development of internal resources. Brigham Young highlighted the poor spirit he saw existing among the mercantile members of the community, claiming that those Saints who refused such a request were doomed to hell.[90] Home manufacturing contributed directly to the building up of Zion, meaning that to fail to support it was to delay the Millennium. 'If we cannot take care of ourselves in this little colony', future senator Bishop Reed Smoot complained, 'we need not expect to be made kings and rulers'.[91] In coverage of Salt Lake City's Independence Day celebrations in 1869, the *Deseret News* emphasised one procession in particular which demonstrated 'the remarkable number of skilled artisans in various branches of business there is in this country'.[92] Leading Mormons took any opportunity they could to applaud the progress made in building up industry and productivity within the Territory's borders.

Fashion came under criticism as well. Saints were encouraged to wear homespun garments, ignoring the pressure to wear fashionable brands. The desire for extravagance should be torn from Mormon hearts, Brigham Young warned his followers, and Saints must 'make it a matter of pride to wear home-made clothing'.[93] He criticised Saints at a store dedication in 1869 because very few of those present were wearing home-made bonnets and hats. Young did not understand the need for such luxurious clothing. 'For richness, beauty, native simplicity and delicacy', he argued, 'they cannot compare with ornaments made of straw'.[94] He maligned the fact that his wives often criticised him for not wearing fashionable clothes, claiming that it was beneath followers of the church to 'have no more independence of mind or feeling than to follow after the grovelling customs and fashions of a poor, miserable, wicked

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[90] Brigham Young, 13th January 1867, *JD*, Vol. 11, No. 43.
[91] 'Minutes of the School of the Prophets held in Provo, Utah', 8th June 1868, Utah State History.
[92] *Deseret Evening News*, 14th July, 1869, *JH.*
[93] *JH*, 9th August 1865.
[94] Ibid., 5th August 1869.

world'.[95] In light of the criticism that he himself was not often seen wearing homespun clothes, Young responded that he had 'hardly worn a suit of clothes for years that has not been presented to me', and that it was out of his control if he was gifted clothing that had not been produced within the Territory.'[96]

Certain goods that Mormons chose to import were not considered worthy of home manufacture. Commitment to, and enforcement of, the 'Word of Wisdom' had fluctuated greatly throughout the early history of the Church, depending on the urgency of other priorities. In 1867 it was decided that a harder stance on the issue was required. The School of the Prophets, a newly-established committee of leading elders, launched a campaign for complete abstinence from products named in the Word of Wisdom, in the hope that it would prevent cash from leaving the Territory needlessly. Justifying this policy to the Saints was done fairly easily, as it stemmed from a prophecy by Joseph Smith. Other arguments were made, though, of the economic benefits that could be provided to the Mormon community if they saved money that they would otherwise spend on luxuries. At the Church's thirty-seventh annual conference, Brigham Young lamented the money that Saints wasted on such products. If they pooled their money together instead, 'it would amount to a sum more than sufficient to buy the pre-emption right to the land claimed and taken up in the Territory'.[97] Mormons were demonstrating a lack of foresight, and a lack of commitment to the economic vision for Utah society, by wasting their money on private indulgences. The fact that official Mormon policy prohibited the consumption of such products and Utah's Gentiles used them widely served as yet another example of the wickedness of eastern society. An 1869 *Deseret News* editorial pointed out that

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[95] Ibid., 7th April 1869.
[96] Ibid., 7th April 1867.
[97] *JH*, 6th April 1867.

although Utah's internal revenue was much lower than that of Montana, this was because there were far fewer saloons. This was preferable to having higher tax receipts, the editorial went on, for was it not better 'for the country to have good habits prevail among the people, even at the expense of taxation, than to have the revenue swelled from such sources?'[98]

This wave of protectionism and promotion of home manufacture culminated in October 1868 with the establishment of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI). Operating as a wholesalers in which all Saints could buy shares, ZCMI sought to pool churchgoers' money so that they could better compete with largescale eastern traders, and avoid the need to trade with Gentiles to receive a fair price for goods. Stores at which goods from ZCMI could be purchased were established throughout the Territory, ensuring that its benefits would not be confined to those with access to Salt Lake City markets. Trading with eastern businesses would be necessary in order to procure the goods to stock the wholesalers, but this was a cross worth bearing, as it meant that the need to trade with Utah Gentiles would diminish.[99] To Brigham Young, ZCMI represented the sort of economic cooperation that had been lacking throughout the previous decade. Saints had shown a willingness to work together during the founding years of settlement in Utah, and most happily gave their tithe to the Church. Despite this, economic unity had not been easily achieved. ZCMI represented a step in the right direction, a recognition on the part of the Saints that working together in their business practices was as vital to the long-term success of the Mormon community as spiritual and political togetherness. Young praised the convenience of the cooperative stores spreading throughout Utah, stating that Saints no longer had to

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[98] *Deseret Evening News*, 24th February 1869, *JH.*
[99] Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom*, p. 264.

'run a mile or two through the mud to buy a yard of ribbon, they have it in their own Ward', and at good prices, relieving them of the need to give up their profits to opportunistic freighters.[100] Merchants who had donated their goods to ZCMI and invested generously in the endeavour were praised in the local press for their 'unselfish and magnanimous spirit', their willingness to put the best interests of the community ahead of their own.[101]

Throughout 1868 and 1869, stories of successful new cooperatives established throughout the Territory filled the pages of the *Deseret News*. ZCMI seemed to offer the Mormon people the means through which to insulate themselves against Gentiles who sought to undermine them politically, without losing out economically. The *News* also emphasised that the Institution was benefitting the territorial population as a whole. It attributed particular significance to the ways in which it could mitigate against the frivolous spending of the Latter-day Saints. Drawing upon the long-standing criticism of Saints who frittered away their earnings, an article in January 1869 identified ZCMI as a safeguard against the failings of the individual, offering better and more responsible use of the community's money. Whereas many followers, if left in control of their wealth, would spend it on '[e]very pressing want, or seemingly pressing one', the *News* argued that, if they collectively placed their faith in economic co-operation, the Saints could make their money 'an instrument of power, […] of great usefulness'. The article provided a particularly literal interpretation of the failings of the American economic system, arguing that money itself, as a currency, could often be the root problem. If allowed to circulate more freely within a local economy, rather than

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[100] *JH*, 7th April 1869. One *Deseret News* article emphasised how ZCMI could support ongoing co-operative efforts to boost home manufactures, providing greater internal wealth that would allow the Saints to better respond when the local market became 'glutted with eastern manufactured articles'; 'Combination in Manufactures', *Deseret Evening News*, 28th October 1868.
[101] 'A Great Movement Fairly Inaugurated', Ibid., 17th March 1869.

maintaining a strong trade of goods, it could distract people from how to best ensure their long-term financial security. The wholesaling emphasis of ZCMI offered the Saints greater protection against these urges.[102] Such an articulation of the best way to protect the interests of the LDS community represented an alteration of the Revolutionary ideology of self-sacrifice towards a larger public cause. Attaching ZCMI to the LDS hierarchy and the religious mission of the Church removed a degree of responsibility from the individual; by accepting their obligations towards the Church the central Institution could work towards the goals of the wider society.

The response of some members of the Mormon community to ZCMI indicated that the failings of individuals were casting a long shadow. Despite news editorials and sermons applauding Mormons for their willingness to embrace cooperative values, support was not unanimous. From its inception, Brigham Young had been unable to foster sufficient enthusiasm for funding the Institution as a co-operative endeavour. The original idea had been for a wide base of Saints to purchase shares, allowing for the ownership and wealth of ZCMI to be broadly spread. However, the Saints proved slow to invest in the stocks that the Institution needed to sell to finance its large scale purchases. Those who did commit were among the wealthiest individuals within the Mormon community, who invested heavily because they were already significant forces within the local economy. The interests of such men were best served by transferring such a presence into the new Institution. The result of this was that, upon its foundation, the ZCMI only had twenty-one shareholders. Of those twenty-one, four men held 89 percent of the total shares, which did not exactly resonate with the

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[102] 'Present Advantages and Practical Economy', Ibid., 13th January 1869.

community-supported endeavour that Young had hoped for upon the Institution's inception. [103]

Eventually more wide-spread investment was achieved. Efforts were made to persuade further investment, and facilitate stock ownership, meaning that by 1870 there were six hundred individual investors.[104] The unwillingness of Saints to pledge either their money or their goods to the Institution was demonstrated most clearly by the fact that the director who was initially chosen to run ZCMI resigned because he was unwilling to commit his business to the Institution.[105] In a letter to Brigham Young in July 1870, Brother George Watt complained that the good intentions of Young in founding ZCMI were being undermined by those who sought to make it 'the means of pecuniary speculation […] prostituted to personal ends and individual aggrandizement', criticising store owners who did not undertake their business with a spirit of the common good, and calling for a stricter, more fully-committed level of co-operation as the solution.[106]

Although most ZCMI stores went on to enjoy success across the Territory, there was sufficient complaint about church control of trade to provoke a response from Brigham Young. Although he gave the majority of Mormons credit for making ZCMI profitable, he acknowledged that its establishment had not been universally popular, adding that he had never heard such complaints about Gentile businessmen, who did not have the best interests of the Saints at heart. 'Among this people, called Latter-day Saints', he complained 'when the devil has got the crowns, sovereigns, guineas and the twenty dollar pieces, it has been all right, but let the Lord get a sixpence and

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[103] Arrington, Fox and May, p.94.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid., p.97.
[106] 'George D. Watt to Brigham Young', July 27th 1870, Brigham Young office files: General Letters, 1840-1877, U-Y, 1870, Church History Library.

there is an eternal grunt about it'. He also criticised Saints who had been unable to

adhere to the Word of Wisdom, and had returned to their old habits 'like the dog to his

vomit'.[107] Saints seemed much less likely to follow commands related to financial,

rather than religious, interests. Writers for the *Deseret News* could not understand how

church members could entrust 'the future happiness of their souls to persons in whose

hands they would not for a moment place their money or other earthly substance'.[108]

By the end of 1869, grumbling had turned into open dissension. A group of

Mormon businessmen, led by William Godbe and Elias Harrison, began to voice

criticisms about the economic policies of the LDS hierarchy in their publication, the

Utah Magazine. These men were not Gentiles looking to subvert the authority of the

Mormon Church; they were loyal Mormons who had been key figures during the early

settlement of Utah Territory. Godbe in particular enjoyed a strong relationship with

Brigham Young. However, attempts by the President to implement church-led

economic initiatives did not sit well with the business ethics of what came to be known

as the New Movement, or Godbeites, who believed that the Church should not take

such a pivotal role in the local economy. Members of the movement tended to come

from Great Britain, rather than having been raised in the United States which, as

Ronald Walker suggests, goes some way towards explaining their strong opposition

to economic regulation. Such men lacked the heritage of New England communalism,

feeling much more comfortable with the kind of de-regulated capitalist competition that

they had left behind when they came to the United States.[109]

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[107] *JH*, 7th April 1869.

[108] 'The Late Conference', *Deseret News*, 9th April 1869.

[109] Ronald Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young* (Chicago, 1998). Laurie Maffly-Kipp has built upon this idea, adding the idea that the geographic distance of British members of the Church from its spiritual and administrative centre allowed for variations on Church doctrine to emerge more easily; Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, 'The Clock and the Compass: Mormon Culture in Motion', *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Apr., 2017), pp. 1-17.

The *Utah Magazine* was not imagined as a dissident publication when it was first created. It was intended to allow its contributors to write upon the arts, politics and science. However, in late 1869 editorials began to appear which spoke upon the subject of economic policy in the Territory, due to a need felt by its editors to address problems related to church authority and its perceived attacks on private industry. One editorial responded to a suggestion within Mormon circles that workers should agree to a wage decrease, and prices should be set uniformly throughout the Territory so that Mormon goods could better compete with eastern products. The *Magazine* argued that not only would such action be an exercise in futility, but that such a heavy-handed approach towards merchants and workers would 'kill all their ambition and enterprise'.[110]

There was no doubt some degree of vested interest in these statements; Godbe, for example, ran the leading drug store in the Territory. However, it became clear as the weeks went by that the writers at the *Magazine* disagreed with the principle of church regulation more generally. Not only did it go against the best interests of the individual, they also believed that, in its current state, the Utah economy would never realistically be able to compete with larger-scale eastern enterprises. Instead, it would be better for Saints to embrace an industry in which they were well-equipped to compete with Gentiles: mining. Rather than debilitate workers with wage reductions and make them sacrifice in order to try and make a success of home manufactures in Utah, *Magazine* editors believed that the church leadership should encourage the exploitation of mineral resources in the Territory. 'Here, then, is our specialty written on the face of the country', they wrote, 'a department in which we can compete with

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[110] *Utah Magazine* (Salt Lake City, UT), 26th August 1869.

almost any part of the world'.[111] They did not advocate all men having access to the mines. Their intention was for Mormons to work in mines, rather than capitalists coming into the Territory and gaining the profits themselves. Nor, they claimed, would such an approach go against President Young's support for an agricultural basis for society. Rather, it could potentially boost agriculture in the area, by providing a mining community which could serve as a potential market for farmers. Here was a political movement from within the Church's own ranks, extolling the virtues of free-market capitalism, not in order to damage the Church, but in order to move it to the next step towards the Millennium. The Godbeites retained their belief in supporting their spiritual goals by the temporal act of building up Zion; they just believed that its success could be better achieved by following a different path.

From the *Magazine*'s tone, it is clear that its writers knew that their publication was causing a stir within the Mormon hierarchy, and that such strongly worded contradiction of official church policy was a dangerous approach to take. However, despite their allegiance to the Mormon faith, Godbe and his colleagues had committed themselves fully to their cause. They criticised the Church's (or at least Brigham Young's) lack of tolerance of opinions which differed from official church policy. This was particularly jarring considering the public declarations of many leading Saints that Mormonism could withstand any challenge from outside its borders. It was curious to the writers at the *Magazine* that the same men who welcomed challenges from far and wide would, 'the moment one of their own brethren expresses a thought ahead of their own, […] point him out and say – "That's a dangerous kind of thinker"'.[112]

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[111] Ibid., 16th October 1869.
[112] Ibid., 11th September 1869.

Too dangerous, it turned out, for Brigham Young to allow. At a School of the Prophets meeting in October 1869, Young angrily denounced the *Magazine*'s editors. Undeterred, Elias Harrison challenged Young before the School of the Prophets, and the tension between the two groups reached a climax on 25th October 1869, when Godbe and Harrison were called to trial before the church leadership, and subsequently excommunicated from the church.[113] The decision provoked the resignation of a handful of other prominent members of the church, including Edward Tullidge, Eli Kelsey and Henry Lawrence. Although numerically small, the prominence of these figures within the community meant that it was a significant moment within the short history of Mormon settlement in Utah. Being removed from the church wounded the men of the 'New Movement', many of whom remained loyal to the Mormon faith long after the episode took place, despite their issues with the church leadership.

However, it did not weaken their resolve in regards to the economic future of the Territory. In the months following excommunication, the political editorials of the *Utah Magazine* became more heavily focussed upon church control of economic policy, and loosening restrictions on trade. Edward Tullidge, in a November article, attacked the protectionist measures taken by the church to ward off Gentile influence in Utah, before reassuring the rest of the nation that there were 'genuine' Mormons in the Territory, 'who do not fear civilization, railroads and the liberalizing genius of the American people'.[114] The Godbeites would make their new-found role as political opponents official in 1870, cancelling the *Utah Magazine* in order to create first the

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[113] 'Joseph F. Smith Papers, 1856-1918', 23rd October 1869, Box 2, Folder 5, Reel 1, Church History Library, MS 1325.
[114] *Utah Magazine*, 20th November 1869.

short-lived *Mormon Tribune* and then the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Mining Gazette*, an official opposition newspaper, supportive of the mineral industry in the area.

The first issue of the *Mormon Tribune* set out the mission statement of the newly cut-off Godbeites, proclaiming that the publication would be 'devoted to Mental Liberty, Social Development & Spiritual Progress'.[115] Throughout its issues it tried to convince its readers that the Church had lost sight of its true goal, claiming that the oppressive nature of Brigham Young's presidency left its people 'entirely subject to the dictation and control, not only of the President of the Church, but of every bishop in the Territory'. Such criticism did not mean that the Godbeites had abandoned their religion, however. William Shearman attacked the Church for having become 'narrow, illiberal, dwarfed and powerless', but believed that decreased regulation of the Latter-day Saints could still allow Zion to 'yet arise in her splendour and reach forth her arms to encircle and bless a world'.[116] The newspaper was retired in favour of its more secular successor, but the Godbeites retained belief in the Mormon Church. The same men would also serve as founding members of the Utah Liberal Party in 1870, an open political challenge to the dominance of the LDS Church.

Those Mormons who remained in the Church and demonstrated a greater commitment to Church co-operationist doctrine were not prepared to simply leave Godbeitism to its own devices. In 1870 a satirical semi-monthly newspaper called the 'Keep Apitchinin' was briefly launched which, among other things, criticised the Godbeites for attempting to draw a distinction between Church regulation in spiritual and temporal affairs. Their preferred method for conveying this message was through the imagery of a headless body. Their argument was that in order for the Saints to be

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[115] *Mormon Tribune* (Salt Lake City, UT), 1st January 1870, Church History Library.
[116] Ibid., 15th January 1870.

co-ordinated effectively in service of their co-operationist goals, a head (the Presidency) was required to provide direction to the actions of the whole. The magazine's writers ridiculed the Godbeites' assertions that such direction was not required, writing mock articles under pseudonyms bearing a strong resemblance to those of the most prominent members of the apostate movement. 'What should dictate as to how, where and when the arms, legs and toes shall move?' one such article questioned, under the name T. H. E. Gullidge (in reference to Edward Tullidge), 'Has it not been demonstrated, beyond a doubt, that the brain of a large portion of mankind is located in an entirely different part of the body?'[117] An article from March of that year made the argument even more distinct, lampooning the claim that spiritual and temporal aspects of Mormonism could be kept separate. The Godbeites, for their part, responded with their own satirical magazine, *Diogenes*, of which most of the remaining information comes from references to it within the pages of the *Keep Apitchinin* itself. One surviving issue criticised the degree to which Saints were free to pursue their own interests, enterprises and investments, claiming that the Church only wanted to educate men to 'DO AS THEY ARE TOLD'. It also poked fun at the Church's concerns over the damaging effect of Gentile integration into Utah Territory, posing as a Mormon writer who criticised those who arrived without 'coming to pay tribute' to the Church.[118] In the eyes of the Godbeites, expanding economic networks were not imbued with assimilationist or imperialist motives; they simply represented the arrival of businessmen such as themselves, who believed that the best future for Utah, and the American nation, lay in the development and expansion of trade.

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[117] *The Keep A Pitchinin* (Salt Lake City, UT), 1st May 1870, Church History Library.
[118] *Diogenes* (Salt Lake City, UT), Vol. 1, No. 7, 18th February, 1871, Church History Library.

The Godbeites, although only a small movement which would be subsumed in the 1870s by more influential opposition groups, served as an example of the change that Gentiles hoped would come to Utah if the eastern capitalist model was able to infiltrate Utah society. All of the arguments in favour of opening up Utah to trade and migration were vindicated in the emergence of this group who, although loyal Mormons, saw the economic opportunities offered by less-regulated trade and establishment of mining and challenged the authority of Brigham Young and the rest of the church hierarchy. To Brigham Young, the Godbeite apostasy represented the permeation of the worst values of eastern society, values which economic protectionism and promotion of cooperation were supposed to impede. Godbe and his colleagues refused to accept that church leaders were putting the best interests of their people first with their economic initiatives, preferring instead to argue for freedom to trade as and how they wished. This represented a grave threat to the long-term stability of the Mormon community, if such views were to spread to a larger proportion of the people. It reinforced the idea that although support for religious and political views was widespread, it was potentially economic change which Gentiles viewed as posing the greatest threat to the Mormon kingdom.

Most of the economic pressures and changes mentioned above would have taken place without the completion of the transcontinental railroad. In and of itself, the railroad was not a direct threat to the independence of the Mormon people in Utah. Brigham Young welcomed, and actively supported its completion, and it offered a raft of benefits to Mormons. Instead, the railroad served as a powerful symbol of the penetration of eastern social and economic values more generally, and was invoked by Mormon and Gentile alike as a sign of the changes that were going to take place

within the region. The westward movement of the train provided a physical form for a process in which Gentile values were transferring across the desert. To non-Mormons it offered a beacon of hope, the prospect that Mormon society would soon be overwhelmed by the sheer weight of eastern culture, without the need for violent overthrow so soon after the Civil War. Mormon leaders retained their confident rhetoric that they were more than strong enough to resist any pressure that increased contact with the East might bring. However, the protectionist measures taken during this period, as well as the language used to justify them, demonstrate an awareness that, without any kind of intervention, eastern market forces posed a serious threat to their vision for a religiously-based community in the Utah desert.

'A colony of consumers': Conflict over co-operation in Mormon Utah, 1869-1877

On 28th February 1874, Brigham Young and George A. Smith sent a telegram from the southern settlement of St. George, asking their brethren in Salt Lake City to delay the Church's annual conference for a month in order to provide time for the Saints to commence a significant undertaking. Two weeks prior, in a meeting with the St. George leadership, they had introduced measures to reinstate the United Order, or Order of Enoch, among the Mormon community within that town.[1] St. George was in particular need of economic assistance, due to a downturn in mining in the area linked to the depression that had swept the nation following the 1873 Panic. To Young this seemed like the appropriate time and location to reintroduce the Order to his people. He hoped that its implementation in St. George would soon be replicated across Utah Territory. Young's Order drew upon the same religious inspiration as Joseph Smith's earlier attempts to implement the Law of Consecration and Stewardship, aiming to organise the lives of the Saints in such a way that they could follow in the footsteps of Enoch and prepare their communities for entry into heaven. It demanded a much higher level of commitment to economic communalism than any Church policy in Utah up until that point, and aimed towards the creation of communities untroubled by wealth disparity, economic uncertainty or intra-communal competition. 'Thank the Lord, the people are so prepared for it', Young's telegram stated. 'With the fire of the Gospel burning thus brightly, we need not fear the efforts of our enemies'.[2]

The United Orders of the 1870s, which sought to reinstate the Law of Consecration and Stewardship, were a response by the Church hierarchy to the

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[1] Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz F. Fox and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons* (Chicago, 1992), pp. 155-157.
[2] *JH*, 28th February 1874.

increasing presence of Gentile market forces brought in by the railroad. As settlers began to flood into the Territory, predominantly in search of its mineral wealth, and as access to eastern markets became a reality for more and more Saints, the Church leadership felt it necessary to commit more whole-heartedly to the values of protectionism and community-minded trading that had been a strong undercurrent of Church policy since its inception. Brigham Young continued to emphasise the development of home manufactures within the Territory, in order to remove the need to import goods from the East, which drained cash from Utah. Protection and promotion of local industry continued to be inextricably linked with maintaining the integrity of Mormon Utah. Authority within economic affairs was as important as political control in protecting the interests of the Latter-day Saints. It prevented them from becoming dependent on eastern markets for survival, especially as those markets became less of a far-off abstraction, and more of a visible presence within Utah.

For all of Young's confidence that the Mormon people were ready for a greater commitment to Church communalism, Church rhetoric throughout the 1870s made it clear that there was an ongoing struggle for the spirit and values of the Mormon people. The end of the Civil War, and the rapid development of American infrastructure that followed it, had transformed the relationship between westward migrants and the rest of the nation. Dean May has argued that the war years caused a change in the values of migrants, as the development of the capitalist system transformed them from subsistence-focussed, community-minded individuals, who prioritised long-term economic stability, into market-driven profiteers who were more concerned with turning high profits year on year than longevity and fostering strong communities.[3]

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[3] Dean L. May, *Three Frontiers: Family, Land and Society in the American West, 1850-1900*

Within Church discourse, such an interpretation of the character of Gentile migrants had a long heritage. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, sermons about individualistic values had always carried with them a warning that Saints needed to be stoic in order to prevent their infiltration into Mormon communities. However, the ability of the Church hierarchy to block Gentile practices was now being eroded as Utah's isolation, political as well as geographic, came to an end. The aim of establishing the United Order was to prevent Utah from following the pattern of its neighbours, and becoming a Territory which excessively prioritised exportation of staple goods for eastern markets while its own economy stagnated.[4] Such a development would make the Saints dependent on the same Gentiles who were plotting the downfall of their society.[5] The drive towards greater economic independence could not be removed from the religious mission towards which the Saints were supposed to dedicate themselves. In promoting the Order to his Saints, Young told them that God was 'sending forth His voice' into the hearts of his people. 'Stop your course! Cease to bring in and build up Babylon in your midst' was the message.[6]

It soon became clear, however, that many of Young's Saints did not share his conviction that greater Church regulation of the economy was in the best interests of the community as a whole, or that economic activity needed to be linked so closely to

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(Cambridge, 1994). May attributes this change in mentality not only to the growth of capitalist sentiment within the country, but also an emotional disconnect caused by the violence of the American Civil War.

[4] The instability that staple-producing Western communities suffered has been one of the main strands of work within the New Western History school. See Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln, 1983); Michael Malone, *The Battle for Butte: Mining and Politics on the Northern Frontier, 1864-1906* (Seattle, 2006); William G. Robbins, *Hard Times in Paradise: Coos Bay, Oregon, 1850-1986* (Seattle, 1988); Mario T. Garcia, *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920* (London, 1981); Elaine Naylor, *Frontier Boosters: Port Townsend and the Culture of Development in the American West* (London, 2014).

[5] For more on the ways in which the agrarian myth of western settlement struggled with the realities of industrial expansion, see Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (London, 1978).

[6] *Deseret Evening News*, 2nd May 1874.

spiritual salvation. By the mid-1870s, the arguments of the Godbeites, for greater freedom to pursue their own financial interests, were becoming more widespread. This process was helped by LDS economic policy, which moved in the opposite direction, becoming more committed to co-operation in the face of an increased Gentile presence in the Territory. Home manufactures, ZCMI and the United Order were all repeatedly undermined by the reluctance of many Saints to sacrifice or risk their individual wealth for the sake of community goals. By 1873, T.B.H. Stenhouse, a Godbeite who published a history of the Mormon Church, felt comfortable enough about the change in attitudes among the Mormon people that he could claim in his book that 'the spell' of Church economic regulation 'was broken' and that many brethren now 'disregarded the teachings of the priesthood against trading with or purchasing from the Gentiles'.[7]

Such comments should be taken with a pinch of salt, coming from a leading member of Utah's first political opposition movement. Stenhouse also did not predict the degree to which some Saints would prove willing to commit themselves to more radical co-operation such as that under the United Order. However, he was not wrong to feel confident about the changes taking place within the Mormon community. While Young and his apostles drew strong links between local economic action and the salvation of each Saint's soul, such arguments often met with muted support. The spirit of acquisition seemed to be winning the minds of many Saints, undermining Church authority and impeding its ability to produce a society built upon more traditional models of community. By the time of Brigham Young's death in 1877, it was clear that the attempt to reintroduce the United Order was a failure. Rather than vindicate

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[7] T.B.H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints: A Full and Complete History of the Mormons* (Salt Lake City, 1876), p. 644.

Young's belief that his people were capable of a more altruistic form of social organisation, members of the Church failed to embrace radical communalism, reluctant to sacrifice their individual economic agency. Such difficulties demonstrate how a Gentile economic worldview was coming to hold significant influence among the Mormon people.

For all of the talk of the gentle erosion of authority that would come through greater economic integration, there were signs in the 1870s that federal authorities would not be content for reform to be left to the devices of the marketplace. Attempts were made to pass more stringent legislation that would bring the Latter-day Saints more closely in line with the practices of the rest of the nation. Eight years after the passage of the Morrill Act which had prohibited the practice of polygamy, territorial or federal officials had been unable to secure a single conviction for plural marriage, despite polygamous Saints openly flouting its provisions. However, in their attempts to rectify this situation, lawmakers found themselves faced with a number of issues which served to slow their progress. The sheer size of the Mormon majority meant that, without stronger measures being taken, the Morrill Act was a dead letter in the Territory. Enforcement was next to impossible when Latter-day Saints held all major positions within local political office and law enforcement. The Cullom Bill, passed by the House of Representatives in 1870, would have allowed territorial officials to wrest control of trials in Utah from the Church by giving them control over the selection of juries and judicial officials, as well as reducing the jurisdiction of church-controlled probate courts. It would have also exempted those who believed in polygamy from serving on juries,

and banned them from becoming U.S. citizens.[8] However, strong lobbying meant that the bill died in committee when it reached the Senate.

Such lobbying did not just come from the Mormon community. Conservatives, especially in the South, were loath to support any precedent for greater government intervention, given their own experience of Reconstruction policy.[9] Within Utah, opposition also came from some of the same individuals who had advocated most strongly for decreased Church regulation within the Territory. Members of the New Movement, as well as being concerned over the strength of the Cullom Bill given that many of them were also polygamists, called for 'moderating time' in order for the Saints to become better educated and embrace the new circumstances that the railroad's completion was bringing. William Godbe himself travelled to Washington in order to lobby against the Cullom Bill's passage, securing a meeting with President Ulysses S. Grant in which he sought to convince him of the change that would gradually come to Utah if left unmolested by strong government intervention.[10]

Within Congress, this faith in the reformative potential of the railroad formed a key part of debates over further anti-polygamy legislation. Such arguments were not just applied in relation to Utah; expansion of transportation and communication networks to stamp authority upon outlying areas had been one of the motivations for the construction of the railroad in the first place. Senator William M. Gwin of California had made clear when debating the railroad in 1858 that its completion would further

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[8] David L. Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847-1896* (Logan, 2005), p.284.

[9] Richard D. Poll, 'The Political Reconstruction of Utah Territory, 1866-1890', *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (May 1958), p. 115. For work looking at Southern opposition of stronger anti-polygamy legislation later in the nineteenth century for similar reasons, see David Buice, 'A Stench in the Nostrils of Honest Men: Southern Democrats and the Edmunds Act', *Dialogue* Vol. 19 (1982), pp. 100-113.

[10] Ronald W. Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young* (Chicago, 1998), pp. 219-221.

the imperial ambitions of the United States. 'We would command the institutions of the world' he said, 'not like the colonies of Rome, by the sword and vassalage, but by the irresistible power which would […] carry our institutions with our commerce through the world we inhabit'.[11] Especially once the Civil War ended, and the desire for stability was supported by a greater degree of consensus within the federal government, this idea became increasingly influential.

The argument of Thomas Fitch, Representative for Nevada, was typical of those who supported a non-interventionist policy towards Utah. A mercurial figure described by his own biographer as 'the premiere carpetbagger of the Old West', Fitch occupied a series of prominent roles both within and outside of politics across a number of western territories.[12] In opposing the Cullom Bill, Fitch articulated very clearly the strong links that could be drawn between the expansion of infrastructure across the West and the ability of the American people to force conformity upon deviant groups. Cullom's bill, Fitch argued, would mean that 'Utah would be returned to the desolateness which once reigned supreme upon her soil'. Better, he argued, to allow men like the Godbeites to continue their good work in transforming Utah from within, as the increased proximity of the Mormon community to mainstream American society continued to undermine its distinctive nature:

> 'Utah is no longer isolated. In that fact alone the days of polygamy
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> are numbered. So long as an iceberg remains locked in polar fields
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> it faces the assault of the elements; but when the salt summer
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> waves come stealing up from the south they detach it from its

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[11] Gary Gerstle, *Liberty and Coercion: The Paradox of American Government* (Princeton, 2015), p.108.
[12] Eric N. Moody (ed.), *Western Carpetbagger: The Extraordinary Memoirs of "Senator" Thomas Fitch* (Reno, 1978), p. vii.

surroundings, they float it away, they eat out a piece here and crumble away a fragment there, until some day its foundations are gone and it tumbles with a crash into the ocean; […] Sir, this social iceberg has stood in the midst of the great American desert, swelling its frostbound proportions, for a quarter of a century; but the railroad has unmoored it from its fastenings, and it floats without rudder or pilot in the surrounding ocean of civilization.'[13]

Railroad interests also played a pivotal role in stopping the bill's passage, opposed to the creation of any laws which could potentially destabilise their investments in the West.[14] Augustus Aaron Sargent, one of the most outspoken critics of the anti-polygamy legislation of the 1870s, was a known affiliate of Southern Pacific Railroad interests.[15] In his opposition to the Cullom Bill, he made reference to different areas in which Gentile America was making its presence felt as a 'nail driven into the coffin of Mormonism':

'[A]nd these nails are being driven every day. The presence of the miners in the neighbourhood, the influx of strangers by means of the Pacific railroad, the publication of an opposition paper there, the facility with which books and pamphlets are sent there, the fact that preachers of any denomination are allowed to express their views in the Tabernacle and to talk against polygamy, […] I say all these facts go to show that there is hope for the Mormon community, and

[13] *Congressional Globe*, House of Representatives, 41st Congress, 2nd session, 23rd February 1870, pp. 1517-8, https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwcglink.html, accessed 27/6/2017. All future references to this source to be labelled '*CG*'.
[14] Gustive O. Larson, *The 'Americanization' of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, 1971), p.72.
[15] Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Chicago, 1986), pp. 16-17.

that we need not plunge the nation into war in order to do away with

this nefarious system.'[16]

Those who argued that the infiltration of capitalist values would best serve to undermine the Church of Latter-day Saints did so not only because they believed that it was the most effective way of making change in Utah a reality. They also often had vested interests in western territories which stood to suffer if hostilities intensified between the federal government and the Mormons. Ohio Republican Robert C. Schenk made his misgivings towards greater intervention in Utah known during debate over the Cullom Bill. Perhaps aware at this point that he would become a major actor in the sale of the Emma Silver Mine in Utah seven months later, he argued that 'the advance of lines of railway and telegraph […] carrying with it all the influences of Christian civilization, will do more and be more effective than all our enactments to accomplish the object which we have in view'.[17]

This is not to say that all members of Congress were as convinced of the railroad's potential. Hamilton S. Ward, a Republican Representative for New York who had drafted the articles of impeachment against President Andrew Johnson, believed that it was the responsibility of the federal government to uphold the morals of the United States, rather than leave it to the caprices of social pressure. 'I have heard a great deal attributed to the railroad', he objected, 'but I never supposed that it was to fill the high office of a moralizer, […] If that be so, why, abolish all your laws from New York city to California!' Ward did not share the belief of many of his peers in the valour of the average American, warning that the same railroad that brought the 'hardy

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[16] *CG*, House of Representatives, 41st Congress, 2nd session, 23rd February 1870, p. 1520.
[17] Ibid., 22nd March 1870, p. 2145.

pioneer to Utah' also brought 'the dissolute and degraded of both sexes'.[18] Shelby Cullom, when introducing his bill to Congress, interpreted the changes within Utah differently, claiming that in the nine months since the railroad's completion, its impact had been to force the LDS hierarchy into more strictly persecuting Gentile businessmen, rather than being won over by the allure of potential prosperity.[19] The opposition of vested interests to further government intervention in Utah did not manage to outweigh President Grant's desire to see a stronger stance taken against Mormon recalcitrance. Following a direct appeal to Congress in 1873, the Poland Bill passed both Houses. This bill, however, although stripping probate courts of much of their power, made only partial reforms of the jury selection process, ensuring that, throughout the 1870s, polygamy convictions would remain elusive.

Despite the conviction within Gentile circles that the transcontinental railroad would sound the death knell for Mormonism, at least publically Brigham Young and his close followers continued to demonstrate an optimism for Utah now that it was more closely connected to the rest of the nation. The Godbeite apostasy had been swiftly dealt with and church leaders were confident that the speed with which the members of the New Movement had been ostracized would prevent their influence from spreading. They were equally confident that it was well within the power of the Mormon community to control any potentially damaging effects that the railroad could have on the independence of the local economy. A *Deseret Evening News* editorial shortly after the railroad's completion dismissed the idea that it was something to be feared, claiming that '[t]he disadvantages we can control, and, if, prudent, eventually remove', as most of these disadvantages related to cash-flow out of the Territory,

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[18] Ibid., p. 2143.
[19] Ibid., 17th February 1870, p. 1373.

which could be regulated as long as Saints retained the economic values set forward by Brigham Young.[20] In the meantime, the railroad was providing a valuable service by considerably decreasing the time that it took for Saints to join their brethren in Utah or to head out on missions. The editors of the *Deseret News* also stayed firm in their belief that the LDS community only stood to benefit from increased exposure to outsiders, as it would allow for misconceptions about the Latter-day Saints to be dispelled. The improvements in communications infrastructure provided by both telegraph lines and the transcontinental railroad meant that news could move more freely from Utah to the East, and vice versa; enemies of the Saints would no longer 'work in the dark as they once could'.[21]

Attempts to control the perception of the railroad's legacy were supported by continued efforts to cast migrants, brought over by the line to work in Utah, in a negative light. In response to an article in a Colorado newspaper which argued that the Pacific Railroad would bring a 'higher and purer civilization' to Utah, *Deseret News* editors proceeded to list the vices that the Gentile had brought with him to Utah. The article must surely have been speaking sarcastically, they claimed, to argue that 'drinking saloons, gambling saloons, houses of ill-repute, […] drunkenness, gambling, profanity, prostitution, [and] disease' were examples of a more enlightened form of society.[22] Such writing sought to control the narrative of economic integration. By vilifying the individuals brought in by the railroad, while simultaneously linking home manufactures with the religious mission of building up God's kingdom in Utah, agents

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[20] *Deseret Evening News,* 1st July 1869, *JH.*
[21] 'Sensation Storie [sp] from Utah – Difference Between the Past and the Present', Ibid., 15th December 1869.
[22] Ibid., 15th July 1869, *JH.*

of the post-war capitalist order became bearers of immorality who brought disorder to Zion.[23]

Writings in defence of the new inhabitants of the Territory were often found in the Godbeite *Salt Lake Tribune*. The editors of the *Tribune* wrote in their first issue that they intended to be a 'purely secular journal', free from 'sectarian bias'.[24] Maintaining such a stance would prove difficult throughout the newspaper's early years, as new editors sought to increase their readership by appealing to the partisan needs of Gentile readers in Utah. However, in its first few months the newspaper set its focus principally on advertising and promoting the mining industry within the territory.[25] The *Tribune* took umbrage at the accusations levelled at Gentile migrants, claiming that 'those characters are not so plentiful after all as some folks would like to make believe'. It went on to argue that Utah's new-found entry into national markets would serve to demonstrate to members of the LDS community that the lies they had been sold about outsiders were unfounded.[26] On both sides of this argument, portrayals of Gentile migrants served the political purposes of their writers. Mormons sought to maintain a grip on the local economy and the loyalty of their followers, while Gentiles and apostates hoped to attract investment into the mining industry through the creation of an image of peace, stability and productivity. However, such competing portrayals also demonstrate the wider principles at stake in an argument over something as simple as the vices of mine workers. To capitalists, such men, despite

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[23] For work which highlights the connection between Gentile migration and morality in one particular Utah town, see Brian Q. Cannon, 'Change Engulfs a Frontier Settlement: Ogden and Its Residents Respond to the Railroad', *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 12 (1985), pp. 15-28.

[24] 'Our Programme', *Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Mining Gazette* (Salt Lake City, UT), 15th April 1871.

[25] Ronald Walker has looked at the difficulties that the excommunicated Mormons in charge of the *Tribune* had in maintaining their vision for the newspaper, as their continued affection for the Mormon faith undermined their positions as leading figures within opposition politics in Utah, *Wayward Saints*, ch. 13.

[26] *Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Mining Gazette*, 19th April 1871.

their perceived lawlessness, represented the arrival of rationalism and enterprise, marking the first step towards the economic assimilation of Utah. To the LDS leadership, they threatened to expose the local economy to the same immorality, selfishness and recklessness that typified the worst excesses of the new industrial order.

The outwards-facing confidence of Church leaders in the aftermath of the railroad's completion belied the fact that, despite their convictions, it had exacerbated the difficulties of regulating the activities of the church's followers to better serve their aims of economic independence. In an article covering a recent fair hosted by the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society, the *Deseret News* warned its readers that although the exhibits at the fair demonstrated the commitment of a great many Saints to the principle of home manufactures, imports continued to increase. Goods were still being brought in which could easily be produced within the boundaries of the Territory, such as furniture and food staples.[27] 1869 had been a particularly poor year for harvests, due to problems with grasshopper infestations. In such circumstances, access to cheap food stuffs would be desirable. In the long run, however, such a policy would only serve to impoverish the Saints. Despite these admonitions, the import/export imbalance would remain a concern for Brigham Young throughout the 1870s. A report on the business done by the Utah Central Railroad in 1874 showed that the total number of imports into the Territory along that line weighed in at more than four times the amount exported. While imports along the line in 1873 totalled more than two and a half times the amount of 1871, exports had only increased by around fifty percent.[28] This imbalance, if allowed to continue, would only serve to make

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[27] 'The October Fair', *Deseret News*, 30th August 1869.
[28] 'Business of the Utah Central', *Deseret News*, 21st January 1874.

Utahans more dependent on national markets for survival. The *Salt Lake Herald* did not mince its words when discussing the political repercussions for Utah if this trend was not reversed, warning its readers in 1874 that measures must be taken to prevent the Territory from becoming a 'mere colony of consumers'.[29] Some semblance of a trade balance was necessary to prevent eastern Americans from being able to dominate the Mormons' existence.

Despite countless sermons and newspaper editorials imploring Latter-day Saints not to rely on outside imports, the speed with which eastern goods could now be procured, combined with the low rates that large eastern companies were able to offer, proved too enticing for many LDS merchants. In a meeting of the School of the Prophets on 30th July 1870, Brigham Young publically questioned the trading practices of two members of the School, asking them if they still sent east for their goods. When they admitted that this was the case, he warned them that Saints who followed such a course would 'sooner or later apostatize from the church'.[30] In an environment in which his motions were almost always met with unanimity, where the pressure of the community as a whole could be most heavily brought to bear upon an individual, the signal was clear: those who did not endeavour to build up the local economy were enemies of the Latter-day Saints.

The impact of the railroad was not limited to the effect that it had on the trading patterns of Latter-day Saints, however. The cost of the Church's involvement in the construction itself also created tension between Brigham Young and his followers. When Young purchased the contract to construct the Utah portion of the railroad, his

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[29] 'A Prosperous Community', *Salt Lake Herald*, 5th May 1874.
[30] Minutes of the School of the Prophets, Salt Lake City records', 30th July 1870, Church History Library, https://eadview.lds.org/findingaid/000060287/, accessed 27/6/2017. All future references to this collection to be labelled 'SOTP-SLC'.

aim had been to remove the need for Gentile workers to be brought in by doing the work themselves, while also providing the Saints with a valuable source of income. However, in doing so Young left himself and his workers reliant on the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroad Companies for payment. The Central Pacific made good on its debt fairly quickly after the railroad's completion, but Young's transactions with the Union Pacific did not go as smoothly. They fell victim to the Credit Mobilier scandal, which resulted in the bankruptcy of the railroad company, with over $1,000,000 still owed to the Latter-day Saints.[31] To Young this was unfortunate, as he had taken on a lot of personal debt himself during the process, and had hoped to use the money in order to finance the construction of other railroads within Utah. To the average worker who needed the money to survive, however, the consequences were much more severe and Young came under strong criticism from Saints demanding payment for their work.[32] The *Deseret News* lambasted the railroad's directors, claiming in September 1869 that after fifteen months of waiting for the U.P.R.R. to settle their debts, 'forbearance ceases to be a virtue'. The railroad companies had exploited the integrity of the Saints and their desire to protect the reputation of the Territory, and now many Saints were 'distressed for their pay'.[33] Undertaking construction of the railroad was supposed to have empowered the Saints and given them control over any social repercussions that it might cause. However, the protracted saga to receive payment for their work was damaging, especially to the ability of Brigham Young to garner support for his economic policies. Subsequent attempts to sell bonds to support railroad construction within the Territory were met with lukewarm support. The

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[31] On the effect of the Credit Mobilier scandal on the LDS community, see Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 266-7.
[32] August C. Bolino, 'Mormon Philosophy and Practical Railroad Building', *The Business History Review*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Winter, 1958), p.414.
[33] *Deseret News*, 1st September 1869.

attempts of Young to control the railroad's construction to protect the interests of the Mormon people had the unintended effect of damaging his reputation as an economic provider.

The project to construct the Utah Central Railroad salvaged Young's situation somewhat. The proposed railroad, covering the thirty-seven miles from Ogden to Salt Lake City, provided the main hub of Mormon society with a connection to the transcontinental line. It also promised to speed up the development of home industries in the Territory, especially coal mining, by improving access to the transcontinental railroad. Young was able to recoup the money owed to him by Union Pacific in the form of stock which he could then use for construction of the Utah Central. However, as the issue dragged on and Saints proved reluctant to commit themselves to another railroad venture, the pleas of Young and his close followers centred on the fact that it was not right for him to have assumed so much debt by himself, and that Saints should help to spread the debt. Young warned that, despite his best efforts to keep the profits from the railroad among his Saints, if support was not forthcoming he would be 'under the necessity of selling our Railroad to outsiders'.[34] He was able, through his position as trustee-in-trust of the Church's finances, to command considerable wealth in order to support Church economic initiatives. Despite this power, however, he often met with frustration in his attempts to secure more widespread investment in his projects.

One way in which Young deflected attention away from the problems that the railroad's construction had caused the Saints was to vent his concerns over the spirit of the Mormon people. At a dedication for a co-operative store in Salt Lake City in August 1869, he acknowledged the complaints of Saints regarding the money that

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[34] 'SOTP-SLC', 30th July 1870.

they were owed by Union Pacific, but claimed that such difficulties paled in comparison to the ones caused by the reckless consumption within the community. Even if the Union Pacific made good on its obligations and settled its debt, the Saints would soon find themselves in a similar situation because 'the great probability is that much of [the money repaid] would be spent foolishly, and would yield no permanent benefit to its possessors'.[35] Gentile capitalists might have wounded the wealth of the Mormon community, but the risks of entering business with such men had been clearly stated to the Saints for a long time now. A more pressing concern to Young was that his people were not changing their behaviour quickly or significantly enough to allow the Saints to remove their reliance upon eastern capital. Despite the precarious financial situation that Young's foray into the railroad industry had created, he stayed true to his convictions, at least publically, when talking about the values that should underpin the construction of the railroad. Scarred by his part within the profit-grabbing scheme of the Union Pacific officials, Young rejected the idea that the Utah Central should be constructed or run under a profit motive. 'Some say it was not a money making business', he said during an address at a meeting of the School of the Prophets, 'but what of that, we ought to take hold of it for the sake of building up the Kingdom of God, […] we should do what we can as public benefactors'.[36]

When the final spike was driven into the Utah Central on 10th January 1870, the spirit of self-sufficiency coursed throughout Young's speech at the dedication ceremony. 'Since the day that we first trod the soil of these valleys, have we received any assistance from our neighbors?' he asked the listening crowd. 'No, we have not'. Young was able to claim that the Mormons were in debt for the railroad to 'none but

[35] *Deseret Evening News*, 5th August 1869, *JH.*
[36] 'SOTP-SLC', 6th August 1870.

our own people'.[37] George A. Smith, at that point serving as Church Historian as well as First Counselor to Young, boasted that 'it would be difficult to find a railroad of its length and cost, that has been built without national or State aid or the assistance of some heavy capitalist'.[38] Even a representative of the Union Pacific, Colonel B. O. Carr, who attended the ceremony, had to admit that it was 'perhaps the only railroad west of the Missouri river that has been built entirely without Government subsidies'.[39] The construction of the Utah Central represented the first of a number of Mormon-controlled railroads during the early 1870s, as they sought to better integrate and connect the local economy. The Utah Southern, from Salt Lake City to Sandy, was completed in April 1873, while a northern line from Ogden, which eventually ran all the way up to Idaho, was finished by May 1874. In each case the motivation was the same: allow remote Mormon colonies to connect to the main trading centres in northern Utah, while attempting to instil co-operative economic values into the hearts of Saints. Increased access to national markets would not be prioritised over Church values. It was crucial that the Saints recognised the connection between improvements in their temporal concerns and their continued support for spiritual values that would set the Mormon people on the path towards establishing Zion.

Such lofty aspirations could not compete with the manoeuvrings of Union Pacific directors, however. This series of feeder lines might have been viewed within Mormon circles as public structures which served to better connect the local economy but, to U.P.R.R. officials, they represented competition. A number of the feeder lines still required their wagons to travel over the Union Pacific in order to reach Salt Lake

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[37] *Deseret Evening News*, 11th January 1870.
[38] Letter from George A. Smith to William H. Hopper, 11th January 1870, *JH*, cited from Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, p.272.
[39] 'The Cullom Bill and its Authors', *Deseret Evening News*, 12th January 1870.

City, and all of them needed it in order to be able to ship their goods east. Reluctant to give up their control, over the coal market in particular, Union Pacific officials responded by increasing rates to prohibitively high levels in order to make the use of these outside lines financially unviable.[40] This manipulation of the market was damaging not only to Mormon attempts to develop industry, but also to Gentile mining interests within the Territory. With mining technology still in short supply, and ore typically being of a fairly low grade in Utah, the higher cost of transportation threatened to incapacitate the majority of mining ventures in the Territory. An editorial in the *Tribune* complained that 'less than half a dozen mines can, by any possibility, be shipped East with profit under this new schedule of rates'.[41] Not content to let the Latter-day Saints get away without criticism, later issues would claim that the rate increase suited the church's agenda to deter mining of precious metals in Utah.[42] However, Union Pacific's tactic of increasing rates in order to control traffic coming from other lines was seriously damaging to the attempts of Brigham Young to establish Mormon-controlled lines. Struggling to make roads profitable, the drop in business caused by the higher rates resulted in the gradual sale of each line to the Union Pacific by the end of the 1870s. The very existence of these lines still proved a benefit for Latter-day Saints in Utah, but the attempt to regulate them in order to operate in the best interests of the Mormon community had been taken from them.

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[40] Leonard J. Arrington, 'Utah's Coal Road in the Age of Unregulated Competition', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII (1955), pp. 35-63.

[41] 'The Union Pacific Policy and the Interests of Utah', *Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Mining Gazette*, 7th May 1871.

[42] 'Whose Game Is It?', Ibid., 9th May 1871. See also 11th May 1871. The *Tribune* would frequently level the accusation at the *Deseret News*, the *Salt Lake Herald* and the Church in general that they were pretending to support investment into the Territory, while subtly acting against to deter it. See for example 'The Herald's Appeal to Capitalists', 18th April 1871.

The difficulties that Brigham Young and his apostles encountered in aligning the economic activities of their followers with the religious goals of the Mormon community were not limited to the railroad. The church's attempts to boost home manufactures and increase the success of Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution also fell foul of the desire of individual Mormons to be unrestricted in their temporal affairs. In the face of such apathy, Mormon elders made it clear that the spiritual and the temporal could not be so easily separated, but such claims often fell on deaf ears, even among higher-ranking bishops within the Church.

The *Deseret News* bragged in late 1869 about the successes that had been secured by ZCMI, in particular how it could buy stock in bulk from eastern retailers, cutting out middle-men and saving Latter-day Saints money.[43] There was also a commitment to keep prices under control, in order to protect the Saints from raised prices that other merchants might charge during periods of scarcity. Through such means, Brigham Young was able to claim that retail prices had been reduced by 20 to 30 percent since the Institution's inauguration.[44] However, in private circles such confidence in the progress of Mormon society was more muted. Although Saints were encouraged to only patronise the Institution, Brigham Young harangued those in a School of the Prophets meeting who continued the 'habit of sending back East for their goods'.[45] Stores that adhered to the co-operative scheme were able to place an 'all-seeing eye' above their doors, with the phrase 'Holiness to the Lord' underneath it, demonstrating their commitment to purchase from the ZCMI or sell goods provided by it. Saints who displayed such a sign but continued to deal with Gentile businessmen

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[43] 'Success of Cooperation', *Deseret Evening News*, 3rd November 1869.
[44] Arrington, Fox and May, p.97.
[45] 'SOTP-SLC', 16th July 1870.

were told by Young that they should remove it immediately, to make it clear that they had transgressed against the wishes of the Mormon leader.[46]

Continuing to trade excessively in eastern markets did not just undermine the ability of the directors of ZCMI to ensure that Saints could acquire goods at a fair price. It also undermined the Church's ability to boost home manufactures. The attempts of Church leaders to encourage the development of home industries continued throughout the 1870s, in order to keep the Territory's wealth from leaking out of its borders. This spirit of self-sufficiency did not just extend to goods which could, or should, be produced within the confines of the Territory. To import products which were entirely unnecessary for survival was held to be just as bad. In response to a question about the consumption of pork within the Territory, Brigham Young responded that if pigs could not be reared within the Territory in sufficient numbers, then Saints should simply go without it and subsist off other food sources.[47] As the Gentile contingent in the Territory continued to increase throughout the 1870s, Saints who broke the Word of Wisdom came under greater scrutiny. Church leaders sought to prevent the Saints from being drawn into bad habits by the presence of Gentiles, among whom drinking and smoking were much more widespread. President D. H. Wells even posited that the reason that the Utah Central was proving such a safe and reliable railroad in 1870 was because none of the brethren who worked on it smoked or drank. The Word of Wisdom was not only providing good health for Saints and demonstrating adherence to the prophecy of Joseph Smith; it also contributed towards maintaining the reputation of the Saints as a hard-working, reliable labour force.[48]

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[46] Ibid., 30th July 1870.
[47] Ibid., 25th June 1870.
[48] Ibid., 30th July 1870.

For home manufactures within Utah to continue to be a success, the technology and infrastructure to process goods needed to improve. To address this, the early 1870s saw a series of attempts to build mills and factories within wards, in order to prevent the need to export raw materials and import more expensive finished products. Co-operative wool mills, the largest being built in Provo in 1872, served to provide clothing for ZCMI and other merchants. Tanneries were constructed throughout the Territory, again supported by ZCMI, in order to provide leather to produce shoes and boots. Such ventures aimed to avoid enriching Gentile merchants and middle-men who imported such products from the east, while also attempting to lower consumption costs for the Saints. By the end of the 1880s, the Deseret Tanning and Manufacturing Association was producing 160,000 pairs of shoes annually.[49] During a period of expanding trading networks, in which the average western producer of raw resources was subject to the fluctuations of an economy over which they had little control, development of local industries which allowed for both production and consumption of local goods offered a greater degree of security. Furthermore, ventures into home manufacturing strengthened notions of political, as well as economic, independence. The development and ownership of technology as a means of independence from oppression had a long history within the United States and, within Mormon discourse, home manufactures took on the same significance.[50]

Such success stories did not manage to convince all Saints to stop patronising eastern businesses. Brigham Young continued to combat the desire of his followers to follow the latest fashions in clothing, at the expense of more plain clothing produced

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[49] Arrington, Fox and May, pp. 106-7.
[50] For the links between technological development and republicanism in America, see John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900* (New York, 1999).

domestically. Another issue arose from the fact that some Saints preferred to export their raw resources for larger profits, rather than sell directly to co-operative factories that could make just as much use of them. In a School of the Prophets meeting, Bishop Sharp complained that many Saints were selling their wool for '2 or 3 cents' more per unit, rather than sell to their brothers who had factories and needed raw materials.[51] This, to Brigham Young, demonstrated the worst examples of selfishness and individualism among his followers. Saints were unwilling to make a small temporary sacrifice, accepting a lower price for their goods now, in order to establish successful local industries in the long-run. This desire to secure as much compensation as possible for goods also led to criticisms of farmers, who sold their surplus grain rather than storing it up, despite the risk that they ran the following year if the harvest was not as kind. Young even went so far as to welcome the fact that grasshoppers had blighted a number of farms in 1869 and 1870, as a punishment for the fact that Saints had not shown the foresight to store up the surplus of previous years.[52] In 1876, Young would turn to the Relief Society, a philanthropic association run by female members of the Church, in the hope that they would do a better job of storing up grain in case of famine, such were the failings of male members over the years.[53]

Saints were told repeatedly that to follow church directives relating to economic activity, and work together to promote the needs of all, formed part of God's vision for his kingdom on earth. Brigham Young argued that it was arrogant of individualistic Saints to go against the advice of the church hierarchy. 'I will now ask the question', he put to his followers in 1874, 'where is the individual who can draw the line and show

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[51] 'SOTP-SLC', 27th May 1871.
[52] Ibid., 28th May 1870.
[53] Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City, 1992), p.103.

us that, when Jesus prayed that his disciples might be one, he meant a oneness only in spiritual things, and that it was not to extend to temporal affairs?'[54] At the Church's semi-annual conference in October 1873, Elder Lorenzo Snow, who would maintain a strong belief in the apocalyptic aspects of Mormon millennialism even throughout his presidency at the end of the century, told the listening audience that to obey in temporal affairs was just another aspect of the 'plan for eternal life'. He related a tale from the New Testament in which a man asked God how to ascend to heaven. When told that he needed to follow the Ten Commandments, the young man answered that he already did so. However, when God asked him not to covet wealth and to renounce all that he had, the response was much more tepid:

> '"Sell all thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven and follow me." But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions. In all other duties he had been faithful and blameless, but in this, his selfishness and love of riches held complete control, which called forth the remark of the Savior, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God."'[55]

In the contemporary political context, such a message held a larger resonance than the usual religious mantra to care for your fellow man and provide for those in need. It was a demonstration to the Saints that to continue to patronise eastern businesses, and undermine church co-operative enterprises, not only undermined the political

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[54] *Deseret Evening News*, 6th May 1874.
[55] Ibid., 7th January 1871.

integrity of Mormon society, but could also act as an impediment to one's accession into heaven.

The LDS hierarchy not only feared a lack of unity among the people in regards to religious direction; they were also concerned that such disunity would lead to greater socio-economic disparity as well, if the quest for individual profit resulted in the emergence of a more distinct class separation among the Saints. In late 1869, Church-minded newspapers were still bristling with confidence over the benefits that they would reap from the advent of the railroad and ZCMI. However, the *Deseret News* found time to warn its readers that if they did not take steps to ensure that wealth was more evenly distributed, then 'all the evils which abound in countries where a conflict between labor and capital exists would be reproduced here', resulting in the enslavement of man by his fellow man.[56] Adherence to church direction in economic affairs would act as a buffer against the wage slavery that was sweeping the post-war East. Four years later, such concerns seemed to be borne out, with Brother George Q. Cannon, returning from a session as Utah's representative in Washington, lamenting the fact that the inability of the people to act as one in temporal affairs was causing a 'growth of wealth' and 'an increase of selfishness' among the community.[57] The Mormon quest to be a people apart from the rest of the nation, free from the vices of the capitalist system, was being undermined by the actions of individualistic Saints. The distinctive nature of their desert society was being eroded.

These difficulties had implications for the long-term future of ZCMI as well. Taken at face value, the Institution had been a success. It had overcome the initial scepticism of investors in order to provide a valuable service, protecting the

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[56] 'Plutocracy – Cooperation', Ibid., 24th November 1869.
[57] 'SOTP-SLC', 13th January 1873.

vulnerability of Mormon consumers within an expanding marketplace. In its first year it averaged sales of $106,000 a month, while its largest Gentile competitor, the Walker Brothers, suffered a considerable decline, dropping to $29,000.[58] It allowed Mormon business to compete with Gentile prices, removed much of the need to do business with merchants and middle-men, and quelled some of the spirit of competition among the Saints themselves. However, the ease with which shares could be sold once purchased meant that there was a tendency for individual co-operative stores to slide into private hands. On some occasions these hands were those of a Gentile. Although sales of initial shares were limited to Saints, there was nothing to stop those same Saints from selling outside of the Church should the situation necessitate. This problem was compounded by the fact that, much to Young's chagrin, ZCMI was still beholden to the fluctuations of the national market. Although the Institution facilitated group purchasing and price setting within the Territory, the lack of development of home industries meant that it was still dependent on eastern markets to acquire its goods, and simultaneously depended heavily on eastern credit. When the 1873 Panic hit, this dependency proved too great for the Institution to bear alone. The Church was called upon to support it financially, while certain departments were sold into 'friendly hands' for a period.[59] ZCMI was sufficiently well established by this point to survive, buoyed by this assistance. The Institution did serve its purpose of providing a wholesalers which met the interests of the Mormon community, but the spirit behind its inception had been severely restricted, as its directors sought to combat the apathy of many Saints and the difficulties of the national marketplace.

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[58] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints* (Cambridge, 1958), p.307.
[59] Arrington, Fox and May, p.100.

Localised arguments were made about the temporal benefits that Utahans could expect to enjoy, but secular examples from other areas were also invoked as evidence. Britain provided particularly pertinent examples to journalists looking for greater support for their cause, as working men's cooperatives became increasingly influential in the north of England and in Wales. While devoid of the religious angle so often invoked by Church leaders, news reports on English co-operatives were able to provide financial statistics as evidence of how the average worker stood to gain from organising alongside his fellow employees. Similarly, once the Grange movement began to take hold within the United States, both the *Deseret News* and the *Salt Lake Herald* were able to draw inspiration from an organisation which identified the same flaws and injustices within the eastern capitalist model, even if its members did not share, and were often openly critical of, their religious commitment.[60]

The inability of Brigham Young to arouse a spirit of community mindedness among his followers only served to reinforce the idea in the minds of his opponents that market forces were undermining his authority. The *Salt Lake Tribune*, eager to jump on any shortcomings, compared the religious co-operative ventures of the Latter-day Saints to the 'merchant of Bagdad', who cried 'In the name of the prophet' in order to increase his sales. 'No church influence will be sufficient', they argued, 'to make the Saints buy merchandise in our place at a higher rate than it can be obtained elsewhere'.[61] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, a popular New York publication, argued several times throughout the early 1870s that the same railroads that were bestowing great wealth upon Utah Territory would also allow the Saints to travel to the

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[60] For articles on English cooperatives in pro-Church newspapers, see *Deseret Evening News*, 21st June 1869; 'English Co-operative Association', *Salt Lake Herald*, 1st May 1874. For similar articles relating to the Grange, see *Salt Lake Herald*, 3rd May 1874; *Deseret Evening News*, 1st July 1874.
[61] 'In the Name of the Prophet, Figs!', *Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Mining Gazette*, 3rd May 1871.

Pacific Coast, the throng of Gentile migrants having forced them to seek solitude in Polynesia.[62] The *Salt Lake Tribune*'s frustration over an increase in the rail rates of the Union Pacific Railroad stemmed not only from the fact that it was an impediment to the paper's desire to boost interest in mining within the area, but also the fact that commerce was 'the great civilizer of the age'. Anything which opposed this progress was 'a bane to civilization that should be purged'.[63] Despite this slight obstacle, its editors remained confident that the balance of power was shifting in Utah Territory, and the infiltration of Gentile capital was playing a considerable role in that shift.

This belief was bolstered by the ever-increasing role that mining occupied within the territorial economy. For all of the passionate speeches to Mormons, warning them against the evils of becoming fixated on the pursuit of precious metals, once the railroad was completed Brigham Young could not do much to prevent the influx of Gentiles looking to exploit the mineral resources of the territory. The railroad's completion was not the only factor which contributed towards the upswing in investment in Utah mines in the 1870s, although the increase in transportation speed did play a large factor in boosting investment. Much investment in mining in the region came from abroad and by 1870 the Civil War was a sufficiently distant memory to convince foreign investors that the country was stable enough for them to invest in it.[64] This development was particularly germane in the case of Utah. Unlike in the early years of the 'Gold Rush' in California, where a great deal of gold was deposited in river beds, Utah's mineral wealth was predominantly found underground, requiring a considerable investment in labour and machinery.[65] The result of this upswing in

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[62] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York, NY), 25th June 1870.

[63] 'Letter to the Editor', *Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Mining Gazette*, 10th May 1871.

[64] Clark C. Spence, *British Investments and the American Mining Frontier, 1860-1901* (New York, 1958), p.5.

[65] David L. Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847-1896* (Logan, 2005), p.245.

interest was that the number of British-controlled mines in Utah Territory rose from none in 1870 to twenty by 1873.[66] From 1868 to 1871 the number of mining districts in the territory increased from two to forty-four. In the first three years following the railroad's completion, over 16,200 tons of silver and gold ore were produced, with a value of over $3 million.[67] The sudden increase in wealth was so profound that by 1871 over half of the taxes paid within the Territory came from the proceeds of mining.[68] Seemingly overnight mining had become an integral part of the Utah economy.

Gentile interests, both within Utah and without, waxed lyrical over the potential repercussions of this booming new industry. The *Salt Lake Tribune*, established by men who had been excommunicated from the LDS community for encouraging mineral development, was unsurprisingly optimistic, although the legacies of its Mormon past tempered its enthusiasm somewhat. Eli B. Kelsey, a Godbeite reporting from Bingham Canyon, prayed that although there was the potential for much successful mining in the area, it should not be undertaken in a 'sensational' manner. A more careful, prudent approach would prove of greater benefit in the long run.[69] The *Tribune* called for further investment, especially in machinery, so that lower-grade ores within the Territory could be smelted locally. Its writers again linked the future of mining to development, claiming that 'Utah can never be fully developed until hundreds of furnaces are erected in the various mining regions of the Territory'.[70]

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[66] Spence, p.5.

[67] Brigham D. Madsen, *Glory Hunter: A Biography of Patrick Edward Connor* (Salt Lake City, 1990).

[68] Leonard J. Arrington, 'Taxable Income in Utah, 1862-1872', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 24 (1958), p.39.

[69] *Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Mining Gazette*, 19th April 1871.

[70] Ibid., 26th April 1871.

The *Tribune*'s editors would gradually adopt a more explicitly critical tone when talking about the future of the Mormon Church as the decade went on. Quickly following the *Tribune*'s establishment in 1871, the Godbeites began to lose influence over the newspaper. There was a tension between conservative Godbeites, who were reluctant to criticise the Mormon Church excessively, and more radical Gentiles who desired a more partisan opposition press.[71] Soon after the paper's creation, Oscar Sawyer, an experienced journalist who had worked for the *New York Herald*, was brought in to add a veneer of professionalism. More detached from local interests, Sawyer was less concerned than Godbe and Harrison with offending Mormon readers and, while he was managing editor, the hostility towards the Church in the *Tribune*'s pages increased. Territorial officials and judges were often able to use its pages to criticise the Church establishment, which resulted in an internal power struggle over the ethos of the newspaper.[72] Although the Godbeites were quick to force Sawyer's resignation when his editorials became excessively vitriolic, they never managed to find sufficient patronage for their brand of Mormon economic liberalism. Eventually the paper was sold in 1873, to owners who were happier for the paper to take a more staunchly oppositional tone, with E.L.T. Harrison leaving to form another short-lived paper, *The Leader*.[73] The Godbeites' departure allowed the *Tribune* to be more scathing in the language that it directed towards the Church, freed from the restraint of the apostates. In relation to mining, a letter from Ophir was published in 1871 which

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[71] This is not to personify all Gentiles as having an antagonistic relationship towards members of the Mormon Church. Rather, it simply emphasises those individuals who saw the potential remunerative benefits of a more sensationalist form of journalism. Thomas Alexander and James Allen have argued that many Gentiles living in Salt Lake City, especially businessmen, had nothing to gain from provoking outright hostility from their Mormon neighbours; a more gentle process of acclimation promised to suit their ends without disrupting their businesses; Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, 1984), p. 92.

[72] Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1886), p. 589.

[73] J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism: A Half Century of Forensic Warfare, Waged by the West's Most Militant Press* (Salt Lake City, 1938), p. 355.

mocked the supposedly divine nature of Mormon economic policy, asking how it could be that those 'who claim to be the inspired revelators of the Lord's will, did not find out about these mines until after the "heathen" prospector "struck" them'.[74]

Outside Utah, publications unsympathetic to the LDS Church were unequivocal in linking the development of mining to the death of Mormon theocracy. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* claimed that, knowing the value that mineral wealth represented and the potential damage that could be done if Gentile migration increased, the Saints were hiding their mines until they could achieve statehood. Once this greater protection was secured, Young could force his followers to work the mines through tithing labour, treating them much like the 'heathen Chinee', free from the watchful eyes of outsiders.[75] The *Milwaukee Sentinel* linked the mines to the broader idea that free-market capitalism would undermine the Church's authority, claiming that the influx of miners had provided fresh markets for Mormon goods. This wave of new consumers meant that farmers in Utah were receiving almost twice as much for their products as they could before the upsurge in mining.[76] Brigham Young would have interpreted the impact of these events differently, but there were aspects to both of these stories that were true. To Gentile interests outside of Utah, Mormon isolationism was being worn away by capitalist investment and Gentile migration.

Brigham Young openly admitted, at least in meetings with his peers, that there were rich veins of mineral wealth in Utah; the Lord had concealed nothing from him in that regard. By the 1870s his tone towards the industry had mellowed somewhat. He

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[74] *Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Mining Gazette*, 2nd May 1871. Even the simple presence of miners in the Territory was identified as a threat to the Church's control. The *Tribune* reprinted an article from an Isle of Wight newspaper which claimed that men who had moved to Utah were making 'fantastic offers of marriage to the Mormon girls', depleting the ranks of the Latter-day Saints as women fled from polygamy; Ibid., 5th May 1871.
[75] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 1st April 1871.
[76] *Milwaukee Sentinel* (Milwaukee, WI), 19th December 1872.

still did not believe that it was as good or as useful a trade to follow as one based in agriculture. Following an admission on his part that the gold mines were enticing a number of the Saints, he stated that 'those who fight grasshoppers and cultivate the earth will be far better off than those who go to the mines'.[77] However, it soon became evident that there would be mining in Utah, either with or without Mormon involvement, and it seemed to make sense that if anyone was going to benefit, it should be the Latter-day Saints. By 1871 even Orson Pratt, one of the most ardent supporters of Church economic initiatives up until that point, recognised that the Saints should enter into mining, justifying the departure from Church doctrine by claiming that 'God's purposes [are] secured in ways not clear at the time'.[78] In typical style, Young tried to link future mining investment to the quest to build the Kingdom of God, by making access to the mines a test of faith. 'The mountains are full of Gold and Silver', he told a School of the Prophets meeting, 'and when we are nearer to the standard of truth and right and oneness, the Lord will give us all we could ask for'.[79] He struck a similar tone two years later, stating that God would give his Saints all the wealth in the world 'just as soon as they are prepared to use it for the building up of the Kingdom of God and not before'.[80] Just as with the establishment of home manufactures, Young sought to draw worldly affairs alongside religious salvation, holding out the promise of temporal wealth as a reward for the spiritual readiness of the people.[81]

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[77] 'SOTP-SLC', 16th July 1870.
[78] *Deseret News Weekly* (Salt Lake City, UT), 12th October 1870, cited from Walker, *Wayward Saints*, p. 363.
[79] 'SOTP-SLC', 15th October 1870.
[80] Ibid., 22nd June 1872.
[81] W. Paul Reeve has attempted to provide a degree of nuance to Gentile-Mormon encounters over mining, by showing the ways in which the lived reality of mining communities in Utah was less polarised than the discourse which surrounded it. In his 2006 work *Making Space on the Western Frontier*, which analysed interpretations and negotiations over space in contested territory in southern Utah, he argued that despite political rhetoric fuelling resentment, Mormons, Gentiles and members of the Paiute tribe were dependent upon each other for resources and labour in a way which meant that no kind of exclusionary politics could ever effectively operate; W. Paul Reeve, *Making Space on the Western Frontier: Mormons, Miners and Southern Paiutes* (Chicago, 2006).

Even when church opposition to mining work waned, the LDS leadership continued to emphasise the potential damage that the industry could have upon the religious commitment of the Saints, if they did not show discipline and control their urges. Brigham Young advised the School of the Prophets that 'if somebody finds a good lode, work it sufficiently to keep it, but don't run crazy over it'; control of the land was more important than over-speculation and pursuit of profit.[82] George A. Smith, who had demonstrated his commitment to internal development earlier in the settlement of Utah by leading a colonising mission to Iron County, hoped that mining would not distract the Saints from their agricultural work, which up until that point had allowed the Saints to be 'the least taxed and best governed people in the world'.[83] Leaders remained hopeful that mining could be incorporated into the Church's economic worldview without sacrificing the spirit of selflessness which underwrote Mormon economic policy. Young, in one of his more generous statements of support for mining, compared the current situation to that which had greeted them in the late 1850s, when federal troops leaving the Territory sold their goods at very generous rates to the Saints. '[W]hilst the money is easy, pay up for your land', he counselled the School of the Prophets, and wait for the time when the mining craze in Utah had died down and all of the land and machinery would 'be disposed of in a similar way to those of Camp Floyd'.[84] Mining in Utah would be but a fleeting moment in the Territory's history, another instance in which the Gentile presence was to be tolerated and controlled, soon to pass on.

These glances into the instructions of the Church hierarchy could be interpreted as confident ones, the messages of leaders ensuring that economic integration and

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[82] 'SOTP-SLC', 1st October 1870.
[83] Ibid., 11th February 1871.
[84] Ibid., 4th May 1871.

entry into the mining industry would be on their own terms. However, it seems just as likely that such comments were an attempt to impose order on a situation of which Brigham Young and his apostles were increasingly losing control. At the same time that Young was encouraging his Saints to undertake their mining in a spirit befitting members of the LDS Church, he also made it clear that the mining environment was bringing his people into contact with damaging outside influences. Young complained in 1871 that, during one of his many travels around Mormon communities in order to check upon the progress of the kingdom, he had been upset at the levels of tea, coffee, tobacco and whiskey that he saw being consumed by members of the Church, especially those who had gone to work in the mines. He recounted meeting Saints who 'had learned to drink and swear equal to any outsider'.[85] Jan Shipps has argued that adherence to the Word of Wisdom in the nineteenth century did not hold the same importance for Saints as it does today, as the Saints then were actively involved in religious work by constructing Zion in the desert. The act of kingdom-building was a better demonstration of the commitment of the average Saint than following dietary instruction.[86] While defying the Word may have been more common, however, the response of Church leaders to those who did not follow it remained vociferous, perhaps due to a perceived need to reinforce religious authority during a period of cultural and economic invasion.

Despite all of the signs that the Saints were eager to enter into mining and benefit personally from the new wealth entering the Territory, there were still instances in which Brigham Young's concerns over the industry were borne out. Most of these related to the fact that mining ventures often demanded the support of eastern, or

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[85] Ibid., 4th March 1871.
[86] Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Chicago, 1985), p.128.

foreign, capitalists, and were therefore dependent on the state of the wider marketplace. This was of great use in allowing for projects to be undertaken which were beyond the limited scope of Utah finances, but it also meant that Gentile businesses were much more prone to national downturns in the market than Mormon ones. Mining in the territories surrounding Utah had resulted in the establishment of the first private banking houses in Utah in 1864, with the number increasing as the industry entered the Territory, demonstrating a greater economic interdependence between Utah and outside interests than had been prevalent in the preceding years.[87] These banks, and the mining companies they supported, were much more connected with the national economy than most Mormon-run businesses. Consequently, when the Panic of 1873 hit the nation, they were much more severely affected. For nine years, the Mormon-owned Deseret National Bank was the only national bank in the Territory, the others having proved unable to survive the economic downturn.[88] To Young this demonstrated, once again, the importance of fostering a self-sufficient local economy, and impeding those who sought to open up Utah. 'One important lesson is taught us by the late financial panic, and that is, to husband our own resources, and to avoid, as much as possible, all entangling alliances'.[89]

When discussing the Panic the *Salt Lake Herald*, sympathetic to Church economic policy, was unequivocal in linking the nation's turmoil with a growing inclination towards extravagance, both within the hearts of individuals and within American society as a whole. Writers at the paper foresaw the crash that would come with the failure of Jay Cooke & Company in September 1873. In warning its readers,

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[87] Leonard J. Arrington, 'Banking Enterprises in Utah, 1847-1880', *The Business History Review*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Dec., 1955), p. 315.
[88] Ibid., pp. 323-4.
[89] Brigham Young to Albert Carrington, 3 Oct. 1873, *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, Vol. 35 (1873), p.681, cited from Ibid., p.325.

they modified long-standing Church rhetoric about the corruption that capitalist expansion could create within Utah's economy, in order to raise concerns about potential repercussions on a national scale. The spending habits of the individual became indicative of a broader malaise among the general population, with the desire for luxury the worst evidence of a moral and economic decline. Should enough Americans live so precariously on the brink of their incomes, collectively their recklessness threatened the entire nation. 'Those who have a little means ape those who are wealthy', one editorial argued, 'and make themselves poor, in so doing; […] the result will be, if the present gait is continued, a financial crash in the country as certain as it will be of enormous magnitude'.[90]

The *Herald* would use arguments about import/export imbalances to link national and local trading practices, in order to warn its readers about the perils that the Territory could face if its residents did not show restraint in the marketplace. Ever since the Latter-day Saints had first settled in Utah, concerns about becoming overly reliant upon importation had been a key strand of Church rhetoric. This sentiment remained prominent in 1873, the *Herald* advising that Utahans needed to 'keep the imports into the country and the Territory so low that money will not be drained off'.[91] By the end of the year these arguments were being applied more explicitly to the failings of the national economic system. Americans had become too dependent upon outside capital to support their enterprises, which had resulted in 'gold and silver [being] borne away from our shores' as well as reducing the ability of national financiers to control the American economy. Americans had gambled with the fortunes of the American people in order to indulge their desire for extravagance and were now

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[90] 'The Price of Extravagance', Ibid., 20th April 1873.
[91] Ibid.

paying the price. The 1873 Panic provided validation for forty years of Church warnings against those who undermined local economic agency and speculated too heavily with their wealth. Mining, held up as the worst example of this trend within the local economy, was invoked to try and explain America's failings, those who were responsible for the crash being likened to 'a man mortgaging a mine before he has opened it, being satisfied of its richness and selling that richness and his labor in advance to gratify the appetite of the hour'.[92]

Drawing upon a long-running sentiment within Church rhetoric towards co-operation, the *Herald* claimed that the problem was not outside investment or speculation per se; it was the lack of restraint that Americans had shown which had created an untenable situation doomed to failure. 'This country has immense, we might say almost inexhaustible, resources' it argued, 'but if national extravagance keeps them mortgaged in advance of development, we will always be really poor'. Again the root of the nation's dilemma lay with the moral shortcomings of the individual, who had sacrificed more sustainable forms of living and economic organisation in pursuit of profit. Continuing to situate themselves within a traditionalist strain of thought, the *Herald* lamented the loss of the 'republican simplicity of the fathers' as Americans prostrated themselves to the allure of the market.[93]

To return to a territorial perspective, the tendency of those living in Utah to adopt more heavily capitalist trading practices still posed the greatest threat to the Church's vision. For all of the talk of a Gentile invasion, the most immediate risk to the Mormons

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[92] 'The Financial Outlook', Ibid., 20th September 1873. This concern was not unique to the Latter-day Saints. The Republican Party wrestled with itself over the perils of free trade in an international context. Economic nationalists within the Party believed that a premature adoption of a free-trade ethos would leave them dependent over the more economically advanced British Empire; Marc-William Palen, *The "Conspiracy" of Free Trade: The Anglo-American Struggle over Empire and Economic Globalization, 1846-1896* (Cambridge, 2016).
[93] 'The Rise of Gold – What Is Coming', *Salt Lake Herald*, 2nd April 1873.

in the mid-1870s was that practices would infiltrate the LDS community which could potentially undermine church authority. Numerically, the Saints still enjoyed a significant majority, with Gentiles only accounting for 10% of the population in 1876.[94] Despite fears of economic infiltration, the Church of Latter-day Saints remained dominant in local politics. Its sheer numerical advantage meant that candidates from the Church-organised People's Party held most major positions. However, for all of the congratulatory language that Young and his followers attached to their co-operative institutions, it was clear that in economic affairs Young could not command complete respect. Increased access to eastern markets and exposure to Gentile society were undermining Mormon home industry, while the infiltration of mining was distracting many Saints from fields which the church hierarchy claimed would be of greater benefit to the community as a whole. In 1874 Young responded to these deficiencies. He was hopeful that the damage that the 1873 Panic had done to those sectors of the local economy most dependent on connections with Gentile society would help Saints to refocus on the dangers of integration into national markets. In the twelve months after the Panic broke out, bank deposits in the Territory decreased by one third, a clear sign that when times were tough the Saints were foolish to depend upon Gentiles for support.[95] The fact that Brigham City, a predominantly Mormon community which had experimented with more extensive co-operation, was practically untouched by the Panic, convinced Young that he needed to double down on his co-operative mission. He took steps to initiate the Second United Order, which would require a much greater level of commitment from his Saints and which more strongly rebuked Gentile capitalist values. The response that he received from his followers in

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[94] Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (London, 1979), p.178.
[95] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, p. 324.

trying to initiate it made it clear that more radical economic co-operation was a step too far for the Latter-day Saints.

Each person entering into the Order was asked to consecrate their property and wealth to the church, and was given capital stock in return, to be redistributed by the Order's Board of Management. In many cases, Saints simply had their stock returned to them, to be stewards over, but such a system allowed the Board to redistribute wealth to individuals in need, or use the pooled resources in order to make land more productive or to establish home industries within that area. Saints were encouraged to donate their annual surplus to the Church to further aid co-operative economic development. Communitarianism extended beyond economic activity as well, with Saints encouraged to embrace the idea of the Mormon 'family'.[96] Plans were drawn up for communal living which would allow for the pooling of daily labour, so that tasks could be completed more efficiently, giving the individual more time to work or dedicate themselves to the Kingdom. The rules of the United Orders reinforced a commitment among its members not to trade with outsiders and work to boost home manufactures. They also covered manners, with Saints encouraged to live frugally, observe the Word of Wisdom, pray daily, and not quarrel with their fellow members.[97]

Brigham Young had long considered the re-institution of the United Order a fitting tribute to the memory of Joseph Smith, but the political and economic context had never been right. The scarcity and precarious nature of the initial years of life in

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[96] Christine Talbot has documented the ways in which nineteenth-century Mormon communities functioned as 'a kind of broad, privatized family', in her work on polygamy within political culture; *A Foreign Kingdom: Mormons and Polygamy in American Political Culture, 1852-1890* (Chicago, 2013), p.15.
[97] Edward J. Allen, *The Second United Order Among the Mormons* (New York, 1967). See also, Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* and Arrington, Fox and May*, Building the City of God.*

Utah had made such consecration unnecessary and impractical. Communal labour was already a necessity during those early years of settlement, while the generally low levels of wealth among the initial population made redistribution somewhat inconsequential. By the 1870s, the territorial economy was more fully developed and the reallocation of wealth could be undertaken more effectively, if the Saints were willing. The Panic of 1873 had reinforced Young's notions of the flaws within the American economic system, in particular the ways in which integration had removed control over the prosperity of the Territory from the hands of its residents. Sparked into action, he set out about re-introducing the Order to the Saints. St. George and the surrounding settlements seemed a more suitable location to test the Second United Order, as the local economy was less developed in those areas. With the vast majority employed in farming, rather than mercantile endeavours, it was easier to undertake consecration of property and centralisation of wealth. Establishing the first Orders in these more remote areas also allowed Saints to avoid potential conflict with Gentile interests in the early stages.[98]

From the outset, Young's United Order demonstrated an awareness that the Saints were not uniform in their readiness to commit themselves more fully to the Church. Saints living in larger cities had a more varied range of jobs, with those engaged in mercantile professions less able to consecrate their goods or wealth. They also lived among a larger number of Gentiles, resulting in a degree of interdependence which made reforming the economy in such areas a more difficult task. Orders varied from the full-commitment model, with Saints also engaged in communal living, down

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[98] Quorum member Orson Pratt, who preached the consecration and stewardship prophecies of Joseph Smith more staunchly than most, believed that it was only in such remote areas that LDS co-operation could ever be undertaken successfully. To Pratt, it would prove impossible to instil a spirit of oneness among the Saints amid the polluting influence of Gentiles; better instead to 'commence in some new place, where the Church and the settlers might be gathered together and set a pattern for all the rest' - Orson Pratt, 7th April 1873, *JD*, Vol. 16, No. 7.

to wards in which Saints simply expanded their commitment to home manufactures in order to support a particular co-operative venture in their ward. These more limited models retained the ultimate goal of living under the Order, but there was a realisation that such change would have to be achieved gradually. In the most extensive examples of communal living, such as that established at Orderville, a town founded with the express purpose of living under the United Order, members 'ate at a common table and wore clothes from the same bolt of cloth'.[99] At the other end of the scale, Saints could find their lives relatively untouched by the Order's presence, other than providing a greater financial commitment to certain new industries.

Once attention moved towards its establishment in Salt Lake City and other northern settlements, most Mormon discourse promoting the United Order focused on fostering a stronger spiritual union among the brethren, and following the Lord's will by working to enrich all members of the Mormon kingdom. Orson Pratt told Saints at the forty-fourth annual conference of the Church in 1874 that 'if we would be faithful we should become the richest of all people'.[100] However, this was not the only approach taken. Church leaders frequently drew links between its establishment and the ongoing mission to prevent capitalist values from infiltrating the ranks of the Saints. Lorenzo Snow would note his concern three years later that many Saints were adopting the economic worldview of Gentile America, that 'to constitute us good democrats […] we have this kind of feeling of "doing as we damn well please"'.[101] A *Deseret News* editorial in the months following the announcement of the Order stated plainly that the 'great evil' facing the American population was 'the undue desire to

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[99] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, p.333.
[100] Orson Pratt, 6th April 1874, *JD*, Vol. 17, No. 4.
[101] Ibid., 3rd June 1877, *JD*, Vol. 19, No. 30.

acquire wealth regardless of the means employed'.[102] The Order would correct this sentiment among the Latter-day Saints by demonstrating the value to be gained from restraining individual impulses in favour of serving the wider community.

A letter from an April 1874 issue of the *Salt Lake Herald* is particularly revealing, not only for how it connected communalism with a healthier and happier way of living, but also for the contrast which it drew with Gentile society within the Territory. The author of the letter, simply signed 'Observer', reported on life in Brigham City, which had entered into a more strictly co-operative form of social organisation long before the announcement of the United Order. The writer was unequivocal in linking the economic independence of the city's residents with the 'feeling of love and union' that existed there. Latter-day Saints there were presented as being doubly enriched, financially through the rewards they were reaping from co-operation and spiritually through the unity that existed among the people as they worked towards God's vision of a society built upon the values of the Mormon Church. 'Observer' then went on to contrast what he had seen with his impressions of Corinne, a town north of Salt Lake City which had been founded by Gentiles with the hope of forming a hub of political and economic influence, built upon support for mining.[103] In comparison to Brigham City, Corinne resembled 'the skeleton of a once healthy carcass, […] a dilapidated sunflower'. The reason for this, in the eyes of the author, was the over-reliance of the town upon eastern capital, its focus on mining having deprived it of the means to

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[102]'The Great Evil', *Deseret Evening News*, 15th July 1874.
[103] While the language of this letter was coloured by the political aims of its writer, Corinne did struggle to live up to the hopes that were originally attached to it. If anything, the town struggled with the same changes in the Territory that were seen as the long-term hope for Gentile interests. Investment in steamboats, which it was hoped would allow for goods to flow in and out of the city across the Great Salt Lake, was undermined by the transcontinental railroad and the failure of the town to secure its own strong rail links. The rapid rise and decline of the town, after such strong promotion of its potential, was invoked repeatedly by the LDS press as a warning against the fleeting nature of capitalist investment. For the history of Corinne, see Bernice Gibb Anderson, 'The Gentile City of Corinne', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1941), pp. 141-154.

support itself. 'No one can stay the iron hand of commerce', the letter concluded, reinforcing its core message that stability in the West could only be achieved by avoiding excessive entanglement in national trading networks.[104]

At the Church's general conference in May of that year, First Counselor George A. Smith portrayed the Order as a bulwark against the damage that could be caused by national depressions, such as had been experienced in 1873. He told the listening audience 'when we as a community […] provide for our own wants, we are not subject to the fluctuations and difficulties that results from a money panic'.[105] Erastus Snow, in the same 1877 address in which he identified the adoption of an individualist attitude among many of the Saints, took this argument about the pitfalls of excessively integrated trading networks one step further. Invoking the Civil War, he claimed that one of the main reasons that Confederates had been 'whipped' by Unionists was that 'they were not sufficiently self-sustaining', relating it back to the United Order by claiming that '[n]o nation under heaven can long thrive, and continue this state of things'.[106] Although Snow offered a particularly militaristic interpretation of the conflicting interests over this issue, he was drawing upon a strong theme within Church discourse: that economic dependency would severely imperil the Mormon community. His own strong sense of commitment to internal development can perhaps be traced back to 1864, when he had been charged with leading the ill-fated attempt to develop a cotton industry in Dixie, in the South of the Territory.[107]

Often such arguments did not draw upon the religious nature of the revelation that had originally inspired the Order, or link it to bringing the Saints closer to God in

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[104] 'Letter from Brigham City', *Salt Lake Herald*, 1st April 1874. For other articles which cited Brigham City as an example to the rest of the LDS community, see 25th October 1876.
[105] *Deseret Evening News*, 3rd June 1874.
[106] George A. Smith, 3rd June 1877, *JD*, Vol. 19, No. 30.
[107] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 216-9.

order to more quickly ascend to heaven. Instead a more practical approach was taken, an attempt to make a rational economic argument for entry into the Order, the need for which would suggest that an appeal along spiritual lines was proving insufficient. A *Deseret News* editorial around the same time operated along similar lines, telling its readers that as long as the Saints remained dependent on other communities, the 'more completely at the mercy of others they remained'.[108] The United Order was a way for the Saints to more fairly compete with national markets. Accumulated wealth would provide greater bargaining power, linking the Order to the foundation of ZCMI five years earlier. This language was much less adversarial, portraying a concern not with keeping the Mormons as a people apart, but with ensuring that they were able to negotiate their way to a fair deal within national markets. The most striking attempt to present the United Order in a capitalistic sense came from future Church President John Taylor. He told listening Mormons that to consecrate to the United Order was no different from purchasing stocks in a company, and in that regard the Order represented no greater loss of freedom than did the actions of any stockholder. Business-minded Saints should invest in the Order now, so that they could reap the rewards later. [109]

Young himself sought to alleviate the fears of the Saints that the Church sought to remove the principle of private property entirely, presenting the management boards of United Orders as co-ordinators of labour instead. 'As individuals we do not want your farm, we do not want your houses and city lots', he told the Saints. 'We want the time of this people called Latter-day Saints that we can organize this time systematically, and make this people the richest people on the face of the earth'.[110]

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[108] 'Home Production, Commerce, Etc.', *Deseret Evening News*, 20th May 1874.
[109] Ibid., 27th January 1875.
[110] *Deseret Evening News*, 6th May, 1874.

The church hierarchy did continue, though, to attach the issue of morality to the pursuit of profit. Erastus Snow, who along with George A. Smith had played a key role in organising many of the first Orders, claimed that the aim of the Saints in co-operation should not be upon large profits, as '[l]arge dividends corrupt the morals of a community, just as large speculations and the profit resulting therefrom'.[111] However, by themselves, such appeals were limited in their success. The *Deseret News* frequently included correspondence from successful Orders, in a drive to boost commitment within Mormon ranks.

The *Salt Lake Tribune*, by this point having shed any semblance of non-partisanship, leapt at the opportunity that the Order offered to attack the authoritarian nature of the Mormon community. Before dipping into the extensive criticism that the *Tribune* levied at the Order, it is important to clarify the political outlook of the staunchest anti-Mormon Gentiles within the Territory. It is very easy to draw a strong dichotomy when looking at this period, between 'Mormons' and 'Gentiles'. This is particularly the case if the focus is more heavily upon the rhetoric among the Latter-day Saints, for whom distinguishing between those within and outside the kingdom proved most effective. However, there was a greater degree of nuance on the Gentile side. As has been shown already, there were differences of opinion within the ranks of the Latter-day Saints, but non-Mormons could not be grouped together so neatly either. LDS leaders warned their congregations about the perils of trading with Gentiles in general, be they in Utah or the East. Business with such men risked damaging home manufactures and dragging the Saints into systems of dependency.

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[111] Ibid., 13th May 1874.

There were honest Gentiles who met with the hierarchy's approval but, more often than not, non-believers were treated as a collective entity.

This perspective was not shared within the ranks of Utah's Gentile population, many of whom were just as likely to oppose Republican administrations in Washington as the Latter-day Saints. The Democrats performed well in the southern and western regions of the United States following the Civil War. Initially this was due to the War's legacy in regards to race relations but, increasingly, partisan lines became drawn around the endorsement that Republicans lent to eastern financiers, corporations and railroad interests.[112] As Republican antebellum rhetoric coalesced into more concrete political action, the Party implemented its 'free-labor' ideology in a way which many farmers and urban workers saw as undermining their attempts to secure greater protection in the workplace.[113] Such an interpretation of the political climate certainly fits with the worldview of the various editors of the *Salt Lake Tribune* throughout the 1870s and 1880s. Writers in the *Tribune* were just as likely to criticise exploitative or greedy railroad operators as they were the actions of Brigham Young and his peers. Unionism would become a powerful presence in territorial politics by the 1890s, as labour began to organise in order to address the economic woes that increasingly affected them.[114] The *Tribune* was just as, if not more scathing towards the 'kings of the money market' whom it too held responsible for the 1873 Panic. It lambasted the 'universal extravagance that prevails' among the general population which had

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[112] This interpretation of political debates over national identity during the late-nineteenth century, in which eastern 'interests' were increasingly prioritised by Republican officials over the needs of the worker and the rural American, has been one of the key aspects of the recent historiography of the 'Long Reconstruction'. See Heather Cox Richardson, *West From Appomattox*; Steven Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders*.

[113] Heather Cox Richardson has argued that the tendency towards the interests of big business is the great failing of the Republican Party, considering the hope that many Americans attached to it during and immediately after the Civil War; Heather Cox Richardson, *To Make Men Free: A History of the Republican Party* (New York, 2014).

[114] Alexander and Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles*, p. 106.

resulted in rampant speculation, greed and a 'great drain upon our earnings'; language that would not have been out of place within the pages of the Mormon press of the period.[115]

The *Tribune*'s criticisms, therefore, did not stem from a belief that the average Utah resident was not in need of greater assistance in their economic dealings. They shared the concerns of many Mormons about the precarious situation that Utah's economy faced if it became overly dependent upon a politico-economic system increasingly geared towards the interests of big business. Where the two sides differed was in their response to this situation. Democrats at the *Tribune* did not envision a radically different social system as the solution to the failings of the American system; they sought change from within through political reform and democratic action.[116] If their favoured political candidates could simply secure office, then greater protections could be afforded to the labouring classes, with the capitalist system in general remaining intact. This general acceptance and support for the core message of the American economic model – that given a fair chance any person could secure their fortune and independence – was the root of opposition to Mormon economic policy. The authoritarian nature of the LDS community, where unelected leaders controlled decision-making and in which the needs of one were subsumed by the needs of the whole, marked an unnecessary restraint upon the liberty of the individual. Such a

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[115] 'A Moral View of Our Financial Difficulty', *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 21st September 1873.
[116] For *Tribune* endorsement of the Grange movement, see Ibid., 3rd June 1873. Noam Maggor's interpretation of the Democratic and Populist mindset at the end of the century is useful in contrasting Gentile and Mormon thinking in regards to the national economy. He argues that such groups operated within contemporary rhetoric of capitalism and industrialisation. Rather than labelling those who sought an alternative balance of power between economic groups as extremists or utopian, as their opponents at the time might have done, he identifies them as individuals who were 'passionately modern and remained optimistic about the democratic potential of industrialization'. LDS leaders, on the other hand, clung more strongly to traditional ways of forming community and engaging in business, invoking a Revolutionary tradition that they thought had been surrendered by corrupt government officials. Noam Maggor, *Brahmin Capitalism: Frontiers of Wealth and Populism in America's First Gilded Age* (London, 2017), p.12. See also Heather Cox Richardson, *West From Appomattox*, p. 141.

restraint proved particularly galling in the case of the United Order because, while the Saints were being restricted to forms of economic activity which fit with the Church's vision, Utah's development was lagging behind its neighbours. Mormons could be contributing to the wealth of the Territory if only given the freedom to do so. Writers at the *Tribune* felt strongly enough about the ideal state for the Mormon worker that they labelled the Church's economic regulation as a 'violation of natural law'.[117] That Church economic institutions had the added goal of undermining Gentile businesses themselves marked a further infraction against Americans who were helping to build up the nation by developing western resources. To Latter-day Saints, the differences between eastern Republicans and hostile Democrats in Utah were irrelevant: both operated within a system in which an excessive emphasis upon individualism and short-term gain was contributing to a corruption of the American mission, as well as impeding their attempts to build a religious kingdom in preparation for the Millennium.

The *Tribune*'s writers, therefore, did not interpret the Church's actions as an attempt to make the Saints better able to compete with Gentile business. To them, the Order simply represented an extension of Brigham Young's despotic attempts to regulate every aspect of his followers' lives. The *Tribune* presented the Order to their readers as the President's latest attempt to bring as much wealth as possible under his control, through the 'sheer browbeating' of his followers'.[118] The perceived restraint that the Order placed upon the agency of the average Saints was an affront to Gentile belief in the right to freedom within the marketplace. Saints who willingly entered it were surrendering 'the rights to be MASTERS OF THEIR OWN ACTIONS', the *Tribune* asserted.[119] The Order was portrayed as the brainchild of a thief, with Young

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[117] 'Our Industrial Troubles Considered', *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12th June 1874.
[118] Ibid., 7th March 1874.
[119] Ibid.

labelled an 'arch-pirate' who conspired to swindle the Saints of the fruits of their labours through group pressure and religious doctrine. The *Tribune* implored Mormon readers to realise that all of Young's wealth had been 'wrung from their hard earnings'.[120] There is an argument to be made that much of Young's listed wealth was only his through his role as trustee-in-trust of a number of Church institutions, and that his actual personal wealth was much less, but to his Gentile opponents, there was no distinction to be made. Brigham Young must be crazy, the *Tribune* proclaimed, as for all of the wealth over which he has control, he continues to portray himself as being 'as poor and penniless as his humblest tithe-payer'.[121]

The newspaper's reports did not always focus on the plight of the browbeaten Saint, however. More often they focussed on the noxious actions of the Church hierarchy, as they remained confident that the free-market sensibilities of many Saints would act as an impediment to the United Order ever getting off the ground. Letters from seemingly recalcitrant Saints were published which demonstrated their unwillingness to consecrate to the Order. Field reports were common, in which conversations with similarly reluctant Mormons were recounted, such as the man who told one reporter that he had 'been a serf long enough'. 'I have worked many years to make what little I have', he continued, 'and never received one cent of aid from anybody'.[122] Such comments, if accurate, reveal not only a lack of a commitment to the United Order, but a long-standing apathy towards the spirit of providing for the community that had supposedly underwritten Mormon social values throughout the Church's history. The *Tribune* also questioned the likelihood of the Saints remaining

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[120] 'A Fact to be Borne in Mind', Ibid., 12th March 1874; 'Brigham's Enoch', Ibid., 13th March 1874.
[121] 'Is Brigham Young Insane?', Ibid., 17th May 1874.
[122] 'Couldn't See It', Ibid., 11th March 1874. For other examples of the *Tribune* attempting to highlight dissent among the Mormon community in response to the United Order, see 'The Order of Enoch', 30th April 1874; 'Third Ward Meeting', 23rd June 1874.

committed if the Church was unsuccessful in lowering the prices of home manufactures. Its editors found it unlikely that Mormons, with their limited collective wealth and resources, would be able to compete in the marketplace with the large outlays of eastern producers. If United Order prices remained higher than their competition, the odds of Church members' loyalty being strong enough to maintain their patronage seemed low. 'Will the farmer of Utah carry his religion so far as to pay a home factory twenty-five per cent more for a wagon than he can buy one made in a distant State?' the sceptical *Tribune* asked.[123]

Arguments such as these, which emphasised a faith in the rationalities of the market, were common within both Gentile and Mormon circles, as can be seen in the earlier arguments of the Godbeites in the *Utah Magazine*, and provide one of the more stark examples of the contrasting worldviews of the two interest groups during this period. The *Tribune* was able to portray the rank-and-file response to the United Order as Latter-day Saints coming to their senses and more whole-heartedly resisting the larcenous habits of their leader.[124] To opposition interests, it seemed logical that Saints would act in their own pecuniary interests, rather than sacrifice their needs to a religiously-mandated economic institution, especially one which in their eyes was limiting individual agency for the aggrandisement of a wealthy few. An ideal society, based upon free-labour and individual liberty, would be best promoted through a deregulated economy free from government oversight, whether that government be secular or religious. To Latter-day Saints, this same model was socially corrosive and was undermining community spirit. In their particular case, such social views formed part of a broader religious movement, but these debates expose key political issues

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[123] 'President Smith on the Order', Ibid., 29th April 1874
[124] 'Brigham Young Backing Down on Enoch', Ibid., 5th May 1874.

of the specific contemporary context. Mormon economic debates were a more extreme example of wider questions over national identity and protection of local interests.

The confidence of the *Tribune*'s writers, combined with the slim chances that the paper envisioned for the United Order, led them to believe that it was an act of desperation, the last-ditch attempt of Brigham Young to commit his followers to the Church. The failure of the United Order was simply the final nail in the coffin for the authority of the Church of Latter-day Saints, which had been eroded by the 'free press, a free pulpit, intercourse with Gentiles, active mineral development, non-payment of tithes, [and] apostasy' to a point of no return.[125] To Gentiles within Utah, all of the potential reforms that had been promised with the arrival of the transcontinental railroad had been realised with the lukewarm response to the United Order among the Mormon community.

Opposition to the Order provoked the publication of another short-lived satirical magazine, this time called *Enoch's Advocate.* Similar in tone to the Saints' own *Keep-A-Pitchinin* of five years before, the magazine masqueraded as a Church publication in order to criticise the United Order. Chief among these criticisms was the continued allegation that the Order was just a front for Church leaders to continue to sap the wealth of its followers. Its first issue was headlined by a cartoon entitled 'Effects of Stripping the Last Teat'. In it, the Mormon people were portrayed as a cow being milked by President Young, tied to a post labelled 'Kingdom of God', by a rope labelled 'credulity'. It reinforced the faith of apostate Mormons that spreading their desire for a less-regulated economy would offer the remedy to the exploitation of the Saints, with one of the cow's legs, labelled 'liberal Mormons', kicking over the milk bucket and

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[125] 'The Prophet's Equalization Scheme', Ibid., 1st April 1874.

spilling its contents.[126] The *Advocate* claimed that one of the grand founding principles

of the Order of Enoch was that it did not allow 'a lower member of the Order to put his

hand into the treasury equally with that of the president […] being adverse to the

interests and necessities of mine anointed ones who hold the presiding priesthood'. It

went on to reinforce the Godbeite belief that the key to prosperity lay in individual

economic liberty, claiming that the Order was guilty of 'extinguishing the individuality

of the lower members'. To the writers of the *Advocate*, the Saints were being fed lies

about the levelling aspirations of the Church Presidency; instead they were being

manipulated to enrich their leaders. A cartoon in the *Advocate*'s second issue drove

this point home, portraying Brigham Young as a 'Cephalopod of the Great Basin', its

leeching arms labelled with the various institutions used by the Church leadership to

drain its followers of their wealth.[127]

Such a portrayal of the limits of the United Order was not just the wishful

thinking of the opposition press. Within Mormon circles as well, it quickly became

evident that the Saints were not united in their support for a greater level of economic

co-operation. This is not to say that the United Order scheme was uniformly a failure.

Overall, around 150 United Orders were established across the region.[128] Through the

four year period when Orders were at their peak, the Saints were able to utilise their

labour to support the construction of four temples in Salt Lake City, St. George, Logan

and Manti. Beyond news articles within the establishment press which sought to

promote successful Orders across the Territory, Saints wrote to Brigham Young

personally to demonstrate their happiness with the new economic order in their ward,

especially within the first year or two. A Saint from Pleasant Grove wrote that despite

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[126] *Enoch's Advocate*, Book the First, Chapter 1 (Salt Lake City, 1874), Church History Library.
[127] Ibid., Book the First, Chapter 2.
[128] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, p. 329.

initial scepticism, in 1877 the Order in that ward had been able to pay out 6% dividends to all of its members.[129] Another from Mendon was able to inform Young that within one year they had been able to draw together most of the materials to build their own dairy.[130] Nor did any great opposition movement form within the Saints' ranks, akin to the Godbeite movement of five years before. However, in general, support for the United Order was far from unanimous. Of the twenty wards in Salt Lake City, only four managed to incorporate United Orders.[131] Across the Territory as a whole, around half of the Orders which called for a full consecration of property to the Church lasted less than a year.[132]

The reasons given by Saints for their lack of enthusiasm towards co-operation were many and varied. Bishops who voiced their complaints to Brigham Young about a lack of commitment drew upon a similar argument to that of William Bridgehurst of Toquerville, who claimed that the 'love of money' had rendered it impossible for the United Order in his ward to persist.[133] Joseph A. Young, son of Brigham, gave a speech upon the foundation of an Order in Richfield to which he had deeded all his property. In order for the Richfield Order to be a success, he told the brethren, '[t]he feeling 'Mine' is the greatest feeling we have to combat'. Four years later, upon his death, the quarrel over his property exposed the clinging feelings of right to property that had undermined countless other Orders.[134] Among the accounts of Saints who ultimately demonstrated their dedication to living under the Order, the call to

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[129] John Brown to Brigham Young, 13th March 1877, Brigham Young office files: General Correspondence, Incoming, 1840-1877, General Letters, 1840-1877, A-B, Church History Library
[130] John Donaldson to Brigham Young, 23rd April 1875, Brigham Young office files: Incoming, 1840-1877, General Letters, 1840-1877, D-F, 1875, Church History Library.
[131] Arrington, Fox and May, p.153.
[132] Ibid., p.205.
[133] William A. Bridgehurst to Brigham Young, 15th August 1874, Brigham Young office files: Incoming, 1840-1877, General Letters, 1840-1877, A-B, 1874, Church History Library.
[134] Arrington, Fox and May, p.201.

consecrate their wealth still proved taxing. In his autobiography Gottlieb Ence, a member of the Richfield Order, remembered that although he eventually accepted the instructions of President Young, 'it was a little trying to me too [sic] give up all my Property because the prospect was very good to make my dear familie very comfortable'.[135] Hans Christenson, of the same Order, recalled that the 'proposition came like a trial' to him, having worked hard up until that point to build a home for his family. He described having initially shared the concern of many of his brethren that he felt 'well capable of runing [sic] my own afairs [sic] as anyone else'. After praying with his family he too decided that the best route lay through 'yielding chereful obedience to the requirements of the Lord', but the attachment of many Saints to control of their own affairs was an obstacle that most Orders struggled to overcome.[136]

Another source of complaint was the concern among the more prosperous members of each community that there would be those 'who have joind [sic] the Order for the purpose of living off the means of others'.[137] Such concerns not only undermined the confidence of those who had the most to offer to their local Order, they also presented practical difficulties. An over-subscription of Saints with little to consecrate caused resources to become stretched. Although the philosophy behind the Order was supposed to be inclusive and bring together the entirety of the Mormon community, temporal practicalities got in the way. The Richfield United Order began to regulate admission of Saints more strictly, limiting it to those who had 'property' or 'occupational skills needed by the community'.[138] Similarly, Gottlieb Ence recalled the fact that most of those who remained in the United Order in Richfield were 'poor people

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[135] 'Gottleib Ence autobiography, 1840-1911', Utah State History, MSS A 180.
[136] 'Hans Christenson autobiography', (1890), Utah State History, MSS A 140.
[137] George W. Sevy to Brigham Young, 26th March 1875, Brigham Young office files: General Correspondence, Incoming, 1840-1877, R-Sma, 1875, Church History Library.
[138] Arrington, Fox and May, p. 193.

an [sic] it was quite a task to supply their wants'.[139] Those who were not contributing

sufficiently to the group's goals were a drain on morale and often were seen to be

profiteering from their brethren. 'It was said that there was only five cents difference

between the man that worked and the man that idled', Zodak Judd of Kanab recalled,

'and the man that idled generally had the five cents, for he was always at home and

knew when anything was brought into the treasury'.[140] Even when Saints only

withdrew their fair share, it could attract hostility. Joseph Nelson was one of five

children in his family, living in the Maysfield United Order, their high numbers meaning

that they were given larger rations from the Order's reserves. 'I remember seeing

jealous looks and hearing envious remarks when it was my turn to receive the milk'

from smaller families who received less than him, he wrote in his autobiography.[141]

Even in Orders which were able to overcome the scepticism or grumbles within

their own communities and enjoy particularly high levels of subscription, the inability

of surrounding wards to follow suit proved damaging. David Stevens, of Holden in

Millard County, attributed dissatisfaction among the members of his own Order to the

fact that his ward was the only one in the county which had signed up to it. Even the

most ardent of Saints could find cause to grumble if they thought they were being

unfairly handicapped within the marketplace.[142] This lack of uniformity across the

Territory in establishing Orders led some Saints to ask if the whole process should not

be delayed until a time when the Mormons were more united in spirit. One Saint in

Nephi said that 'the order was liken to a childe [sic] that was born too soon' while the

number of letters to Brigham Young which sought greater clarification of the rules of

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[139] 'Gottlieb Ence autobiography, 1840-1911'.

[140] 'Zodak Knapp Judd autobiography, 1827-1909', WPA transcript, Utah State History, MSS A 462.

[141] 'Joseph G. Nelson Autobiography, 1864-1950', Utah State History, MSS A 1547.

[142] David R. Stephens to Brigham Young, 12th July 1875, Brigham Young office files: General Correspondence, Incoming, 1840-1877, St-To, 1875, Church History Library.

the Order suggested that, beyond the mindset of the Saints, the infrastructure was not yet sufficiently prepared to instruct members on how to live in a more communitarian setting.[143]

The perception that the Saints were not selfless or committed enough is supported by the recollections and memoirs of Latter-day Saints when talking about their years living under the United Order. Many of them laid the fault for its failure at the feet of the Saints as a whole for lacking commitment. Samuel Miles, although proud of his time working with his brethren in the St. George Order, regretted that 'in our weakness we have not been able to arrive at a high standard'.[144] Andrew Locy Rogers, a member of one of the longer-lasting Orders in Sunset, Arizona, similarly attributed its ultimate demise to the fact that 'we became selfish and each wanted to go by himself'.[145] Edward Webb, an active member of the Orderville Order, provided a less abstract criticism of his fellow Saints. 'It sometimes appears strange to me considering the inroads the enemy is making among the Saints', he complained 'that the people cannot realize that the Lords ways are the best'.[146]

The most pronounced example of the split among Mormon communities between commitment to the Church's spiritual aims and concern over the temporal security of one's immediate family can be seen through the experience of one family. John and Mary Ann Ingram White were English migrants who had come to Utah following their conversion to the Church. They had been childhood friends who had reunited when Mary Ann migrated in 1862 and they married not long after. In 1875

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[143] Amasa Tucker to Brigham Young, 17th February 1875, Brigham Young office files: General Correspondence, Incoming, 1840-1877, Tu-Y, 1875, Church History Library.
[144] 'Samuel Miles Autobiography, 1826-1881', Utah State History, MSS A 173.
[145] 'Andrew Locy Rogers Autobiography, 1854-1943', Utah State History, MSS A 1498-2.
[146] 'E.M. Webb to Volney Le Roy King', 28th January 1880, Volney LeRoy King papers, 1873-1924, Utah State History, MSS B 674, Box 2.

John came to his wife to tell her that he wanted to sign the family up to join the United Order in Orderville. Upon hearing this revelation, Mary Ann 'felt a cold sick feeling in her stomach'. One of the main aspirations which had driven her to move to the United States had been the hope that it would provide the means for her to be able to provide a better future for her children. She believed that their family had already 'done their share' of work for the Church and now she wanted to make her family 'comfortable' and send her sons off to school in Salt Lake City. 'Heaven was not for this life but for the future', but the Order in Kane County threatened to ruin Mary Ann's dreams for her family. John, on the other hand, believed in the higher purpose that committing to the Order offered to him and his family. He supported the idea of stewardship, 'that men only had this land as a gift from God that it should be used for the benefit of all'. So convinced was John of the righteousness of this cause that he would ultimately go behind his wife's back and sign the whole family up to the Order, along with all of their possessions. Within this one family were the two tensions that the Church leadership had struggled to mediate throughout its existence: the commitment of most Saints to the spiritual guidance of their leaders against the overriding concern for economic independence that repeatedly undermined co-operationist initiatives. Mary Ann's account of life in Orderville narrates a gradual shift among the community towards views more closely aligned with her own. 'Every place where a few people congregated became a debating society about how long the Order could go on', she recalled.[147]

Not all of the failings of the United Order stemmed from the grassroots. The Church leadership was often accused of acting insufficiently to successfully co-

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[147] 'John C. White, 1832-1926, Mary Ann Ingram White, 1841-1937' by Vera H. Mayhew, R. May Foote, and Wayne E. Mayhew, (1972) Church History Library, M270.1 W585m 1972.

ordinate the Saints. The lack of clear instruction on how to implement the Order in an urban setting has been highlighted within the historiography of this period.[148] This was compounded by the more serious accusation that Brigham Young and his leading bishops lacked the commitment to consecration that they demanded from their followers. The question was often asked of the richest members of the Mormon community as to when they, who could provide the greatest value to a potential United Order and could strongly influence the institution's ultimate success or failure, would consecrate their goods. Such criticisms were commonplace within the opposition press, with the *Daily Tribune* warning poorer members of the Mormon community not to consecrate their much needed goods until more wealthy members of the community had done so, frequently listing by name the individuals from whom it sought a strong commitment to the scheme. Brigham Young himself came under attack for his seeming reluctance to deed his own goods to an Order. 'Let the leaders practice what they recommend to others', the *Tribune* proclaimed, before those who lived more precariously be asked to surrender their meagre possessions.[149] Nor were such criticisms baseless. The *Tribune* would go on to claim that William Hooper and William Jennings, the two wealthiest Mormon merchants within the Territory, had refused to consecrate their goods to the Church's management, a claim that is lent some credence by the prominent role that both men played within a Gentile run Territorial Board of Trade later in the decade.[150] Dean May has documented tension over the fact that many leading bishops, especially in Salt Lake City, were also some of the more prominent businessmen in their areas. This created conflict between their

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[148] Dean L. May, 'Brigham Young and the Bishops: The United Order in the City', in Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (eds), *New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington* (Salt Lake City, 1987).
[149] *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 31st March 1874; 1st April 1874; 'The Order of Enoch', 5th April 1874.
[150] 'Enochites', Ibid., 29th May 1874.

individual financial goals and their supposed roles as co-ordinators of Orders.[151] It is therefore unsurprising that they were slow to take up the call to surrender their interests in favour of communalistic forms of living. Brigham Young himself confirmed this trend among the wealthier classes, telling a crowd in Lehi City that, much to his embarrassment, he, among others, was waiting to consecrate their goods until he had managed to 'find men who know what to do with property when it is in their hands'.[152] The *Tribune* revelled in the perceived hypocrisy of the President, claiming that, despite professing to be ready to turn over his possessions to the Order, he was surreptitiously collecting up land parcels to enrich himself.[153] Orson Hyde, a founding member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and a man who had preached the benefits of developing home industry on numerous occasions, came under particular scrutiny from President Young. 'Brother Hyde had not the spirit', Young proclaimed, 'or he would have seen the United Order'.[154] The inability of many of the most prominent figures within the Mormon community to commit themselves to greater economic unity reinforced the idea that the United Order was an ill-conceived, premature and entirely unappealing form of economic management, or confirmed their suspicions that it was simply a tool for the Church leadership to exploit their followers.[155]

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[151] May, 'Brigham Young and the Bishops', p. 129.

[152] 'The Work of the Carpet-baggers', *Deseret Evening News*, 2nd September 1874. John G. Turner has argued that in Brigham Young's later life he increasingly demanded greater sacrifices from his people than he himself was willing to make; *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* (London, 2012). For more on the argument that the reluctance of leading bishops within each ward to commit themselves to the United Order undermined the entire initiative, see May, 'Brigham Young and the Bishops'.

[153] 'What the United Order Is To Accomplish', *Salt Lake Tribune*, 30th April 1874.

[154] 'Brigham Young Jr. Journal', 22nd June 1875, Box 2, Folder 5, Church History Library, cited from Turner, *Brigham Young*, p. 400.

[155] While the United Order was a specifically religious manifestation of western co-operation, this resentment over the values of richer, 'urban' members of a community has a longer heritage both within the history of the region and the American nation more broadly. The perception of urban interests working towards their own benefit, to the detriment of rural Americans, would manifest most clearly within the Populist movement of the late-nineteenth century. However, this form of resentment often presented itself more subtly. Mark A. Eifler's work on Sacramento highlights the attempts of rural residents to protect cultural traditions in the face of the increased dominance of urban elites; Mark A. Eifler, *Gold Rush Capitalists*, pp. 15-16. For the history of the Populist movement, see Lawrence Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America* (Oxford, 1976) Lawrence Goodwyn,

It was clear by 1875 that there was a disconnect within the Mormon community regarding unity in temporal affairs. The apathy of many Latter-day Saints towards home manufactures and the United Order forced Church leaders to back down from their attempts to install more radical co-operationist measures. The foray by the Church into the mining industry demonstrated a certain sense of resignation towards some of the realities of the new politico-economic order in newly-integrated Utah Territory, which undercut much of the Godbeites' momentum. Despite the concessions made by the Church, however, Brigham Young in particular was never able to detach himself from his dream of bringing the Saints into a greater spirit of unity, such as his predecessor Joseph Smith had envisioned with the First United Order. The impact of the 1873 Panic had reinforced the idea that embracing the spirit of free-market capitalism was perilous. However, it also gave him renewed hope that his followers could be shown the error of their ways, and brought into a form of economic organisation more befitting their task of building God's kingdom on Earth. Many Saints remained unconvinced by his vision, though. Tepid support for the Second United Order made it clear that a newer generation of Latter-day Saints did not embrace the communalist heritage of the Mormon Church. Even when co-operation and church co-ordination of labour had proved of great use during the initial years of settlement in Utah, many Saints had been unwilling to commit themselves beyond the typical offering of a day's labour and a tenth of their earnings. Now that life in Utah had become less precarious and the potential riches from embracing eastern capitalist values were becoming increasingly evident, Young's demands for greater commitment to communalism seemed increasingly out of reach. There is evidence to suggest that it was only the sheer willpower and personal magnetism of Brigham Young, now in his

The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America (Oxford, 1978).

mid-seventies, which kept such endeavours on track at all. In an 1873 history of the Latter-day Saints, T.B.H. Stenhouse, a convert to the Godbeite cause, recounted a dream that a member of the Church had had while still living in Nauvoo. In it, the brother saw Brigham Young and the apostles struggling to keep the Saints bound together. 'The Prophet and his aids were working like coopers', he went on, 'driving the hoops down with great force till the hoops burst, and the people rushed out of the circle, and ran in every direction, each one taking his own way'.[156] The shortcomings of Church co-operation in the 1870s were making that dream look increasingly prophetic.

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[156] T.B.H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints: A Full and Complete History of the Mormons* (London, 1873), p.642

'A happy, homogeneous, patriotic people': LDS adoption of an 'American' economic worldview, 1877-1896

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the development of Gentile institutions and businesses in Utah accelerated considerably, with the mining industry in particular continuing to boom. The Church maintained its opposition to forms of economic development which threatened to undermine its religious mission to build Zion in Utah. However, throughout the 1880s and 1890s, it became increasingly clear that many Saints had adopted the market values of their Gentile neighbours. This sentiment had always existed as an undercurrent throughout the Church's history, undermining attempts at more radical co-operation. Despite these earlier failures, belief in their sacred mission and the conviction of Brigham Young meant that Church leaders had persevered in their goal of forming more equitable social and economic institutions. However, as federal legislation impaired the Church's ability to maintain polygamy, a simultaneous economic transition took place. Embracing the rhetoric of western boosterism, more and more members of the Church showed a willingness to attract eastern investment and business connections, ignoring the longstanding opposition of the LDS hierarchy. Recognising the futility of continued resistance, or acknowledging the potential benefits of economic integration, the Church altered the form of its co-operative initiatives, before withdrawing from them more completely by the time that statehood was bestowed upon Utah in 1896. While part of a broader system of anti-Mormon pressure, capitalist integration had proved particularly fruitful in bringing the Mormon mentality more closely in line with the rest of the nation.

To many historians of Mormonism, the most significant feature of the last two decades of the nineteenth century was the increased federal legislation which resulted in the 1890 Manifesto, in which LDS President Wilford Woodruff removed the Church's

endorsement of the practice of plural marriage. The battle to force the Latter-day Saints to adhere to anti-polygamy legislation dominates the field. The decade before the Manifesto is comparatively under-represented within the historiography, perhaps due to the fact that they were years in which many Latter-day Saints openly lived in defiance of federal law. Any ambiguity over the legality of Mormon polygamy had been removed by the Supreme Court decision of 1879 in *Reynolds v. United States*. When the period has been covered, usually as part of a longer survey, the emphasis tends to lie upon oppressive federal law enforcement, the full force of American authority being brought to bear upon the Mormon people. Such accounts culminate with Latter-day Saints surrendering the more objectionable aspects of their societies in order to maintain their survival as a religious community.[1] Leonard Arrington, who touches upon the final years of Utah as a territory in three separate works, labelled the period as a 'great capitulation', indicative of the tendency to focus on the domination of this peripheral religious minority by the central state.[2] Other changes within Mormon society, such as the adoption of the two-party system and decreased Church involvement in economic affairs, are deemed to be a consequence of the Manifesto. Even when Arrington took a less stark view of the period in his later single-volume history of the Latter-day Saints (co-authored with Davis Bitton), admitting that the Mormon community made concessions and adapted to a life more fully integrated with Gentile America, he portrayed such change as a 'creative adjustment', a response necessary to survive and preserve Mormon distinctiveness in the face of oppressive

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[1] Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Chicago, 1986); Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, 1971); David L. Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847-1896* (Logan, 2005). Christine Talbot also places polygamy at the centre of attempts to reform Utah in *A Foreign Kingdom: Mormons and Polygamy in American Political Culture, 1852-1890* (Chicago, 2013).
[2] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 409.

outside forces.[3] Other historians have identified a stronger degree of polarisation within the territorial community over economic issues. Arguing that economic and social division was as strong as the political differences between Mormons and Gentiles, they claim that that a show of force by the federal government was the only way that change could ever have been implemented.[4]

However, there are scholars who have argued that Utah's shift from one social model to another cannot be confined so neatly to one event (the Manifesto), nor can it be understood by focussing solely on polygamy. These historians identify the attempt to oust the LDS Church from its position of political control as the chief motivating factor for the anti-Mormon movement. Others identify the Manifesto as part of a longer period of change within the Mormon community dating back to the early 1880s, if not earlier. Matthew Bowman, in his short overview of the Mormon experience, has described 1890 as simply 'one moment in a long season of slippage'.[5] Gustive Larson, although adopting the view that Utah's statehood was the culmination of extremely invasive federal intervention, has argued that such a policy prolonged Mormon-Gentile hostility. In his eyes, a gentler approach could have achieved change more quickly, considering that there were 'natural forces at work breaking down the walls of Zion'.[6] Martin Ridge, in the 1992 Tanner Lecture to the annual conference of the Mormon Historical Association, similarly chose the pressures of Gentile migration as the key

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[3] Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (Boston, 1979), p. 243. Mark Leone has adopted a similar interpretation with a less positive stance, claiming that the Mormon Church 'cosponsored the process of [its own] colonization', in order to prolong its own existence. See Mark P. Leone, *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 161
[4] Henry J. Wolfinger, 'An Irrepressible Conflict', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Vol. 6 (Autumn-Winter 1971), pp. 124-131.
[5] Matthew Bowman, *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith* (New York, 2012), p. 152.
[6] Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood*, p. 302. Klaus Hansen has also downplayed the significance of polygamy to the transformation of Utah; Klaus J. Hansen, 'The Metamorphosis of the Kingdom of God: Toward a Reinterpretation of Mormon History', in D. Michael Quinn (eds.) *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Mormon Past* (Salt Lake City, 1992), pp. 221-239.

framing device for understanding Utah's admission into the Union.[7] These histories do not reject the significance of 'The Raid', as the federal prosecution of the 1880s is often referred to. However, they consider it unsatisfactory when attempting to explain the transition of Utah towards a more typically American social model.

My own interpretation sympathises with this second school of thought. From a strictly economic perspective, there was a clear process in which a subsection of the Mormon community increasingly favoured acquiescence to federal authority and co-operation with Gentile business interests. This is not to downplay the significance of 'The Raid'; anti-polygamy legislation and its impact upon the LDS hierarchy was certainly the most significant event of the 1880s. Over one thousand polygamists were incarcerated and the Church's ability to exert political or economic influence was severely undermined. Indeed, continued Church resistance to the influx of eastern capital resulted in many Gentiles arguing that Utah's complete economic development remained out of sight unless the Church's dominance over the Territory was lessened. However, accounts which emphasise this animosity too plainly overlook the degree to which Mormon discourse had taken a step away from a hard-line opposition to integration into national trading networks. By the 1890s, when the Manifesto had removed the polygamy obstacle from the Mormon question, most Church leaders had adopted the entrepreneurial language of their supposed political opponents. Statehood was greeted with broad declarations of the ways in which Utah's resources could enrich the nation. This shift in the economic outlook of Church members made it clear that Gentile rhetoric concerning the exploitation of western resources had been incorporated into the Mormon mindset by the turn of the twentieth century.

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[7] Martin Ridge, 'Tanner Lecture: Mormon "Deliverance" and the Closing of the Frontier', *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spring 1992), pp. 137-152.

On 29th August 1877, Church President Brigham Young passed away, bringing a thirty-year term as the figurehead of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to an end. Newspapers across the nation were quick to claim that Young's passing would mark the end of Mormon isolationism. Without his authoritarian approach to governing, it was hoped that the Latter-day Saints would cease to cling so stubbornly to their peculiar practices. Some publications claimed that it was only Young's willpower that had allowed the Mormons to hold out for so long. *The Congregationalist*, a Protestant publication from Boston, called Young the Church's 'corner-stone', without whose presence the Mormons would fall prey to the 'silent influences of truly American ideas'. An issue five days later complained of the lamentable economic conditions that Young's Saints had been forced to endure due to his 'proscriptive policy'.[8] 'But for this management', the Democratic *New York World* maintained, 'a collision which would have meant a collapse for his state and his church would have long ago occurred'.[9] Across the Atlantic *The Times*, of London, took a more personal approach when conveying this message. Portraying each Gentile merchant as 'an anti-Mormon missionary', *The Times* went on to claim that the wealth that Young had amassed through his schemes would 'be spent, probably, by his sons in the Gentile fashion, […] which introduce inevitably Gentile ideas and customs'.[10] Although unclear whether referring to Young's direct family or co-opting the Church's own language of a broad religious family, the message was the same: relieved of Young's overbearing control, the Latter-day Saints would soon adopt more American forms of behaviour. Some

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[8] *The Congregationalist* (Boston, MA), 5th September 1877; 12th September 1877, 'Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers', www.gale.com/c/19th-century-us-newspapers, [accessed 10/5/2016]. All further references from this source to be labelled 'NCUSN'.
[9] *New York World* (New York, NY), 7th September 1877, NCUSN.
[10] *The Times* (London, UK), 13th October 1877.

publications were not willing to give Young that much credit, claiming that even he had been unable to stop the incoming flood of civilisation. His death simply represented one more step towards an inevitable process that had been underway since the completion of the transcontinental railroad. 'A little civilization would leak in through the dikes which he built around [the Church]', the *New York Tribune* claimed in an article that its Salt Lake City counterpart took great pleasure in republishing.[11]

The *Salt Lake Tribune* was even less restrained in envisioning opportunities from Young's death. While admitting that the President was 'made of the stern stuff that is needed for ambition', it was scathing about his actual achievements, claiming that although he prided himself on being a great financier, 'all his commercial speculations have been conspicuous failures'. The paper ran interviews with unnamed apostates who invoked the Godbeite spirit in claiming that it was Young's economic mandates that had driven them from the Church. Now it was only a matter of time before the Saints used their liberty to shop where they thought best. Elders who claimed that the status quo could be maintained were 'simply whistling to keep their courage up'.[12]

For all that polygamy or political control of the Territory might have occupied Gentile minds following Young's death, the most notable repercussion in the eyes of the *Tribune*'s editors seems to have been its impact upon Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution. To them, any success that ZCMI might have enjoyed was solely the result of Young using the priesthood to compel the Saints to patronise Institution stores. With Young out of the picture, the 'land pirate' of the ZCMI was doomed. 'Competition is the life and soul of trade', the *Tribune* proclaimed, and 'the Co-op's

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[11] *Salt Lake Tribune*, 7th September 1877.
[12] 'Brigham Young as Ruler', Ibid., 30th August 1877, 6th September 1877.

extremity is the free-dealer's opportunity'. Co-operatives were not inherently a problem

to the *Tribune*'s editors; they supported the attempts of western farmers to organise

to try and secure a fairer deal from eastern merchants.[13] However, they rejected the

idea that Young's version of one had the best interests of the Latter-day Saints in mind.

The strong presence of the LDS leadership within it jarred with their ideas of liberty in

the marketplace. Instead, Young was said to have used ZCMI to allow his close

associates to aggrandize themselves, creating a 'monster monopoly' that would give

a small group of individuals control over the territorial economy.[14] In the *Tribune*'s

eyes, Young's death would allow his 'enfranchised slaves' to exercise their agency in

the marketplace for the first time.[15] This uncertainty about the future of ZCMI must

have resonated within the Mormon community as well, the *Salt Lake Herald* publishing

statements from the directors of the Institution ten days after his death, reassuring the

Saints that the Co-op was not at any risk.[16]

The significance of Young's passing for the economic future of the Territory

figured heavily within writings on both sides. While Gentiles were projecting their

hopes upon Young's passing, Mormon remarks were littered with comments intended

to keep the Saints committed to the temporal actions that Young had brought into

motion. On the same day that ZCMI's directors gave their statements, Erastus Snow

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[13] One area in which the similarities between the economic policies of Mormons and Gentiles can be seen was in response to the Great Railroad Strike of 1877. Perhaps because both groups had experienced issues in their relationship with the railroads within the Territory, both the *Tribune* and the *Herald* criticised the conduct of railroad operators for the unfair working conditions that they had imposed upon their employees. Both sided with the striking parties, situating their grievances within a long history of exploitation by operators. What is noteworthy is that it was the *Herald*, more sympathetic to the Church, which was most critical of the striking workers, rejecting the right of the employees to prevent other people from acting as strikebreakers as an 'indefensible crusade' Such an attitude towards the rights of businesses is perhaps indicative of the inclination towards the Republican Party that many Mormons would adopt following statehood. 'The Railroad Strikers', *Salt Lake Herald*, 20th July 1877; 'A Social Lesson', *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24th July 1877; 'The Recent Strike', Ibid., 14th September 1877.
[14] 'The Fraud Exposed', Ibid., 11th September 1877.
[15] 'Zion's Co-op', Ibid., 1st September 1877.
[16] *Salt Lake Herald*, 9th September 1877.

sought to reassure an audience of Saints in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, describing at length the continuity that Mormon society was enjoying despite the traumatic events that had just befallen them. 'The Saints everywhere […] move forward in the discharge of their duties with calmness and serenity', he said, 'with assurance that Brigham is still our leader'.[17] In its obituary for the President, the *Deseret News* emphasised the role that he had played in the economic development of Utah – his promotion of home manufactures, his support for the railroad, his encouragement of all manner of agricultural endeavours – before moving on to implore its readers to carry on his work in his absence.[18] Mormon and Gentile alike were aware of Young's significance as an economic figurehead as well as a spiritual leader. They treated his death in much the same way as one would respond to an unexpected fluctuation in the stock market, attempting to manipulate its significance for their own economic gain.

Throughout the end of the 1870s the Church leadership continued to secure commitment for its protectionist initiatives by contrasting its economic activities against a Gentile society whose capitalist outlook acted against the best interests of the American people. The *Deseret News* continued to publish some of Young's sermons following his passing and the subject matter of those it chose reveal the priorities of a community that had just lost its leader of thirty years. On 19th September 1877, three weeks after his death, the *News* published a transcript of a sermon which sought to garner support for home manufactures by invoking the contrast between Mormon and Gentile economic worldviews. Young had criticised Gentile society for its lack of economic regulation and promotion of individualistic values, which had created entrenched inequality at the expense of the majority of workers. '[O]ne man was not

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[17] Erastus Snow, 9th September 1877, *JD*, Vol. 19, No. 17.
[18] *Deseret News*, 5th September 1877.

made to trample his fellow man under his feet, and enjoy all his heart desire, while the thousands suffer', Young had complained. Bringing an end to such inequality was one of the steps required for the Saints to successfully finish the construction of Zion. Young had also invoked his traditional 'producerist' rhetoric towards merchants and capitalists, who he accused of making no tangible contribution to their communities while living on the 'products of those who labor'.[19]

On a number of occasions the *News* drew strong links between the spiritual failings of mainstream America and the downward trajectory which they saw the nation taking. Moses Thatcher, whose strong criticisms of the capitalist system would lead him to side with the Democratic Party once the two-party system was adopted in Utah in the 1890s, accused some members of the Church in an 1879 address in Logan of engaging in an act of doublethink in how they talked about non-Mormons. To Thatcher, it was inconceivable that Gentiles could have strayed so far in their spiritual beliefs, but still be expected to have 'remained near and under [God's] approval in temporal affairs'. An alternative to the Gentile model which created a kinder and more equal form of economic distribution was required, in the same way that Mormonism represented an alternative to a dominant religious order which had lost its way. Men who prioritised wealth at the expense of their fellow man 'prepared for time but forget eternity'. The *News* drew similar links, connecting the prominence of belief in the Protestant work-ethic within eastern society with the moral failings of postbellum America. Protestant Americans, while 'pointing with pride to material development as their work', were 'neglecting the moral side of our nature by subordinating morals to gain'. It was this 'social corruption' that made criticisms of Mormonism so galling to the LDS press; Gentile America had no grounds upon which to criticise Mormon society

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[19] Ibid., 19th September 1877.

when the moral basis of their own was disintegrating.[20] New LDS President John Taylor, who had served as a missionary in France and was perhaps more inclined to view the Mormon-Gentile conflict in relation to growing economic unrest in Europe, saw America as a nation driven by the 1873 Panic into an increasingly fractious conflict of 'workmen against employer – labor versus capital, and vice versa'.[21]

However, despite this criticism of Gentile society, Church discourse increasingly seemed to grapple with shortcomings within its own ranks. The failure to secure widespread commitment to the Second United Order still weighed heavily upon the minds of many. Although the majority of those wards that had managed to establish some form of Order had quickly dissolved them, a small handful still remained, primarily in more rural areas. More importantly, many elders still maintained the belief that the Order was an achievable aim, and the inability of the Saints to match up to their expectations was a frequent source of frustration. Erastus Snow accused an audience of Saints in Provo of being too concerned with comporting themselves in an 'American' fashion. They were mistaken to think that in order to be 'good democrats' they needed to have this 'feeling of "doing as we damn please"', especially if to do so detracted from the common welfare.[22] Saints who failed to make up their debt to the Perpetual Emigration Fund continued to be an issue. Home manufactures, while certainly improving, still flagged behind the Church's high expectations. Saints seemed unable, or unwilling, to align their temporal affairs with their spiritual goals. An article in the *Deseret News* in April 1880 claimed that, despite the Word of Wisdom forbidding their consumption, the Saints had spent a total of roughly $300,000 on tea, coffee and

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[20] Ibid., 19th February 1879, 8th March 1882.
[21] John Taylor, 4th August 1878, *JD*, Vol. 20, No. 5.
[22] Erastus Snow, 3rd June 1877, Ibid., Vol. 19, No. 30.

tobacco, money that they could instead have used to support home produce.[23] Addressing the slow progress towards the development of a silk industry in the Territory, Joseph F. Smith, nephew of the prophet, complained that the issue was not a lack of technology; silk production was well within the capabilities of the Latter-day Saints. Rather it was Saints who were 'wrapped up and engrossed in the present and in self', too 'eager for immediate profit'.[24] The issues that the United Order had faced, chiefly a scepticism towards the commitment of one's fellow Saint, seemed to lie at the root of these difficulties. Elder Lorenzo Snow, whose leadership of the Brigham City cooperative had spawned the inspiration for a Church-wide United Order, was dismayed at the lack of communal interest that he saw among the Saints. 'We distrust our neighbours', he claimed, 'because neighbours are not seeking the interest of one another'.[25] For all that Church rhetoric equated Mormon independence with the Saints' ability to deter immoral forms of trading, the desire to act more like Gentiles within the market proved a severe obstacle. This tendency was having a considerable impact by the 1870s. LDS cooperation, whether it be consecration, cooperation, boycotts or the United Order, had been underwritten by a desire to ensure that no great disparity of wealth would emerge among the Mormon people. However, by the 1870s, nearly 45 percent of the Salt Lake City population owned less than $1.00 in total wealth, and 45.7 percent held all wealth in excess of $2,000 per household.[26] While Salt Lake City had a much higher Gentile population than most other parts of Utah, such stark figures cannot be explained by their presence alone. Wealth disparity was becoming more of a day-to-day reality within the Mormon community.

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[23] *Deseret News*, 7th April 1880.
[24] Joseph F. Smith, 8th April 1879, *JD*, Vol. 20, No. 45.
[25] Lorenzo Snow, 19th October 1879, Ibid., Vol. 20, No. 47.
[26] Thomas Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, 1984), p. 105.

The response of President John Taylor to these shortcomings was to try and repackage co-operationist initiatives to make them more amenable to reluctant Saints. In 1878 he formed Zion's Central Board of Trade, a centralised body which aimed to better co-ordinate the business activities of the Latter-day Saints, in order to prevent their exploitation within the marketplace and to promote home industries. Despite the prominence of Zion within its title, references to the spiritual aims of the Mormon people were conspicuous in their absence in the preamble to the Board's articles of association. More secular language was preferred which situated the Board within an ongoing effort to promote the economic development of Utah Territory:

> 'The objects of this Association are: To maintain a Commercial Exchange; to promote uniformity in the customs and usages of producers, manufacturers, and merchants; to inculcate principles of justice and equity and trade; [...] to seek remunerative markets for home products; to foster capital and protect labor, uniting them as friends rather than dividing them as enemies; to encourage manufacturing; to aid in placing imported articles in the hands of consumers as cheaply as possible; to acquire and to disseminate valuable agricultural, manufacturing, commercial and economic information, and generally to secure to its members the benefits of co-operation in the furtherance of their legitimate pursuits, and to unite and harmonize the business relations of the Stake Boards of Trade, [...] with those of the Central Association.'[27]

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[27] 'Articles of Association of Zion's Central Board of Trade', Church History Library M252.4 Z783ab 1879.

The Board offered a greater degree of protection to Mormon industry within local and national marketplaces, and built upon long-standing conceptions of the damaging role of merchants and the powerlessness of local industry within larger networks. However, it was less strongly associated with the Church and its spiritual mission. The Board remained a Church-led institution, presided over by Taylor. However, there was an increased emphasis on reaching out to 'leading men' in each region to help secure the best deals, a gesture towards the secular interests of LDS businessmen.[28] Taylor himself, although optimistic about the ability of the Saints to enact a higher degree of co-operation at a future date, acknowledged that the Board marked a step back in the Church's goals. '[W]e have started in a good deal like some of our little boys when they begin to run', he admitted when discussing the failure of the United Orders, 'we have made a great many stumbles in this matter'.[29] The Saints would have to demonstrate that they were capable of making a success of the Board if they were ever going to live under the Order in the future.

In 1880, President Taylor chose to use the occasion of the Church's fiftieth anniversary to reinforce its commitment to the creation of a more equitable society. Recreating the biblical tradition of the Jubilee, he sought to provide relief to those Saints most burdened by their debt to the Church. The outstanding debt to the Perpetual Emigration Fund, as reported by its President Albert Carrington, then stood at $1,604,000. The Jubilee cancelled half of this debt in order to, in Taylor's words, 'take off the yoke from those who were in debt to the Fund and unable to pay, and release them from their bondage'. Good quality livestock - some to be provided by the

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[28] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 341-2. Arrington has portrayed the Board of Trade as an attempt to work towards the same values of the LDS Church without falling into the accusations of restriction of individual agency that had plagued United Orders.
[29] John Taylor, 9th April 1879, *JD*, Vol. 21, No. 5.

Church, some to be provided by the individual stakes throughout the Territory - was also redistributed to the poor. This offered the potential for long-term economic advancement, rather than temporary relief.[30] 'When the Lord is blessing us, let us bless one another', Taylor stated when announcing the Jubilee. While communalistic forms of living seemed beyond the Latter-day Saints, the President was finding ways to adapt the Church's goals to the mentality of the brethren.[31]

One other way in which the Church leadership modified its directives came in April 1882, when President Taylor distributed an epistle among leading Latter-day Saints within each community which loosened Church regulation of retail enterprises. While ZCMI remained in a strong financial position throughout the rest of the century, barring periodic dips in the market, local cooperatives established to trade with the main wholesaler fared less well. Economic downturns proved difficult for these smaller businesses to survive, damaging both business levels and tithing receipts. Increased pressure from federal officials added to their struggles. Many of the most influential members of the Church were forced into hiding, which took its toll upon the cooperatives' management. As the Church struggled to maintain its control over these cooperatives, they gradually drifted into private individual ownership. Recognising the transition that was taking place, Taylor announced that the decision had been made to 'throw open the field of trading' to individual Latter-day Saints who sought freedom to exercise personal control over specific cooperatives.

Leonard Arrington, the historian to have covered the history of cooperative movements in Utah in the most detail, laid the blame for this change at the feet of the

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[30] 'Stake' is an organisational term used within the Mormon community to denote a collection of wards or congregations.
[31] *Deseret News*, 8th April 1880, *JH.*

disruption of federal persecution. However, to read the language used by President Taylor suggests that there was also a significant amount of internal pressure upon the Church to make this change.[32] Taylor's epistle makes no mention of the damage wrought by increased federal scrutiny. Rather, it starts by acknowledging that '[a] feeling had been manifested by some of our brethren to branch out into mercantile business on their own account'. Similar to the language used by Brigham Young a decade earlier when allowing Latter-day Saints to enter into the mining industry, the epistle acknowledged that the local economy had changed significantly enough that their previous protectionist approach no longer seemed suitable. By 1880, mercantile business and national trade had developed past the point where attempting to undermine merchants through boycotts and insular trading could be effective. If the Saints had proved unable to prevent the injection of Gentile business practices into Utah, the epistle stated, 'it was certainly much better for them to embark in such enterprises than our enemies'. At the same time as making this concession to greater economic liberty, Taylor tried to keep the eyes of the Saints on their higher purpose. He implored them to approach their business dealings morally, and avoid falling victim to the allures of greater wealth:

> 'While striving to reach a higher plane, and adapt ourselves to the institutions of heaven and the laws of God, we are all the time in danger of dragging into our systems the pernicious views and practices of the Gentiles, of engrafting them into the tree of life, and amalgamating them with the pure principles which emanate from God.'

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[32] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 313-4 omits certain excerpts from Taylor's epistle which would suggest more strongly that there was an internal debate going on among the Latter-day Saints over the correct role of the Church within the local economy. Arrington, along with Feramorz Fox and Dean May, did however show a greater willingness to recognise the tendency towards private enterprise among the Saints in *Building the City of God*, pp. 104-5.

Although the epistle represented a concession to those who sought decreased economic regulation, Taylor reminded his Saints that, despite this change of course, the ultimate aim of the Mormon community should still be the achievement of the United Order. Rather than allowing the epistle to be seen as an admission of defeat, he rejected the idea that individual Saints, or even individual wards, would ever exercise full control over their secular affairs. Taylor claimed that to allow individual sections to retain such strong autonomy would lead to 'confusion and anarchy'. Instead, 'harmonious co-working' needed to remain the priority, essential as it was 'to the establishment and building up of the Kingdom of God on the earth'.[33] For all of the justificatory language used within the epistle, the policy marked a radical departure from that of just eight years before, when Young had announced the United Order. This shift towards deregulation continued later in the year, when the boycott against trade with hostile Gentiles was also brought to an end.

The willingness of the Church leadership to step away from more regulatory forms of cooperation can be explained in part by the economic worldview of Taylor himself. Taylor had been a committed member of the Church since 1836; he sang songs to Joseph Smith in his jail cell shortly before he was killed. Publicly he had maintained a supportive and enthusiastic stance towards the economic policies of his predecessor, Brigham Young. However, this support had been more muted when the United Order had been announced. Taylor had foreseen one of the main tensions that the Order would provoke, claiming that while on the one hand Saints desired 'the most perfect union', on the other hand many also wanted 'the most extended personal liberty

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[33] John Taylor, 'An Epistle to the Presidents of Stakes, High Councils, Bishops and Other Authorities', in James R. Clark, (ed.), *Messages of the First Presidency*, Vol. 2 (1965), http://www.cumorah.org/libros/english/Discourses%20and%20Conferences/Messages_of_the_First_P residency,_vol_2_-_James_R_Clark.html#5147, accessed 23/6/2017.

that it is possible for men to enjoy'. On a number of other occasions during his Presidency, he attempted to make the United Order seem less central to the Church's ultimate goals, being simply one approach among many. The decisions made by Taylor when President fit with the mind-set of a man who believed that communalistic forms of living were not essential to the creation of the Kingdom of God.[34]

Despite the Church seemingly adapting its economic policies in recognition of the limits to radical co-operation, opposition interests remained unwilling to admit that the Church was making any concessions. Any Church initiative was seen as an attempt to further restrict the liberty of the average Saint. While President Taylor might have portrayed Zion's Central Board of Trade as a way of preserving the spirit of the United Order in a form which better met the needs of the Latter-day Saints, writers at the *Salt Lake Tribune* disagreed. Labelling the endeavour 'Enoch under a new name', they simply saw it as a continuation of a Church policy hell-bent on stealing from its own followers. 'Enoch has failed ignominiously', the *Tribune* railed in a later issue, 'and the leaders now find it necessary to resurrect the fraud in order to perpetuate their reign of theft'.[35] It also mocked the supposed generosity of Taylor for using the Jubilee to relieve his Saints from the 'millstone' that the Church itself had placed around the necks of its followers by holding such debt over their heads for so long. It mocked the inability of the Church to recoup debt from many of its Saints, claiming that the real reason for the Jubilee was to save face in light of the reluctance of the Saints to pay what they owed.[36] To Gentiles looking for unfettered access to local resources and

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[34] John Taylor, 19th April 1874, *JD*, Vol. 17, No. 6, cited from Arrington, Fox and May, *Building the City of God*, pp. 312-5.

[35] 'Priesthood Board of Trade', *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15th October 1878; 'Inspired Rascality', Ibid., 16th October 1878.

[36] 'Prodigious Liberality', Ibid., 11th April 1880. One particularly noteworthy article used the occasion of

markets in order to develop Utah to its full potential, no amount of Church regulation could be justified, regardless of Church claims of moderation.

Gentile criticism would increasingly focus on the ways in which the Church's actions were impeding economic development. In an address to its voters in 1880, the Utah Liberal Party, established by Godbeites and Gentiles in the 1870s to provide formal political opposition to the Church-controlled People's Party, identified the Church's presence as the reason why Utah continued to be held in such 'utter antagonism to her sister commonwealths of the Union as to cause her to be hated and shunned'. Such frustration stemmed from the belief that Utah possessed the resources to be able to compete with, or even surpass, its neighbours, but was unable to overcome the stymying effect of the Church's restraint upon local business.[37] An article in the *Salt Lake Journal of Commerce* complained that while the peculiarities of the Mormon kingdom meant that plenty of tourists visited the city, the tourist was not generally 'an investor of capital' and the same traits that made it worth seeing also obscured its investment potential from businessmen looking to spur development.[38]

Such sentiment was prominent beyond Utah as well, especially in western states or territories. The *St. Louis Globe Democrat* described Mormonism as an 'incubus' acting as a 'dead weight on the progress of the Territory', citing the comparatively low value of real estate in Utah compared to its neighbours as an

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New Year's celebrations in 1882 to try and convince any Saints who may have been reading of the degree to which they were being exploited. In response to an invitation by President Taylor to an audience with himself, the *Tribune* called upon any who attended to take note of the splendour in which the President lived and to contrast it with their own circumstances. The *Tribune* hoped that such an experience would cause the Saints to realise that 'the plan all the time has been to build up an aristocracy here in Utah'; 'The Master Had Not Where to Lay His Head', Ibid., 1st January 1882.

[37] 'Address to the Liberal Voters of Utah', 26th August 1880, Church History Library 324.2792 A227 1880.

[38] *The Salt Lake Journal of Commerce* (Salt Lake City, UT) 1st January 1888, Church History Library 979.205 S176 1888-1891.

example of the Church's wasted potential.[39] The *Springfield Leader*, a Missouri newspaper, interviewed a representative of a millinery firm who complained that the Church made it impossible for the average Saint to fulfil a contract with outside business interests.[40] Back east the *New York Press*, which prided itself on its journalistic rigour and was scathing towards less diligent rivals, focussed on the dispersion of wealth within Utah itself as evidence of the Church's retarding effect. The prosperity of Salt Lake City, with its higher proportion of Gentile inhabitants compared to the more heavily Mormon surrounding areas, confirmed that the LDS hierarchy was impeding the advancement of civilization.[41] As Americans continued to fill up western territories and the opportunity for economic exploitation became increasingly pronounced, Gentile discourse began to focus more heavily upon how the Church was impeding the natural expansion of the American system.

Such concerns might suggest a loss of faith in the reformative potential of Gentile migration, a growing recognition that the Latter-day Saints might be able to rally their numbers in order to prevent economic assimilation. Nevertheless, throughout the late 1870s and early 1880s many Gentiles remained confident that the Mormon rearguard would fail and economic development would reform the Territory. Part of this confidence was motivated by the desire of Gentiles in Utah to present the region as welcoming to outside investment. The Utah Board of Trade, a secular rival to the Church's own version, published a pamphlet which attempted to use export figures to show the impact of the railroad and the developing mining industry on Utah. Claiming that profits from manufacturing and mining had increased tenfold in the decade since the railroad's completion, the pamphlet attributed this growth not only to

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[39] *St. Louis Globe Democrat* (St. Louis, MO), 8th March 1887.
[40] *The Springfield Leader* (Springfield, MO), 28th April 1887.
[41] *New York Press* (New York, NY), 23rd February 1888.

an influx of capital, but also a growing understanding among the citizenry of the potential benefits to be wrought from encouraging investment. 'Our citizens are beginning to wake up to the natural advantages of their position', it claimed. 'They are beginning to see the advantages in a commercial sense, of holding the key to such a country, and the tendency to grasp and improve them is growing'.[42] Similarly, *The Pacific Tourist*, a guide to the American West along the Union and Central Pacific Railroads, claimed that the 'silent influence of the Gentiles and the moral power of the Nation has already had an effect upon the Mormons of the city'. Claiming that the already considerable migration to Utah was due to increase further, continued development of mining would prove the final undoing of Mormonism.[43] This was bolstered by the confidence of Gentiles that they were significant powers within the local economy by the 1880s. The *Tribune* would at times speculate that if Gentiles used the Church's own methods against them and boycotted Mormon businesses, the Latter-day Saints would soon learn their lesson. Such practices, it argued, would 'establish clearly what has always been true, that the Mormons need the Gentiles much more than the Gentiles need the Mormons'.[44] Within such a balance of power, the Church's ability to demand the loyalty of its followers could only endure for so long.

Many placed their hopes for the incorporation of Utah in the hands of younger members of the LDS Church. Saints who had been born in Utah, it was claimed, were less connected to the origins of the Church and its early struggles in the East. They had grown up within a society in which interaction with Gentiles was a daily occurrence, meaning that they would have less tolerance for Church efforts to restrict

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[42] 'The Resources and Attractions of Utah, prepared by the Utah Board of Trade' (Salt Lake City, 1879), Utah State History Library, PAM 1001.
[43] Henry T. Williams (ed.), *The Pacific Tourist: Adams & Bishop's Illustrated Transcontinental Guide of Travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean* (New York, 1881), Church History Library 978 P117 1881.
[44] 'The Principle of It', *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12th April 1882.

their economic activity.[45] In the same address in which the Utah Liberal Party criticised the Church for obstructing local development, it claimed that younger Saints 'must be weary of a policy and a party which paralyzes them as individuals'.[46] While older members clung to separatist aspects of Church doctrine, this new generation would be less obstinate, more receptive to forming business links with non-Mormons. The *Salt Lake Tribune* commented following the Jubilee celebration that they were impressed with the way in which young Mormons composed themselves, that they 'did not look like the children of their parents'. Remarking upon their intelligence and honesty, it claimed that it would prove difficult for the Church to 'keep those youth poor and to force them to pay tithing to keep the circus running'.[47] Eventually the leadership, like the 'Old Man of the Sea', would become drunk, having gorged upon the products of this new generation, and would 'have its head smashed by that upon which it has so long preyed, and upon the life of which it has so long grown wanton'.[48]

This claim regarding the commitment of young Saints has been touched upon in passing by some historians. Matthew Bowman has linked his arguments about the gradual 'slippage' of Mormonism towards national integration to the emergence of a newer generation who felt less strongly about separation from their Gentile neighbours.[49] Nels Anderson took a more economic angle when talking about the same issue, claiming that younger Mormons possessed more typically American

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[45] This line of thinking links with the argument that religious sects often struggle when raising children within their faith. Whereas adult believers who join such groups are likely to more strictly adhere to its tenets, those born within one are more likely to lead the groups gradually towards conformity with the religious or social mainstream – Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (London, 2004) p. 273.

[46] 'Address to the Liberal Voters of Utah'.

[47] 'The Young Men of Utah and Their Friends', *Salt Lake Tribune*, 10th October 1880.

[48] 'The General Prosperity', Ibid., 1st January 1882.

[49] Bowman, *The Mormon People*, pp. 152-3. In his work on utopian communities, Mark Holloway attributed the decline of the Second United Order to this generational shift; Mark Holloway, *Utopian Communities in America, 1680-1880* (New York, 1966), pp. 216-17.

economic values and wanted the freedom to be able to make the most of the opportunities offered to them by the Territory's resources. Detached from the hardships of early settlement in Utah, these Saints no longer had 'their bellies against their backs or their backs against the wall' and were instead looking towards their future enrichment.[50] The LDS leadership was not deaf to such claims, nor did it necessarily consider them without substance. Speaking at the Jubilee, Brigham Young Jr., son of the former President, admitted that there was a battle at stake for the hearts and minds of younger Saints, warning of the risk that the Gentile presence posed, 'every engine and power of darkness having a tendency to win away the hearts of our sons and daughters'.[51]

While difficult to gauge, and while there was no youth movement of open dissension towards Church authority, there seems to have been a recognition on both sides of a changing mentality among the Mormon people. Although gradual in nature, and somewhat held in check by the legislative battles of the 1880s, the open attitude of younger Mormons was one area in which Gentiles could be optimistic later in the century when Utah's statehood became a more realistic proposal. The *Tribune* was quick to identify a decline in tithing receipts throughout the 1870s as evidence of decreased commitment towards communalism within the Mormon community, proof that in a few years the Church would be 'but dry rot'.[52]

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[50] Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago, 1968), pp. 301-2. Thomas Simpson has recently taken a different approach, looking at the effect that attending eastern universities had upon the worldview of the next generation of Mormons; Thomas W. Simpson, *American Universities and the Birth of Modern Mormonism, 1867-1940* (Chapel Hill. 2016).

[51] Elder Brigham Young Jr., 5th April 1880, 'The Year of Jubilee: A full report of the proceedings of the Fiftieth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints', Church History Library, M204.1 C561y.

[52] 'Tithing Engine Reversed', *Salt Lake Tribune*, 13th January 1882. While tithing receipts have fluctuated throughout the Church's history, this decline was considered a very real concern by the Church hierarchy in the 1890s, with leaders taking measures to attempt to reinforce commitment among the Saints. See Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, pp. 4-6.

One 1882 *Tribune* article in particular made clear the reformation that its writers believed had taken place at the core of Mormon society. Coming two years before the Edmunds Act, it set out the case for stronger federal intervention in Utah, claiming that it was only the Church's ability to resist anti-polygamy measures that was keeping an otherwise restless younger generation in check. 'Young Utah is the product of this Republic', it asserted; 'They have hopes and aspirations like other American boys'. While the Church leadership was maintain a strong outward projection, seemingly expanding and defying Americanizing forces, its people were rejecting its politics. The image of the Mormon 'iceberg' returned, this time in justification of one final legislative blow that would bring a teetering Church to its knees:

> 'We believe that the Mormon Church, at least some of its repulsive features, is like an iceberg in the Gulf Stream. It seems to be more strong and more full of menace than when it first became detached from the lustful soul of Joe Smith […] but we believe that the light has penetrated its inner-self and that it is, even now, like the rotten iceberg ready to fall into slush and to disappear.'[53]

The opposition press in Salt Lake City was quick to jump upon any issue which suggested weaknesses or dissent within the Mormon ranks. One such incident concerned plans to finance the construction of a canal which would bring water from the Jordan Valley into Salt Lake City. While most Saints recognised the need for a greater supply of water to cater to its increasing population, a number of debates over the logistics of a potential canal route emerged within Mormon newspapers. Concerns

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[53] 'Cannot Bear Light', Ibid., 8th March 1882.

were widespread. Some Saints were worried that the creation of downhill flowing water would make it unfit for consumption when it reached downstream communities. Others, from other parts of the city, were concerned that it would negatively impact upon their own water supply. A major concern was the fact that in order to finance the canal, the city would have to assume a considerable amount of debt, a step that they had never been forced to take before. Many of those in favour of the city taking out a loan were wealthier individuals who believed that the canal would allow for the growth and development of the city. Across March and April of that year both the *Deseret News* and the *Salt Lake Herald* went to considerable effort to print a variety of different opinions upon the upcoming vote on the canal.[54] While discussion of city finances might typically be considered fair game for local newspapers, the *Salt Lake Tribune* claimed that the fact that such debates were even taking place was evidence of the Church's waning influence over its Saints. While the Church leadership supported the canal, the fact that the *News* had welcomed a 'friendly interchange of opinions', including from those who opposed the canal's construction, marked a departure from the more strict regulation of Brigham Young's presidency.[55] A formal declaration of support from President Taylor was interpreted by the *Tribune* as an attempt to bring such division to a halt. 'The house was divided against itself', it claimed, and the President had intervened to quash the protests of independently-minded Saints.[56] Despite the *Tribune*'s frustrations with the LDS sympathies of the *Herald*, it would increasingly come to identity its rival as being sympathetic to the business interests of the city, more likely to dissent from Church economic policy within its pages. The *Herald* 'comes to the fray like a young rooster flashing its maiden spurs', the *Tribune*

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[54] 'The Canal', *Salt Lake Herald*, 26th March 1880; 'Wealth Speaks', Ibid., 2nd April 1880.
[55] 'Shall the Canal Be Built?', *Deseret News*, 31st March 1880.
[56] 'Come Down, Brethren', *Salt Lake Tribune*, 2nd April 1880.

boasted, emboldened by the growing prominence of business-minded Saints within the Church's ranks.[57]

Although the Church and its followers seemed to be slowly conforming to Gentile expectations for western development, by the 1880s frustration over the length of time that change was taking led to a reassessment of the measures required to achieve a complete reformation. The *North American Review*, a periodical committed to the improvement of society, claimed that the belief in a gradual erosion of Mormonism had been accepted by 'superficial minds', who failed to recognise that American citizenship could not be engendered within children raised in polygamous families.[58] Eli Murray, Gentile governor of Utah, dismissed the idea that the railroad alone could bring change. In a letter to the Secretary of the Interior in 1883, he called for stronger legislation that would allow Gentiles a fairer role within local society.[59] At an anti-polygamy meeting in Chicago a year earlier Schuyler Colfax, no longer vice-president but still invested in the mission to reform Utah, struck a similar tone. He criticised the actions of individuals who had counselled that time would solve the Mormon Question, before concluding that the only result of such an approach had been that the Mormons had become 'bolder and more arrogant and defiant than ever'.[60] The *Salt Lake Tribune*, for so long sympathetic to a more gentle approach due to its desire to attract investment to the Territory, itself seemed to grow weary of the delay to reform. Its editors equated the LDS infrastructure with that of the 'great moneyed corporations' across the nation that were able to co-ordinate their resources in order to protect their interests.[61] A similar report two months earlier equated the

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[57] 'Enter Division', Ibid., 19th November 1880.
[58] 'The Crisis in Utah', *North American Review*, Vol. CCCV (April 1882).
[59] 'Report of the Governor of Utah to the Secretary of the Interior', 16th September 1883, Governor's reports, 1882-94, Utah State History Library 353.9792/UT 1/1882-1894.
[60] 'Colfax's Speech', *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29th January 1882.
[61] 'The Monsters and the People', Ibid., 28th February 1883.

Church with an 'empire' which, through close regulation of its subjects and 'communism' had been able to not only survive the arrival of the railroads and Gentile migration, but to prosper from them.[62] In both instances, the *Tribune* called for stronger legislation and a greater sense of urgency from members of Congress.

In some quarters, faith in the capabilities of moral reform through economic expansion reversed more sharply. Rather than integration into national markets bringing the Latter-day Saints into contact with American civilization, some saw economic development as having created vested interests which hampered reform. Conservative business men were accused of seeking to keep the status quo intact to protect their investments. Nevada journalist Charles Goodwin attacked railroad interests in an article for *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. He claimed that while the railroad press preached 'conciliation' and 'kindness' as the means of changing Mormon attitudes, 'the moment that anything is proposed which threatens to be a real blow at either [polygamy or Church control], the cry is raised that force, violence or harsh means never were effective in influencing men's religious convictions, and never can be'.[63] A minister for the Presbyterian Church in Utah, a group which subscribed to the view that education and civilisation could prove an effective means of setting the souls of the Mormon people straight, bemoaned those who came to the Territory solely to make money, perfectly comfortable 'hob-nobbing with the leaders of this false religion' if it proved financially rewarding.[64] The *Salt Lake Journal of Commerce*

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[62] 'Their Loyalty', Ibid., 8th December 1882. See also 'The Country With Us', Ibid., 13th September 1882. C.P. Lyford invoked similar language in his 1886 polemic against the Church, arguing that economic manoeuvrings were the really priority of the LDS leadership, serving as means for 'the hierarchy to successfully pursue its scheme of empire'; C. P. Lyford, *The Mormon Problem: An Appeal to the American People* (New York, 1886), pp.58-9.

[63] C. C. Goodwin, 'The Mormon Situation', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 63, No. 377 (Oct., 1881), pp. 671-2.

[64] Rev. R. G. McNiece, 'The Christian reconstruction of Utah: two sermons preached in the Presbyterian Church, Salt Lake City, March 23rd and 30th, 1879', Presbyterian Historical Society,

explicitly stated in 1888 that local residents were confident that Congress would 'do nothing prejudicial to business interests' in the region; investors had nothing to fear.[65] For all that Gentile businessmen had criticised the Church's control earlier in the century when investment proved more difficult, their convictions seemed to waver once they managed to get a foothold in the Territory.

This distance between rhetoric of gradual erosion and its realities on the ground were heightened by the fact that, throughout the 1880s, Church publications showed little hesitation in republishing the arguments of those who favoured a softer approach to reforming Mormonism. The *Salt Lake Herald*, despite claiming to take an independent stance, had long been closely associated with the Church, especially in the eyes of the opposition press. As Congress moved towards more extensive anti-polygamy legislation in 1882, the *Herald* attacked such measures as excessive and radical. However, it also republished the arguments of eastern newspapers that increased investment in Utah would provide a more effective and a more legitimate method of enacting reform. Such editorials did not pull their punches; they were quite explicit in supporting the 'Americanization' of Utah. The *New York World* was a particularly popular choice for republication. Throughout March of 1882, the *Herald* reprinted a series of articles from the *World* which, while opposing the Edmunds Bill which had recently passed in Congress, still used assimilationist language when discussing the future of Mormonism. 'Polygamy cannot survive many years in Utah', one such article stated 'for the simple reason that Utah will shortly become socially, as well as politically, a part of the United States'.[66] Another claimed that change would

<Online> https://catalog.history.pcusa.org/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=33365, date accessed 16/4/2017. See also Lyford, *The Mormon Problem*, pp. 161-8.

[65] *The Salt Lake Journal of Commerce*, 1st January 1888, Church History Library, 979.205 S176 1888-1891.

[66] 'The Edmunds Bill – Newspaper Opinions of the Measure', *Salt Lake Herald*, 16th March 1882.

come to Utah just as soon as the Mormon people had become 'assimilated to the condition of the United States'.[67] That the *Herald*'s editors chose to republish such articles betrays an acceptance of the fact that Saints were coming to embrace connectivity with the rest of the nation. However, that an establishment newspaper seemed unconcerned about the prospect made it clear to Gentiles that a gentle approach was not producing a sufficient degree of reform.

In 1882 Congress finally took action. Bolstered by the 1879 Supreme Court decision in *Reynolds v. United States*, which had ruled that anti-polygamy legislation did not contravene constitutional protections of freedom of religious action, it passed the Edmunds Act, which broadened the definitions of prosecutable offences. One of the chief issues of the existing legislation was that polygamous marriage was difficult to prove. The new law allowed for prosecution for 'unlawful cohabitation', punishable by up to six months in prison. It also sought to overcome Mormon dominance of the legal system by disqualifying anyone convicted of these charges from serving on juries, voting or running for public office. A 'Utah Commission' was established to enforce the law, responsible for policing elections and registering voters. This Commission was able to expand the influence of the Edmunds Act by interpreting its provisions very broadly, disfranchising not only those Saints who had been convicted of polygamy, but also those who professed a belief in its validity as a religious principle. Through this approach, the Commission was able to claim that during its first year it had disqualified over 12,000 voters, both male and female.[68]

The *Salt Lake Tribune* revelled in the legislative boost that the Edmunds Act offered to its cause and set about both celebrating the law's passage and justifying its

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[67] '"Sympathizing" with Polygamy', *Salt Lake Herald*, 22nd March 1882.
[68] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, p. 358.

provisions. The Utah Commission, an unusually strong show of federal force for the period, was considered an appropriate response to over thirty years of Church regulation of local politics. While disenfranchising voters and regulating elections represented a step backwards for democratic practice within the Territory, the *Tribune* argued that the Commission was a necessary measure in order to overcome the LDS Church's own transgressions against democracy. While Utah could claim that it had had a legislative Assembly for years and that the Commission was interfering with democratic process, the paper saw the Territorial Legislature as a front for the agenda of the Church leadership. The *Tribune* argued that no true democratic society had ever been allowed to exist within Utah, and wholeheartedly supported the attempts of the Utah Commission to rectify the situation.[69]

Despite the successes of the Edmunds Act, the Latter-day Saints remained stubbornly opposed to any attempts to reform their ways. Most Saints preferred to admit their guilt and serve their prison sentences, rather than renounce polygamy or weaken ecclesiastical control of the Territory. Bolstered by the Edmunds Act, but frustrated at continued Church resistance, Republicans in Congress moved to place further pressure upon the Latter-day Saints. In 1887, they passed the Edmunds-Tucker Act. This new law placed further restrictions upon voting registration and abolished female suffrage in Utah, which had been introduced in 1870 and had reinforced Mormon electoral supremacy. The Act also attacked the institutional strength of the Church at its core, dissolving the Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and giving the Attorney General the right to confiscate any wealth held by the Church in excess of $50,000.[70] Despite the best efforts of Church

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[69] 'The Commission', *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8th January 1882; 'Stand By the Commission', Ibid., 7th January 1882.

[70] For detailed histories of congressional attempts to pass stronger legislation and their impact upon

leaders to avoid confiscation by placing their property into private hands, by 1888 over $800,000 of Church property had been placed into receivership.[71] The repercussions of the Act's voting restrictions upon the democratic power of the Mormon community led to a degree of political compromise from the Latter-day Saints for the first time. Rather than allow the Liberal Party a chance of winning election in 1888, the Church decided against an entirely Mormon ticket, cooperating with four conservative Gentiles in order to undercut more hostile members of the opposition.[72]

These two pieces of legislation had a profound impact upon the Mormon Church. The imprisonment or disfranchisement of so many Saints allowed Gentiles, politically frustrated for thirty years, to finally gain electoral success, winning local and territorial political office. Those Church leaders who were not imprisoned were forced into hiding in order to avoid federal agents, removing valuable group leadership and community organisation from Mormon society. President Taylor would die in hiding in July 1887, following two and a half years continually moving to avoid arrest. Devoid of leadership, Church co-operatives began to fall into private hands. ZCMI was sold to a group of private Mormon businessmen in order to avoid 'The Raid', but this caused a change in its perception among the Mormon community. Its connection to the spiritual mission of the LDS Church lessened in the eyes of the consumer, which in turn weakened its ability to command the patronage of the Latter-day Saints over other industries. With the Church under extreme pressure politically, legally and economically, in 1890 the new Church President, Wilford Woodruff, issued a Manifesto, distancing the Latter-day Saints from polygamy and removing the Church's

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Utah, see Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood*, ch. 10; Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, ch. 1. For the response of the Church leadership to the confiscation clauses of the Edmunds-Tucker Act, see Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 360-379.
[71] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 370-1.
[72] Alexander and Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles*, p. 99.

endorsement of the practice. This concession was sufficient for further anti-Mormon legislation to be withdrawn, and the Church's property to be returned to it. Federal persecution quickly decreased and the path was opened for Utah to finally advance towards statehood.

Once federal legislation had weakened the control of the Mormon Church over the legal and political infrastructure of Utah, many opposition figures quickly returned to their belief in the civilising impact of economic integration. The *Daily Tribune* claimed that the first effect of Gentile success in local elections would be 'new impulses to the growth and prosperity of the city and Territory', a later issue stating that 'the shell is breaking', under the pressure of the railroad and the telegraph.[73] The *New York Times*, in discussing Woodruff's Manifesto, saw Mormon acquiescence over polygamy as being as much the result of economic development as stronger legislation. The 'greater and more intangible power of American civilization' had proved 'irresistible' to the Latter-day Saints and had convinced them to surrender the practice that was preventing them from coming into the nation.[74] A pamphlet promoting the electoral success of Gentiles in Salt Lake City republished a *Chicago Tribune* article which, while recognising the impact of the Edmunds Act, saw its main significance lying in the fact that it would bring a 'material boom' to Utah. It would also attract younger Mormons to the Gentile cause, as they rejected the advice of their elders and began to 'resent their dictation in politics and business'.[75] The *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, which had previously complained about the drag that the LDS Church had exerted upon development in Utah, proclaimed that now that the Church's influence had been

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[73] 'The American Victory', *Daily Tribune* (New York, NY), 16th February 1890; 'Why the Distrust', Ibid., 15th October 1890.
[74] 'The End of Polygamy', *New York Times* (New York, NY), 7th October 1890.
[75] 'Victory, Salt Lake City carried by the Gentiles – a series of editorial comments from some of the leading journals of the country, compliments of the Continental' (Salt Lake City, 1889), Church History Library M243.3 V646 1889.

broken, immigration and investment would 'impel Utah onward in material greatness'.[76] The *New York Post* spoke of a real-estate boom which was doing 'as much as the law towards bringing about the complete adjustment of the Mormon difficulty'.[77] Legislation may have been required to remove the political obstacle presented by the Church of Latter-day Saints but, now that was removed, real change would be brought about by the arrival of eastern capital and Gentile migration.

Promotional material emphasised the stability that the region could enjoy now that long-standing political quarrels had ended. The Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce emphasised the new spirit of unity within the community by the late 1880s, claiming that 'a new impetus has been given to all commercial enterprises, and a new spirit of progress and activity pervades all classes'.[78] In the pages of the Chamber's official publication, letters were reprinted which promoted the friendly mood among traders, for the first time 'united in an effort to promote the material interests of the city and Territory'.[79] Literature advertising the mineral resources of the Territory to local hotel guests in 1895 claimed that the residents of Utah had finally 'awakened to the realization of lost opportunities' and were ready to exploit the mineral wealth of the Territory to its full potential.[80] Some publications were clearly eager to downplay any dissension between Mormons and Gentiles in order to advertise the region to investors. However, the Edmunds and Edmunds-Tucker Acts allowed them to present

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[76] 'The Future of Utah', *St. Louis Globe Democrat* (St. Louis, MO), 8th March 1887.

[77] 'Progress in Utah', *New York Post* (New York, NY), 10th March 1888.

[78] 'The Western Wonderland! Utah, Her Mineral and Other Resources. Advantages Offered to the Homeseeker, Manufacturer, and Capitalist, Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce, 1887', Utah State History Library.

[79] *Salt Lake Journal of Commerce*, 1st January 1888, Church History Library, 979.205 S176 1888-1891.

[80] 'Some facts regarding Utah's new "gold fields"' (Salt Lake City, 1895).

a degree of harmony that had been absent from the literature of the preceding decades.

What is notable, however, is how fully some members of the LDS Church themselves came to embrace such language when discussing the future of Utah Territory. Whereas, under Brigham Young's leadership, Church rhetoric had been much more guarded, protective and focussed upon the risks of integration into national markets, the tone shifted in the late 1880s towards one less hostile to the Gentile presence in the region. After decades of dominance by Church officials, influence within the Mormon community increasingly began to shift towards businessmen and entrepreneurs.[81] Opposition newspapers had argued for years that Church interference in local politics was obstructing investment and economic development in the Territory. Now, newspapers sympathetic to the Latter-day Saints were also adopting such language when discussing the action of Gentile political figures. The *Salt Lake Herald* welcomed the steps being taken to establish the secular Board of Trade in 1879. Such an institution could only benefit ongoing attempts to attract investment. Given the rich resources that Utah enjoyed, there was no reason why it 'should not keep pace, or even lead Colorado in the matter of inducing immigration and attracting capital'. The only thing that could maintain Colorado's dominance, the article went on, was that they had 'no local quarrel with which to frighten capital and people'.[82] Mormons and Gentiles needed to stop their fighting and the press should write less sensationally in order to make Utah appear more hospitable to entrepreneurs. A *Deseret News* article three years later celebrated the 'encouraging'

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[81] Alexander and Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles*, p.100.
[82] 'A Proper Movement', *Salt Lake Herald*, 11th March 1879. This sentiment, of the damaging effect that federal officials and hostile Gentiles were having upon the economic outlook for Utah, can also be seen earlier in 'Questions Asked and Answered', Ibid., 19th March 1874.

increase in mineral wealth, so long held up as an unwelcome source of revenue, produced within Utah during the last calendar year. However, it went on, Utah stood to enjoy even greater wealth in future if 'nothing serious occurs through the nonsense of the anti-"Mormon" fanatics, to disturb the business relations of the Territory'.[83] Two decades before, outside investment had been one of the threats most readily associated with the Gentile invasion, inseparable from the ongoing political attempts to bring reform to Utah. Increasingly, however, the two had become separated, as a market culture geared around capitalist trading had become entrenched within the Territory. Many Church members had come to appreciate and openly advocate wider economic networks.

The shift in LDS rhetoric relating to mining was particularly notable. By the end of the 1870s, the *Herald* was discussing the prospects for mining communities in Utah in a manner that would not have looked out of place in the opposition press a decade earlier. As the century went on, and agricultural resources in the Territory struggled to keep up with the high levels of LDS migration, the Church had been forced to surrender its opposition to its members working in mining.[84] At the same time, many Saints came to recognise the benefits that mineral-rich areas could provide to the territorial economy. Increasingly, mining towns came to be seen as a potential boon for internal development, providing markets for domestically produced goods.[85] A poem published by the *Herald* in 1882 to celebrate the New Year was typical of this growing change of perspective. Articulating its hopes for the coming year, the *Herald* described the attractions and enticements of the territorial landscape in the language of a virgin land calling out for development and exploitation. Its lyrics spoke of 'triumphs won, o'er

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[83] 'Mineral Product of Utah for 1881', *Deseret News*, 3rd January 1882.
[84] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 354-5.
[85] 'The Outlook', *Salt Lake Herald*, 8th March 1879.

rugged nature's stern domain; increasing trade, of railroads run', through rich hills and mountains, while singling out obstructionist politicians 'who'd wreck and ruin all of those who dare his selfish plan oppose'.[86]

This is not to claim that the Latter-day Saints had completely renounced their convictions from earlier in the century, nor that they wholeheartedly welcomed full economic co-operation with all Gentiles. Internally, business-minded Mormons still came under criticism for seeking the downfall of LDS society. Latter-day Saints also remained willing to invoke protectionist sentiment in order to send a message to their political opponents. Following on from advice given at that year's annual Church conference, a letter to the *News* in 1882 requested the names of all Gentile merchants who had signed a petition against the Church so that Saints could 'discriminate between those that did, and those that did not' when deciding which businesses to patronise.[87] Such opposition had new limits though. There was a burgeoning sense that the long-term prosperity of the Territory could best be achieved by communicating and cooperating with the outside world. The ultimate goal in finding a solution to tension between Mormons and Gentiles was not an independent and isolated Utah, but a prosperous one more closely in union with the rest of the United States. An editorial from the previous year on future economic policy summed up the de-escalation in hostilities between the two worldviews. Devoid of the confrontational, separatist language that would have been typical a decade earlier, it made no reference to an outside pressure against which the Mormon people should oppose themselves. Rather, an emphasis on better co-operation and home industry was simply a way of allowing Utah's residents to 'enter upon a career of prosperity'. The

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[86] 'The "Herald's" New Year Address', Ibid., 1st January 1882.
[87] 'Self-Protection', *Deseret News*, 12th April 1882.

article even acknowledged Utah's place as one part of a larger whole, located as it was 'in the heart of the richest portion of the most wonderful continent on the globe'.[88]

When discussing the significance of Utah joining the Union in 1896, the speeches of prominent Mormons were steeped in the same language of economic development which the Church had opposed for so long. The *Deseret News*, summarising the journey from initial settlement to statehood, spoke of the benefits that the railroad, the growing mineral industry and the economic development of the region had bestowed upon the Territory. It reinforced long-standing portrayals of the Mormons as a community particularly well-suited to make a success of their desert community, but also avoided any language of a distinctive or alternative economic policy.[89] The *Salt Lake Herald*, by this point openly sympathetic to the promotion of economic development, used statehood as an opportunity to welcome those who sought to exploit Utah's resources. It went so far as to state that it was a 'patriotic duty' of the residents of Utah to strengthen business connections within the state. Indeed, encouraging investment in Utah, the *Herald* argued, would 'doubtless afford even a better opportunity for a manifestation of patriotism than the giving of moral support to government'.[90] Despite long-standing battles over the Church's refusal to recognise federal authority and obey national law, commitment to the values of the nation could best be demonstrated by supporting economic integration. Such language was not just confined to the local press. New State Governor Heber Wells, son of apostle Daniel H. Wells, made clear that in exchange for statehood, Utah would offer up her resources for development to the nation:

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[88] 'Practical Measures for Zion's Progress', Ibid., 27th April 1881.
[89] '1847 to 1896', Ibid., 4th January 1896.
[90] 'Development of Resources', *Salt Lake Herald*, 5th January 1896.

'If I were asked to enumerate in more specific terms the riches

that Utah affords the country as recompense for her Statehood,

I should say she offers the gold and silver and lead and copper

and iron of her mountains, the luxurious soil of her valleys, a

matchless life saving climate, a most efficient public school

system and the gratitude of a happy, homogeneous, patriotic

people. She offers homes to settlers, investments to capitalists,

work to laborers, health to invalids, attractiveness to pleasure

seekers, opportunity to fortune hunters. Utah, today, stretches

forth her arms and beckons to the densely peopled districts of

the East to come out and share her glories.'[91]

Such language would have been anathema to the Church leadership thirty years

earlier, when outside development of Utah's resources was considered a drain on the

economy and an entryway for unfriendly groups into the Territory. Now such

opposition had dissipated, and the rhetoric of western expansion had infiltrated into

the Mormon community.[92] Utah Mormons 'were not only in the world but also of the

world'.[93]

The *Salt Lake Tribune*, revelling in Utah's Americanization, published the

speeches of prominent Mormons given on the day of Utah's admission which

supported the forging of new economic connections. Samuel R. Thurman, who

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[91] *JH*, 6th January 1896.
[92] The reconciliatory language used by Latter-day Saints to defend their image to the rest of the nation formed part of a longer process in which Church leaders, desperate to achieve statehood by the end of the century, increasingly reached out to journalists and publications to try and mediate their image within the national mindframe; Matthew J. Grow, 'Contesting the LDS Image: The "North American Review and the Mormons, 1881-1907', *The Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Summer 2006), pp. 111-138.
[93] Martin Ridge, 'Tanner Lecture: Mormon "Deliverance" and the Closing of the Frontier', *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spring 1992), p.152.

associated himself with the Democratic Party when Utah adopted the two-party system, used language which explicitly supported resource exploitation:

> 'Utah, from her throne amid the "everlasting hills," proclaims to all, "These are thine, O my people." She opens wide her arms to welcome within her borders every honest, industrious man and woman. […] Here the poor man can reap the reward of honest toil, build him a home and educate his children. Here the rich man can make profitable investment of his surplus wealth, and at the same time develop the natural resources of the country for the good of humanity and the glory of the State.'[94]

Gone was language which sought to protect the Territory from the interference of those who lacked thought for community values or social cohesion. By the 1890s, a considerable number of Latter-day Saints had adopted the language of the marketplace, welcoming the chance to enrich themselves now that they enjoyed the full rights of statehood.

The celebrations for the 'Pioneer Jubliee' in 1897, put on to celebrate fifty years since the Latter-day Saints arrived in Utah, demonstrated the change that had taken place in territorial economic discourse. While a less secular event than the previous year's celebrations, due to its specific relation to the history of the LDS Church, a clear effort was made to present it in a way which could appeal to a broad base of the local population. One event in particular, the 'Pageant of Progress' held on the second day of celebrations, reveals clearly the ways in which the Church had altered its economic

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[94] 'Provo's Big Celebration', *Salt Lake Tribune*, 5th January 1896. For work which investigates the feminine language attributed to the Far West during the late-nineteenth century, see Gary Reger, 'Making the Desert American', *Cultural History*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2013), pp. 165-181.

worldview by the end of the century. The parade was created with the goal of promoting the 'growth and development of Utah for fifty years'. Only three of its floats related to the Mormon Church, which is understandable considering the opportunity for unity among the citizenry that the occasion offered. The extent to which the values and economic outlook of earlier Mormon pioneers were overlooked within the parade is noteworthy. Despite the focus on economic development, more co-operationist aspects of Utah's history were downplayed, while improvements in communication, infrastructure or transportation – anything that demonstrated a coming together between Utah and the East – were more heavily featured. Much as in earlier celebrations, individual counties were given floats in order to show off their wares. While goods produced in those counties were promoted, however, the significance of such a display had shifted. No longer were such goods proof of the ability of each county to contribute to territorial self-sufficiency. Instead, they served the purpose of 'marketing the state's resources for future economic development'. The drive to promote self-sufficiency, central to local economic identity for over forty years, was swept under the rug, a mistake within the history of a region which had come to see the value of economic integration.[95]

No example better demonstrates the transformation that had taken place within the Mormon community by the turn of the century than the contrasts within the Cannon family. George Q. Cannon had served as a loyal advocate of Mormon interests in Congress for nine years, attempting to defend the Church's name within a legislative body which almost unanimously looked upon the religion with scorn. He had supported Church co-operationist policies throughout his life, demonstrating a keen awareness

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[95] A detailed account of the Pioneer Jubilee can be found in Sarah K. Nytroe, 'Taming the Past to Conquer the Future: The Pioneer Jubilee of 1897', *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol 42. No. 4 (October 2016), pp. 125-146.

of how the American capitalist system undermined the rights of the worker and placed him in an oppressed state. It was this state which the Church's attempts to create a more equitable, spiritual economy had sought to overturn. Cannon had defended the development of a self-sufficient local economy, saying that '[t]hat which is manufactured here, though it costs ten times the amount it would cost in the east, is the cheaper for that is the commencement of independence'.[96] To Cannon it had been clear that if the Church was going to be able to maintain its distinctive society, its best interests lay in protecting the integrity of its local economy and creating cooperative institutions.

Cannon's son Frank, however, did not see the need for such protectionist sentiment. Committed to the values of the Republican Party throughout the 1880s and 1890s, in 1888 the younger Cannon had established the *Ogden Standard*, the first territorial newspaper to officially affiliate itself with the Party. His political outlook at that point was more typical of the new class emerging within Mormon ranks, and demonstrated an adoption of certain aspects of Gentile opinion. Much as was the case for the Gentile opposition within Utah, Cannon's rejection of LDS economic protectionism did not mean that he supported an entirely deregulated economy. He still saw the damage that western farming and mining interests could suffer if national economic policy operated in the interests of railroad corporations and eastern financiers. He believed that the federal government should take measures to ensure that Americans living in the West were provided with a greater degree of balance in their economic relations with the East. He was a staunch advocate of free silver, so much so that he would question his political allegiances when the Republicans opted for a hard money platform at the nominating convention for the 1896 presidential

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[96] George Q. Cannon, 7th April 1868, *JD*, Vol. 12, No. 47.

election.[97] Nevertheless, he rejected the restriction that Mormon economic institutions imposed upon individual enterprise and, much like the Godbeites twenty years earlier, he believed that the best route for Utah's future lay in opening up the Territory to outside investment and trading connections. A decrease in tension between Mormons and Gentiles was key to this transition, with Cannon Jr. calling for greater harmony between the two groups. The language used within a poem in the first issue of the *Standard*, intended as a combination of a New Year's celebration and a hopeful message for the future of the Territory, shows how Cannon connected political harmony and Utah's economic development:

'Tis cruel sin to make a sacrifice
Of Progress on the altar stone of spite;
Soft Peace proclaims a great reward for all;
How wanton then to force a bootless fight!

Health and prosperity attend you here,
You men of pluck of every creed and clime.
Then join in gaining stores of strength and wealth,
Nor give to jealous work, life's meagre time.'[98]

In a speech on the day that Utah joined the Union, Cannon, at that point the Territory's delegate to the House of Representatives and soon to be a senator, stated his belief that Utah would 'leap forward in population, in prosperity and in wealth'. 'Old things, old prejudices, old animosities, old supicions [sp] incident to past conditions will be found to have been buried', he claimed.[99] So committed was Cannon to the idea of

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[97] Leonard Schlup, 'Utah Maverick: Frank J. Cannon and the Politics of Conscience in 1896', *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 62, No. 4 (Fall 1994), p. 337.
[98] *Ogden Standard*, 1st January 1888.
[99] 'Utah State', *Salt Lake Tribune*, 5th January 1896.

greater political harmony within Utah, he would eventually fall away from the Church, disillusioned with the continued interference of its leaders within political decision-making. He was excommunicated in 1905, and would become one of its most vocal critics until his death in 1933.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints did not completely abandon its belief that it should play a role in supporting local development which worked in the best interests of its followers. Into the twentieth century the Church leadership would continue to support investment in home industries, while its influence over the political actions of its members would remain a point of contention well after Utah became a state. However, no attempt to formulate a distinctive community founded upon a critique of American capitalism would again be attempted. In the early days of settlement in Utah the Mormons' isolation, their numerical dominance and the recent memory of violence suffered by their community all allowed for the promotion of a separatist worldview, opposed to the main strands of American individualism. However, despite the confidence and strength of Church discourse concerning the moral failings of the Gentile system, its leaders had proved unable to prevent capitalist values from seeping into the ranks of its followers. Federal legislation might have broken down the Church's formal opposition to political authority, but the gradual incorporation of a more typically American outlook undermined the Church's ability to maintain a religiously-driven socioeconomic system and allowed for the pressures of the American system to infiltrate the borders of their kingdom in the desert.

Conclusion

Historians of the Mormon experience have often taken a positive perspective when writing about the years after Utah joined the Union. The historiography of the preceding period, by contrast, tends to be critical of the federal enforcement of anti-polygamy legislation of the 1880s. The relationship between pre-statehood Utah and the federal government is often presented as that between 'empire' and 'colony'.[1] When making sense of the reconciliation that followed between Mormons and Gentiles after 1896, however, historians of the early twentieth century Mormon experience have often emphasised how Saints maintained key aspects of their identities while integrating into the nation at the same time. Although they acknowledge the difficulties that arose when Latter-day Saints were forced to surrender or alter certain aspects of their religious and social structure, the focus has been on how Mormons adapted to their new status as members of a fully-fledged state, a process that has been labelled 'creative adjustment' in one influential work.[2]

However, as this thesis has shown, Mormon economic doctrine, and the spirit that underwrote it, had undergone a stark transformation by the turn of the century. One of the key tenets of LDS ideology upon the Church's foundation was that it could offer stability and order to Americans who felt cast adrift by an increasingly rationalised market economy. Cooperation, consecration and protectionism were

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[1] Indeed, works which try to tread the line between Mormon and Gentile interests more gently are liable to receive strong criticism. See, for example, Eric A. Eliason, '"An Awful Tale of Blood": Theocracy, Intervention, and the Forgotten Kingdom', *FARMS Review of Books*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2000), pp. 95-112.

[2] Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (Boston, 1979), p. 243. See also James B. Allen and Richard O. Cowan, *Mormonism in the Twentieth Century* (Provo, 1964); Charles S. Peterson and Brian Q. Cannon, *The Awkward State of Utah: Coming of Age in the Nation* (Salt Lake City, 2015). Not all historians have been so positive. In his centennial history of Utah, Thomas Alexander came the closest to carrying over ideas of imperial domination into the twentieth century, describing 1920s Utah as a 'colony of Wall Street'; Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place* (Salt Lake City, 2003).

invoked as ways to ensure that all members of the religious community would be provided for, and that the best interests of the whole group should prevail over the needs of the individual. Such thinking was not just based in a particular economic outlook; it was inextricably linked to millennial doctrines regarding the construction of the kingdom of God. Later, it also drew upon temporal ideas about how best to protect the security of a Mormon people which had been suffering persecution since the foundation of their religion. The entire basis of Mormon thinking drew upon oppositional language pitting Mormon unity against Gentile divisiveness.

This language hardened into a more formal economic outlook in the 1860s, as postbellum American ideology coalesced around a belief in deregulated capitalism, individualistic trading practices and the desire for extractive industries in the West. A rhetorical battle took place within the local and national press, as both Mormons and Gentiles associated their economic model with the long-term health of the nation. To anti-Mormon activists, integration into national trading networks, either through the transcontinental railroad or a burgeoning mining industry, offered the potential for peaceful reform of Mormon society. To members of the LDS leadership, the protectionist measures they employed to prevent such a scenario not only defended the values of their religious society; they also invoked an American traditionalism of which the rest of the nation had lost sight.

Although a more prolonged process than originally imagined, and despite the confidence of Church leaders in the righteousness of their cause, economic integration would prove a key factor in the 'Americanization' of Mormon Utah by the end of the century. At the rank-and-file level, enough members of the Church rejected the right of their religious leaders to control their business decisions to undermine LDS economic initiatives. The most extreme attempt at co-operation, the

Second United Order, failed almost immediately in most wards. The territorial economy evolved gradually to more closely resemble that of its neighbours. More and more Saints embraced the values of the marketplace, prioritising their individual economic needs over the direction of a Church leadership which envisaged an all-encompassing cooperative model. By the time that stronger federal legislation broke Church opposition to anti-polygamy legislation at the end of the century, a transformation had taken place among the Mormon community that made for a much smoother transition to statehood. While economic expansion did not reap the dramatic rewards that Gentiles anticipated in the early 1870s, it played a considerable role in bringing a separatist community in line with establishment thinking. The level to which American economic thinking was adopted by the Mormon community shows not only how mainstream capitalist thinking had been incorporated into the Mormon identity, but also the significant role that such a process had played in undermining LDS separatism.

The economic activity of Utah Mormons in the early twentieth century shows how fully many of its members had come to embrace the economic ideals of the rest of the nation. While the Church leadership took a harder stance on tithing under President Lorenzo Snow at the end of the 1890s, it also distanced itself from the level of economic intervention that it had practiced earlier in the century. Railroads, sugar companies and mining endeavours increasingly fell under monopolistic control, with the endorsement of Salt Lake City business elites.[3] ZCMI stores ceased tithing their dividends to the Church as they shifted further towards private

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[3] Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, 1984).

ownership.[4] Low-yield Church-owned businesses such as Deseret Telegraph and Utah Light and Railway Company were sold off to relieve the burden that they posed to the Church, while newer business ventures focussed upon more profit-oriented concerns.[5] Church leaders would still invoke the United Order as an ideal state towards which the Latter-day Saints could one day aspire. The Church also intervened at times when its members were in need, embarking on extensive measures to combat poverty during the Great Depression.[6] However, such occurrences were a far cry from the kingdom-building language around which Mormon life had been structured in the early decades of settlement in Utah. By the turn of the century it was becoming widely accepted that the 'general welfare was best promoted through free private enterprise competing in a free and open market'.[7]

Of particular note is the way in which the adoption of more competitive capitalist values influenced the political allegiance of the Latter-day Saints. Following the Manifesto, Saints were encouraged to support both major political parties equally. The interests of rural Latter-day Saints lent themselves towards support of the Democrats. A more even split would ease the concerns of the Republican administration that granting statehood to Utah would not cause their political opponents to gain representation in Congress. However, it quickly became clear that the business connections of the Republican Party made them an attractive proposition to a Church leadership which had come to embrace a more typically western elite perspective, chiefly a desire to promote eastern and international

[4] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 385.
[5] Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (Boston, 1979), p. 251.
[6] Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, pp. 80-1.
[7] Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, p. 251.

investment.[8] Once the Church distanced itself from formal political involvement at the turn of the century, it was 'business-minded politicians', both Mormon and Gentile, who stepped in to fill the void that they left behind.[9] A more traditional mindset, geared towards development and promotion of the state's resources to outside investors, had taken hold, in which the old divisions between believers and non-believers became less pertinent.

This growing acceptance of economic reconciliation was accompanied by concurrent shifts in other areas of Mormon life. Having avoided national military service due to their millennial beliefs, LDS conscription picked up with the outbreak of the Spanish-American War.[10] Apocalyptic aspects of LDS rhetoric subsided, as the Church emphasised organisation and rationalisation, aspects of their religion which better fit the Progressivism of the early twentieth century.[11] Mystical aspects of Mormonism, which had proved so attractive to many original members of the Church, were swept under the rug. Armand Mauss has analysed how Mormons reconceptualised their spiritual mission by downplaying separatist strains in their doctrine. In sermons at national conferences, the emphasis shifted from 'Zion and kingdom building' towards 'the greatness of American institutions, patriotism, good citizenship, and fellowship with other faiths'.[12]

Within a more strictly political realm, the transition was more fraught. Despite the claims of the Church that it would distance itself from territorial politics, a series of controversies arose over the admission of Church members elected to Congress.

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[8] Matthew Bowman, *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith* (New York, 2012), p. 155.
[9] Peterson and Cannon, *The Awkward State of Utah*, pp. 21-2.
[10] Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, p. 13.
[11] Bowman, *The Mormon People*, p. 154.
[12] Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Chicago, 1994), pp. 24-5.

Politicians questioned the integrity of Mormon delegates, in particular whether they had actually surrendered their support for polygamy or if they remained unduly influenced by the Church leadership. The kneejerk response of mainstream America to even the slightest threat of continued Church interference in political decision-making made it clear to the leadership that the terms of the 1890 Manifesto would not be easily shrugged off.[13] In 1898 the Church issued a Political Manifesto, which stated that the Church would not involve itself in politics, and two years later it reaffirmed its commitment to anti-polygamy. These controversies drew upon long-standing prejudices towards Mormonism within mainstream cultural discourse. However, they should not distract from the level of change that had taken place within Mormon society, as well as the extent to which the development of a more 'American' socioeconomic model in Utah had served to bring Mormon and Gentile society closer together.

The economic debates that took place in Utah are not unique within the history of the Reconstruction West. Mormon awareness of the risks of embracing American capitalism was just one particularly pronounced example of a phenomenon which seems to have existed throughout the region. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, the historiography is littered with references to western settlers who were aware that the rewards of eastern trade could represent a poisoned chalice. Although railroads, mining investment, and resource extraction offered wealth and economic development to new settlements, they also removed decision-making

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[13] William Linn, a non-Mormon who published a history of the Church in 1902, seemed to share these concerns over the continuing influence of the Church, concluding his work by warning his readers that Mormons remained strongly united and committed to their leadership despite their concessions, recommending that close attention should still be paid to their actions; William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons, From the Date of their Origin to the Year 1901* (London, 1923).

powers from the local level. Merchants, manufacturers and farmers alike became

dependent upon fluctuating markets that they had little ability to control. Nor were

such connections necessarily conducive to stable economic development. Beyond

this, there are examples of local political activism from individuals who sought to

correct these trends: associations devoted to supporting local produce, initiatives to

diversify local economies, criticism in local papers of those who prioritised short-term

profit over long-term sustainability. The men and women who formed part of these

movements must have done so not only out of concern for the future of their town or

city, but also an awareness of the influence that eastern elites were able to wield

over their very existence. Such activism was not always based upon hostility towards

the prevailing economic order. As Elaine Naylor's work on Port Townsend boosters

has shown, local residents were invested in the future of their local or regional

economies. Such historical work provides westerners with an agency that they often

lack within the current historiography, without compromising their value as lenses

through which to inform our understanding of East-West power dynamics.[14]

Western historians paved the way almost fifty years ago for viewing the West

as a dependency of the East, exploited by eastern business interests and suffering

economically for it in the long run. Historians of Reconstruction have more recently

caught up to this perspective and analysed it from the other side, showing the pivotal

role that western expansion played in the postbellum American worldview, and how

eastern interests projected their own ideals upon the region, in line with their political

and economic goals. We have extensive histories of the Populist movement, of

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[14] Elaine Naylor, *Frontier Boosters: Port Townsend and the Culture of Development in the American West* (Ithaca, 2014). In his case study of Sun Valley, Idaho, Hal Rothman has shown how local residents were often just as willing as 'outside' investors to embrace boosterish language to attract investment, even if they suffered some degree of economic dislocation as a result. See Hal Rothman, 'Tourism as Colonial Economy: Power and Place in Western Tourism' in Richard White and John M. Findlay (eds), *Power and Place in the North American West* (Seattle, 1999), pp. 87-116.

westerners rejecting the precarious existence that national and international trading networks imposed upon desperate farmers. What is lacking from the field are historical accounts which show western Americans not only recognising the power dynamics which were imperilling their settlements, but taking localised economic action to try and contest the balance of power. Much like the Mormons, many of these accounts will undoubtedly paint a picture of ultimate failure, or at the very least accommodation towards the dominant economic ethos. Even so, it is by analysing these sorts of economic debates throughout the West that we will be better able to understand the connections between economic expansion and dissemination of a 'national' identity following the Civil War.

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