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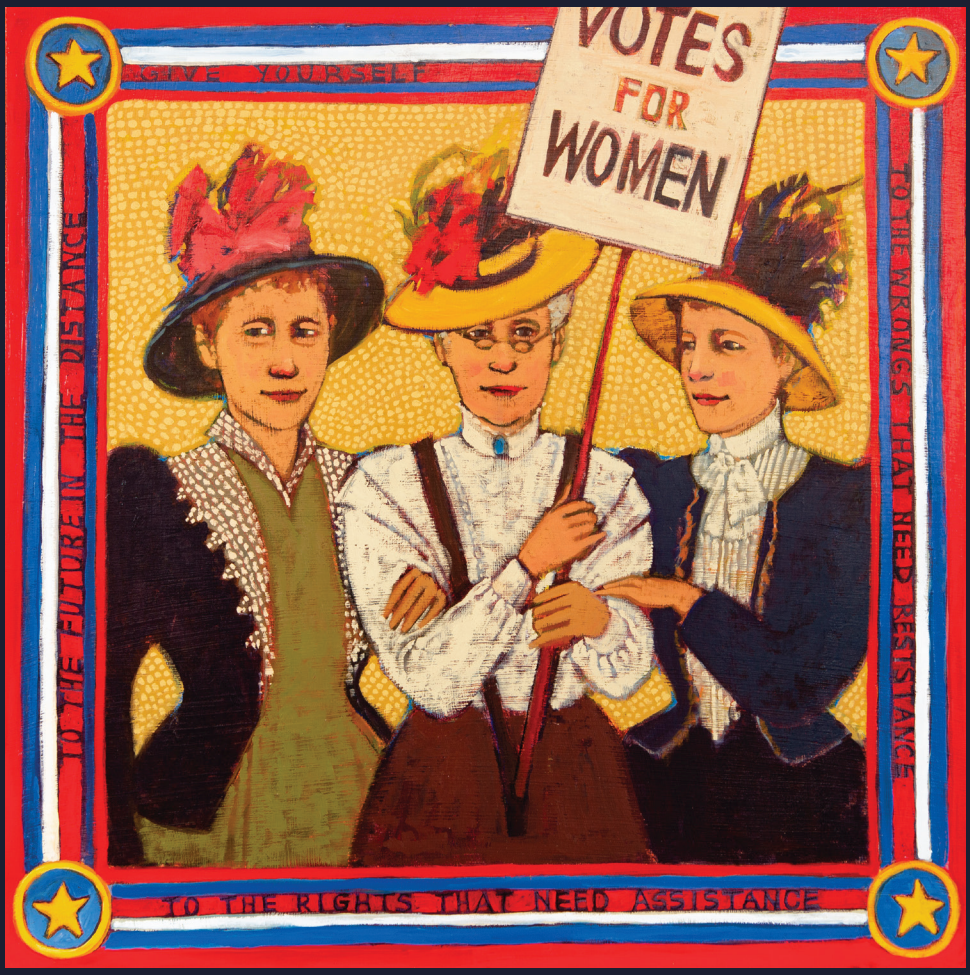

BYU STUDIES QUARTERLY

Scholarship informed by the restored gospel of Jesus Christ

Special Issue: Celebrating Women's Suffrage

Utah's Unique Place in the Suffrage Movement

Negotiating Latter-day Saint Unity on Suffrage

Emmeline B. Wells and the *Woman's Exponent*

Belva Lockwood's Advocacy for the Latter-day Saints

Interview with Jill Mulvay Derr on Eliza R. Snow

Personal Essays by Laurel Ulrich, Claudia Bushman, and Richard Bushman

TO OUR READERS

BYU Studies publishes scholarship informed by the restored gospel of Jesus Christ. We exist to inspire learning "by study and also by faith" (D&C 88:118) in three primary constituencies:

- Educated nonspecialist readers/subscribers
- Scholars whose work merits publication in a venue committed to both revealed and discovered truth
- Students who gain experiential learning while making vital contributions

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BYU STUDIES QUARTERLY

Scholarship Informed by the Restored Gospel of Jesus Christ

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IN MEMORIAM

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTIONS

COVER ART

ARTICLES

In Memoriam, Armand L. Mauss (1928–2020)

I was saddened but not surprised by the recent passing of Armand L. Mauss, an esteemed scholar, BYU Studies editorial board member, and a kind mentor to me. When I saw him last, he neither expected nor particularly wanted to live much longer. He had long since tempered his expectations for this life. His sights were set on the next one, especially after Ruth's passing in 2018.

There are few mentors and advisors I admire as much as Armand. To me he was a consummate combination of intellectual and spiritual, academic and advocate. Several fitting tributes have already been published. Much attention has been appropriately paid in them to his seminal books. I'm inclined, therefore, to draw a little attention to two of his lesser-known articles that have also profoundly shaped my thinking.

Here is the first sentence of his 1969 article "Dimensions of Religious Defection:" "It is probably indicative of a bias in social science that religious *commitment* is considered a research problem, but religious *defection* is not."[1] Since reading that and the argument that followed, I've been as interested in defection as in conversion, thinking of them as mirror images. Understanding one leads to understanding the other. I know of no historical character who exemplifies both conversion and defection better than William E. McLellin, an early Latter-day Saint Apostle and apostate. I've read what McLellin wrote and what has been written about him. Armand authored the most penetrating insight in that entire bibliography. He applied a theory of competing selves to McLellin's personality and behavior that can be profitably applied to other characters in their contexts.[2]

With Armand's passing, we have lost not only an exemplary scholar but also a devoted friend and mentor to many. His scholarship was always balanced, informed, insightful, and enduring. Sometime in the near future, BYU Studies, inspired by Armand's work, will dedicate a special issue to the questions surrounding religious conversion and defection.

—Steven C. Harper, editor in chief

1. Armand L. Mauss, "Dimensions of Religious Defection," *Review of Religious Research* 10, no. 3 (Spring 1969): 128–35.

2. Armand L. Mauss, "Apostasy and the Management of Spoiled Identity," in *The Politics of Religious Apostasy: The Role of Apostates in the Transformation of Religious Movements,* ed. David G. Bromley (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998), 51–74.

Editor's Introduction

Susan Elizabeth Howe

It is with pride and gratitude that we present this issue of *BYU Studies Quarterly*—pride in recognizing the 100th anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution giving women the right to vote and the 150th anniversary of the granting of that right to the women of Utah, and gratitude to the excellent historians, other writers, and artists who have contributed to the issue. McArthur Krishna and Bethany Brady Spalding have written three books with the title *Girls Who Choose God,* and Kathleen Peterson, the artist whose work we feature on the cover, has illustrated those books. Katherine Kitterman and Rebekah Clark have spent the past two years working for Better Days 2020, researching and writing about the very topics that we take up in our issue. Carol Madsen has studied Emmeline B. Wells and the *Woman's Exponent* throughout her distinguished career and has written not one but two stellar biographies about Emmeline. Sheree Bench and Cherry Silver's current project is to edit and put online all of Emmeline's diaries. Melinda Evans is an attorney and graduate of Stanford Law School, where she discovered Belva Lockwood's courageous defense of the Church against unconstitutional laws regarding both polygamy and women's suffrage. Jill Derr is the most knowledgeable person in the Church today about Eliza R. Snow and is in the process of writing a biography that will bring together the story of her long, productive life. Connie Lamb, senior librarian in the Harold B. Lee Library, is BYU's women's studies librarian and teaches library patrons how to do research. Anne Snyder is the editor in chief of *Comment Magazine,* the author of the book *The Fabric of Character: A Wise Giver's Guide to Renewing Our*

Social and Moral Landscape, a senior fellow of the Trinity Forum, and a fellow or board member of several other organizations that promote Christian thought in the development of leadership and social contracts to help unite our fragmented society. Laurel Ulrich, Claudia Bushman, and Richard Bushman need no introduction, having blessed us with monumental studies of early Americans, Mormon women, and Joseph Smith and received so many national awards for their groundbreaking work. Tyler Chadwick has edited two major collections of poetry by Latter-day Saint poets and published his own collection of poetry and essays, and Marilyn Bushman-Carlton has published three fine poetry collections. This gifted and accomplished group of people has made it possible for us to bring together what we think is a significant publication to engage us, to inform us about significant history and the ideas that fueled it, and to lead us to consider how these stories and concepts may enlarge our sense of ourselves and the work we might do for the Lord.

The last three decades of the nineteenth century were an excruciating time in the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, when both men and women faced arrest and imprisonment for polygamy, when the Church's very existence was threatened by the U.S. government, and when the women citizens of Utah Territory achieved the right to vote, then saw it taken away, then reclaimed it in the state constitution twenty-four years before the women in most states were enfranchised. Katherine Kitterman's fine essay "First to Vote: Utah's Unique Place in the Suffrage Movement" brings to life the entire fifty-year saga in a lucid and fascinating account. She has also acted as the co-editor of this issue, and I thank her for the wise and important suggestions she has made throughout the editorial process.

Several of the other essays cover some of the same territory as Katherine's, but each author looks at the material through a different lens and draws original, insightful conclusions from it. Rebekah Clark demonstrates how the men of the Church—particularly the leaders—supported women in their campaign for suffrage. Melinda Evans introduces us to Belva Lockwood, the nationally prominent woman who often championed Utah women and the Church, despite the country's general antagonism toward polygamy. Carol Madsen shows us the role the *Woman's Exponent* played in promoting suffrage and polygamy by disseminating news, reports of Relief Society and suffrage events, and information to the sisters. And in Cherry Silver and Sheree Bench's superbly edited contribution, we are able to read Emmeline B. Wells's own words as recorded in her diaries and reported in the *Woman's*

Exponent regarding two significant occasions—her trip to Washington on behalf of the Church in 1879 and her participation in the events surrounding the state constitution and the subsequent celebration of statehood.

In their insightful essay, McArthur Krishna and Bethany Spalding make the point that most members of the Church know little about the lives and contributions of early Mormon women. A blog I read a while ago claimed that the first feminists in the Church appeared in the 1970s. Although the term wasn't in use then, actually our nineteenth-century sisters were feminist in every positive sense of that word. They believed that women's subordination to men was a condition of the Fall, that women were eternal beings with free agency and choice, that they were created in the image of their Heavenly Mother and had the potential to become like her in stature, that they had a necessary role in the work of the Lord, including the use of their spiritual gifts to bless others, and that they would be raised to equal status with men in the fulness of this final dispensation of time. Of course, they supported women's suffrage.

Carol Cornwall Madsen's essay shows us that the women of the Church never subscribed to the traditional nineteenth-century, culturally constructed view of woman as an "angel in the house," a being who had to be preserved from the rigors of public life; denied participation in education, businesses, professions, and politics; and sheltered at home with her children. Later in the century, another model called "the new woman" developed, which Madsen explains as a woman who was independent, educated, outspoken, political, and professional as well as motherly. Her essay demonstrates that the work the nineteenth-century women of the Church carried out in promoting women's suffrage and in defending themselves against caricatures by antipolygamists required them to develop the qualities of the new woman, not the demure silence and deference attributed to the angel in the house.

The lives of most nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint women did not allow them to be pampered, protected, and removed from the world. Some were polygamist wives (and, after the Manifesto, not considered by the government to be wives at all) who had to provide for themselves and their families with very little help. Many women had to take charge of family business or farming concerns while their husbands were away on missions, often for several years. They proved themselves to be capable, in whatever roles they were asked to fulfill.

Nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint women wrote well and advocated for their own causes. They spoke in public to large gatherings of both men and women, an unusual skill for women of the nineteenth

century. They took on major assignments like storing grain and developing a silk industry. They planned together and networked to enlist sisters throughout the territory in achieving their goals. They successfully headed large organizations; they were trusted by priesthood leaders to carry out major projects for the Church; they acted independently and forthrightly in representing the Church and themselves to the nation. Eliza R. Snow, as introduced to us by Jill Derr, is a consummate example of such a woman. Eliza was known by four titles—poetess, presidentess, priestess, and prophetess—and Jill explains what work Eliza carried out to earn each one.

Although there is much to learn from the articles in this issue, there is much more that has yet to be written. Another important essay included here, by Connie Lamb, teaches about the many bibliographic research sources that are available to anyone—student, scholar, family-history enthusiast, or descendant—who has a question about an individual woman, an event, or an institution. In examining some of the resources Connie suggests, I found a life story of over fifty pages by Margaret Johannah Edwards Haskell (1835–1909), the grandmother of my mother's father, a narrative my immediate family had not known about. There must be many more treasures for other researchers and family historians to discover.

Also included in this issue are the delights of personal essays and poetry. Three premier historians—Laurel Ulrich, Claudia Bushman, and Richard Bushman—take off their academic robes and let us in on their personal musings. Laurel discusses her most famous phrase, "Well-behaved women seldom make history," where it came from, how it was noticed, and what effects it has had on her life. Claudia, who has long been a champion of women writing their life stories, offers a delightful account of her and Richard's courtship. Richard describes his lifelong interest in art and how that led him to found the Center for Latter-day Saint Arts to bring LDS artists of every kind together, support them with grants and stipends, and promote their work. The poems in this issue are all winners of this year's Clinton F. Larson Poetry Contest, sponsored by BYU Studies. Tyler Chadwick's "Psalter for the Eternal Mother" is both meditation and prayer; he also won an award for "Our Lady of the Unicorn Blanket-Cape," a poem of blessing addressed to his young daughter. Marilyn Bushman-Carlton gives us "Learning to Touch" about her own daughter, a doctor, who arrives at the bed of her dying grandmother and knows, because of her medical training, how to comfort her.

To return to the women's suffrage theme of this issue, during the debate on including women's suffrage in the Utah State Constitution, Orson F. Whitney said this: "I believe in woman suffrage. I have always believed in it. I look upon it as another step, another impulse of humanity toward perfection. Its success is assured. . . . Its triumph is decreed. Its destiny is fixed. It is the march of human liberty, the pageant of eternal progress, and those who will not join it must stand aside and see the great procession sweep on without them."[1] The early Saints "believed in" suffrage as though it were a tenet of their faith. Why? Because they had been taught by Joseph Smith, a prophet of God, that moral agency and individual personal choice are necessary for the growth of each individual on earth to become like their Heavenly Parents. Because the more freedom we have, the more we are able to develop our gifts and talents; to become greater, more whole people; and to choose whether to follow God or Satan—whether to bless others or to satisfy ourselves. This growth of each human being is the purpose for which the earth was created, for which Christ suffered the excruciating pain of the Atonement for our sakes. D&C 93 reminds us that considering ourselves eternal beings with vast, God-endowed potential is a belief of such power that if we truly grasp it, our worth and the meaning we can find in our lives are immense. Any political arrangement that limits freedom and growth is contrary, therefore, to the purposes of the Lord (see D&C 101:77–80). It is appropriate to *believe* in women's suffrage, and, as Anne Snyder reminds us in her fine essay, to believe in the vision and growth and wisdom and abilities of all confined and marginalized people, and to work for their freedom and for the blossoming of their lives.

We hope that all our readers will enjoy this issue and benefit from it. We hope that women will see themselves in the courageous, determined, and capable women who brought about women's suffrage in Utah. We hope that men will see themselves in the brethren who gave their full and vocal support to this cause. We hope that everyone who reads this issue will realize that knowing and learning from the history of the early Saints—and particularly of our nineteenth-century sisters—makes possible a greater vision of what is feasible for our relationships, achievements, and contributions to the work of the Lord.

1. Orson F. Whitney, Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Assembled to Adopt a Constitution for the State of Utah, Day 27, March 30, 1895, https://le.utah.gov/documents/conconv/27.htm.

Editor's Introduction

Katherine Kitterman

I study the history of women's voting rights in Utah. For the past two years, I've been the historical director for Better Days 2020, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit with a mission to popularize Utah women's history. The year 2020 marks the 150th anniversary of Utah women's first votes, the centennial of the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, and the 55th anniversary of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, all important parts of the long struggle for equal suffrage in the United States. So this anniversary year is a golden opportunity to learn about women in history who fought for equality, spoke out on a national stage, and improved their local communities. Better Days 2020 has created several resources available to anyone who wants to explore the story of suffrage in Utah.

Our team worked with local historians, community leaders, and educators to develop educational resources that highlight Utah women's role in the national suffrage movement and feature Utah women who made a difference in other ways. We also commissioned Utah artist Brooke Smart to illustrate fifty Utah women's advocates from history. She brought the stories of a diverse range of Utah leaders to life in vivid color, collaborating with subjects' descendants to represent the women authentically. The illustrations are available at www.utahwomenshistory.org along with biographies, primary sources, articles, and other materials. Additionally, two books by our team members share stories of leading Utah women: *Champions of Change: 25 Women Who Made History* and *Thinking Women: A Timeline of Suffrage in Utah.*

There's still a long way to go toward fully seeing and honoring women's contributions in history. Women's stories matter, but they're

often missing in the archives, history books, and popular culture—and this is even more the case for women of color. It takes effort and care to recover women's stories and restore them to their rightful place in the historical narrative. And doing so is only possible because of those who have preserved records, memories, and family stories across generations.

When we know about the women who have made a difference in our own communities, we can see that their influence is everywhere—in public health, business, art, education, government, and the very streets we walk. Suffragists worked to break down barriers that limited women's participation in public life. The doors they opened for women's education, careers, political participation, and personal development benefit us all. And that work is not finished.

Seeing students and citizens engage with suffrage history through classroom lessons, family stories, art, and public monuments has reminded me how history can play a crucial role in building community and generating needed change. By exploring the legacy of the past, we open up space for conversations about the present and the future. And the history of voting rights in particular should remind us that our voices and actions matter. This history challenges us to do our own part and make a difference where we live.

I appreciated the opportunity to collaborate with Susan Howe as a guest editor on this issue and address these topics from a Latter-day Saint perspective. As Latter-day Saints, we learn from our history about discipleship and fortitude, repentance and grace. When women's voices are missing, our view is limited and our conclusions are incomplete. When we integrate women's stories and perspectives into the history of the Restoration, we see a larger, richer picture.

The Latter-day Saint women who worked to advance women's rights in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw their work as part of the unfolding restoration of the gospel. In their eyes, building up the Kingdom of God required a restoration of women to their proper place as men's equals, as taught in the gospel of Jesus Christ. And for many women, the Relief Society was a vehicle that aided in that necessary social transformation. As Sarah M. Kimball reflected, "The sure foundations of the suffrage cause were deeply and permanently laid on the 17th of March 1842,"[1] the day the Relief Society was first organized.

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1. Sarah M. Kimball, "Reply to 'A Man's Advice about Woman Suffrage,'" *Woman's Exponent* 20 (December 1, 1891): 81.

Three generations of Latter-day Saint suffragists worked to open opportunities for women to participate in government and public life. Their political participation in Utah and active engagement in the cause of suffrage gave strength to the national women's rights movement. But the twists and turns of their story remind us that voting rights have never expanded easily, evenly, or permanently. Their achievements were the result of decades of sustained effort on the part of individual women and men, working together for a common cause.

Suffragists' legacy can inform our work in the world as people of faith. Their determination should encourage us to speak up and speak out for the dignity and worth of all people, and their mistakes should challenge us to build bridges of cooperation and understanding. Even as suffragists fought for women's political rights, their biases and worldviews limited their vision of equality. They often excluded women of color from their campaigns and ignored their concerns. From this, we should draw a greater commitment to liberty and justice for *all*.

Elizabeth A. Taylor, a member of Salt Lake City's Trinity AME Church, organized the Western Federation of Colored Women in 1904 to support Black women and their families. "This is not our struggle alone," she said at the opening convention, "because we are only bearing the brunt of the battle of others to come."[2] She was right, in so many ways. We are the beneficiaries of generations past who have worked for better days. They laid the groundwork, but it is up to each of us to do our part. As we look around us, there are similar campaigns that need to be waged to fight injustice and make our communities and nations better.

The themes addressed in this issue matter because we are still wrestling with many of the same questions today: How can we use our voice and our vote to make our communities better? How can we ensure that all voices are heard and respected? And what can we do now to create a better future?

2. "Colored Women in Federation," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 6, 1904, 3.

Working for a More Divine Model

McArthur Krishna and Bethany Brady Spalding

When Bethany's daughter Simone was almost three, she and Bethany were reading a popular LDS children's book of scripture stories. At the end of it, Simone turned to her mom and demanded, "Where are the girls? I want to read about the girls!" Not unfamiliar with this question herself, Bethany was still surprised. She picked up the book, flipped through, and found the authors had not chosen to tell the story of even a single woman.

Children ask lots of questions, which means parents answer a gazillion questions a day. But Simone's question, and Bethany's search for answers, would spark a decade of pivotal books. For many people, this exchange would have been the end, but Bethany's talent is not only to spot holes—she also dives in and fixes them. (It must have been a genetic trait for Simone to spot the hole too!)

In this case, she called me—she knows I think stories matter.

Together, we have now written six children's books. Deseret Book has published the *Girls Who Choose God* series, highlighting stories of women from the Bible, Book of Mormon, and now (drumroll) Church history! We have also created *Our Heavenly Family, Our Earthly Families*; *A Girl's Guide to Heavenly Mother*; and *A Boy's Guide to Heavenly Mother.* We've been busy.

The art on the cover of this issue of *BYU Studies Quarterly* is from the latest in our series, *Girls Who Choose God: Stories of Extraordinary Women in Church History. These* were busy women!

A Church historian did an unofficial survey and found that only 15 percent of surveyed Latter-day Saints could name more than five

women from Church history. (Saying "Sister Smith" five times is cheating.) When Bethany spotted this same hole with her daughter, she felt it was imperative to continue our *Girls Who Choose God* series with bold women from Church history. We focused on fifteen women whose efforts were essential to the Restoration. Their accomplishments were staggering, but one of the most impressive achievements was their fight for—and ultimate winning of—voting equality.

In the 1800s, the Relief Society was used as a canvassing mechanism to recruit women to fight for the right to vote. These early Saints—both women and men—clearly understood that treating women as second-class citizens was not divine. When faced with a situation that is out of line with doctrine, the appropriate response is to work to change it so that the policy, institution, or situation aligns more with our doctrine (all while respecting others' vital agency, faiths, opinions, and rights). And these women worked with a vengeance!

The Relief Society played an activist role in shifting the world's broken system to a more divine model. Relief Society leaders worked to ensure women's voices were heard in their communities, governments, and countries. They spoke at national conferences. Their unabashed call for women to be allowed to vote occurred at a conference in Temple Square—with no men (except journalists) even present. They were fiery, articulate, relentless.

"It is woman's destiny to have a voice in the affairs of the government. She was designed for it. She has a right to it. This great social upheaval, this woman's movement that is making itself heard and felt, means something more than that certain women are ambitious to vote and hold office. I regard it as one of the great levers by which the Almighty is lifting up this fallen world, lifting it nearer to the throne of its Creator," said Orson F. Whitney, defending the inclusion of women's suffrage in Utah's state constitution.[1] Isn't that astounding?

While there were many sisters who threw themselves into the cause of women's suffrage, we focused on only three in our book, although we wish we would have had room for all of them. We chose Sarah Kimball, Martha Hughes Cannon (called "Mattie" in our book because that's the name she went by), and Emily Richards to demonstrate how their varied talents furthered the cause of equal suffrage. Sarah Kimball was

1. Orson F. Whitney, in Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Assembled to Adopt a Constitution for the State of Utah, Day 27, https://le.utah.gov/documents/conconv/27.htm.

an organizer who put women to work fighting for their rights. Mattie Hughes Cannon was a trailblazer, having earned four degrees (sometimes as the only woman in her class), and then being elected the first female state senator in the United States. Emily Richards was a powerful speaker who pleaded the cause of Mormon women all over the nation.

Bethany and I each grew up without knowing these women's world-changing stories. I think that is true for most of us. However, these women's exemplary lives can be models for *all* of us! We especially want the next generation to better understand how to live and work in this world, and these three women can inspire us.

As Mattie Hughes Cannon said, "No privileged class either of sex, wealth, or descent should be allowed to arise or exist; all persons should have the same legal right to be the equal of every other, if they can."[2] After all, as we know, God is no respecter of persons either.

A few things struck Bethany and me about this dynamic trio:

1. They had diverse talents. Gaining the right to vote did not happen with just one person or one skillset. This clear example shows us that whatever our talents may be, there is a need for each person to step in.

2. They worked. Change in the world sometimes just "happens," but often it is made to happen by people who see a problem and *work*. These women, among countless others, spent hours and days and years working to shift the world to a more divine model. As President Nelson was quoted as saying by Joy D. Jones in the April 2020 general conference, "The Lord loves effort."[3]

3. They leveraged the power of their faith (in both personal and official capacities). These women knew that equality between the sexes is divine. For some people then (and now), this was news. Yet these women chose to use that restored gospel knowledge to work to eradicate the hogwash of discrimination.

The remarkable artist who portrayed the women in the *Girls Who Choose God* series is Kathleen Peterson, a descendent of strong Utah suffragists. Kathy cares about authenticity in her paintings, and she did extensive research to be sure that each painting was accurate to the women it features as well as to the culture and era in which they lived. In preparing to paint this picture, Kathy first studied many old photos of suffragists. (We love their hats!) For the dress, she was able to copy an

2. Rebekah Clark, "Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon, First Female State Senator," Better Days 2020, https://www.utahwomenshistory.org/bios/marthahughescannon/.

3. Joy D. Jones, "An Especially Noble Calling," *Ensign* 50, no. 5 (2020): 16.

outfit Emily S. Richards, the figure on the left, wore in some of her photos. Sarah Kimball, the central figure in the painting, and Mattie Hughes Cannon, on the right, both wear costumes appropriate for the times. In fact, Kathy had two historians in the Church History Library critique all the paintings, and she adjusted the dress as they advised. This painting shows the relative age of the three women, who all knew each other—Sarah was more than thirty years older than Emily and Mattie, and she did have the white hair the painting depicts. Kathy found the slogan "Votes for Women" in several photos. The red, white, and blue frame, with a star in each corner, echoes the bunting that hung from many platforms at suffrage meetings. The saying around the border—"To the wrongs that need resistance, to the rights that need assistance, to the future in the distance, give yourself"—was given to Kathy by Bethany, who has the phrase hanging above her calendar to inspire her daily choices to invest her time wisely. The quotation comes from Carrie Chapman Catt, who was president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (1915–1920) when the Nineteenth Amendment was passed and ratified.

Kathy painted a vibrant scene of Sarah, Mattie, and Emily rallying for what they knew was right. They knew that when you choose to serve God's people, God blesses your efforts. We hope our book inspires our youth—and us!—to do the same.

Along the grand adventure of life, McArthur Krishna has worked as a window washer, on a construction crew, as an archeological aid, a Bollywood extra, a river rafting guide, a business owner, and an artist. Those adventures led to publishing seventeen children's books (including four with Deseret Book) and new job titles: Holy Harasser and Hogwash Eradicator. Now, she travels the world with her family and dreams of West Virginia rivers, zydeco dancing, and bottomless guacamole.

Bethany Brady Spalding is the co-author of the Deseret Book best-selling series *Girls Who Choose God.* She never intended to become a writer but felt compelled to create stories that shine light on strong, spiritual women. And now she is a believer that you can change the world through good books! Her most recent, *A Girl's Guide to Heavenly Mother,* was written to celebrate the change in the Young Women's theme. As the mother of three daughters, Bethany devotes her energies to developing magnificent girls by loving and leading her family; by directing programs in her local community of Richmond, Virginia, to empower middle school girls; and by supporting women's literacy initiatives around the globe. Bethany has a master's degree from the University of London; she recently returned from an eight-month trip around the world; but the place she most loves to be is snuggling a kiddo in bed with a beautiful book!

First to Vote

Utah's Unique Place in the Suffrage Movement

Katherine Kitterman

February 14, 1870, was election day in Salt Lake City. Citizens might have gathered with more than the usual excitement that day to cast their ballots because this was the first election in which Utah women citizens could vote. Seraph Young (later Ford), a twenty-three-year-old schoolteacher and grandniece of Brigham Young, was the first to exercise her new right and became the first woman in the United States to cast a ballot under a women's equal suffrage law.[1]

It makes sense that Seraph would arrive early at the polls—she had a long workday ahead of her at the University of Deseret, where she taught in the primary school.[2] So, like many voters today, she would have gone to City Hall before work to cast her ballot. However, unlike voters today, she would have had to navigate her way through stump speeches and the Tenth Ward Brass Band to do so.[3] Seraph's historic vote made local and national news, but then her life went on quietly. She never ran for public office or led an organization, but she made history by simply fulfilling her civic duty.

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1. "Telegrams to the Star," *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), February 23, 1870, 1, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1870-02-23/ed-1/seq-1/.

2. "Second Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students in the University of Deseret, for the Academical Year 1869–70," Salt Lake City, 1870, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah. Seraph is listed as one of three assistants to the principal of the model school.

3. "The Election," *Deseret Evening News,* February 14, 1870, 2, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=23156020&date_tdt=%5B1870-02-14T00%3A00%3A00.000Z+TO+1870-02-24T00%3A00%3A00.000Z%5D&q=%28election%29.

Seraph Young (Ford), *Deseret Evening News,* March 8, 1902, 19.

Seraph's role in history faded from public memory, but her vote paved the way for women's voting rights to spread across the United States from west to east. The national women's movement was already under way, but it would take fifty years after Seraph's historic vote to pass a women's suffrage amendment to the U.S. Constitution.[4]

The year 2020 marks the 150th anniversary of Utah women's historic first votes, the 100th anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment, and the 55th anniversary of the Voting Rights Act. These anniversaries offer an opportunity to reflect on the unique place of Utah and Latter-day Saints within the movement for women's voting rights. Women in Utah were the first to vote with equal suffrage rights, but Congress later revoked their voting rights as part of the national conflict over the practice of polygamy. After they were disenfranchised, Utah women organized to regain the vote and secure a federal women's suffrage amendment. In many ways, their experience set the stage for women's voting rights to spread to the rest of the country.

Utah Women Paved the Way

Testifying to Congress in 1898, Utah state senator Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon noted, "The story of the struggle for woman's suffrage in Utah is the story of all efforts for the advancement and betterment of humanity."[5]

4. The contemporary term used most often to describe women's voting rights was "woman suffrage," but I use the term "women's suffrage" in this article for modern readers.

5. Martha Hughes Cannon, "Woman Suffrage in Utah," February 15, 1898, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary Hearing on House Joint Resolution 68,

Women in Utah did play a leading role in the national suffrage movement as they worked to secure their own voting rights and win the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Utah's suffrage story was unique in three ways.

First, Utah women gained the vote much earlier than women in the rest of the United States. They won suffrage *twice* before 1900, first through a territorial law in 1870 and again through Utah's state constitution in 1896. By the time the Nineteenth Amendment extended women's voting rights across the country in 1920, 16 Utah women had won election to the Utah legislature and approximately 120 women had been elected to county offices across the state.[6] Utah women testified to Congress about how suffrage was working in their state.

Utah's suffrage story was also unique because it was entangled in the conflict over the Latter-day Saint practice of polygamy. Polygamy was a contributing factor to Utah's 1870 women's suffrage law, and it was the reason Congress revoked Utah women's voting rights in 1887. The "Mormon Question" shaped Utah women's suffrage work in many ways, and polygamy often complicated their relationships with national suffrage leaders and organizations.

Finally, Utah suffragists benefitted from a unique level of support in their local community. Suffrage leaders in most of the United States faced stiff opposition all the way through 1920, but suffragists in Utah generally enjoyed public support. Both Latter-day Saint religious leaders and the majority of the community supported women's political rights.

Women in Utah were the first in the United States to cast ballots under a law that gave women the same suffrage rights as men. When the U.S. Constitution was ratified in 1787, it allowed states to regulate voting. New Jersey was the only state that did not specify that voters had to be white men, so for twenty years women (and Black men) were allowed to vote if they met the property requirement (since married women could not legally own property, this meant that a very small number of women could vote). But in 1807, the state legislature passed a law restricting

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p. 11, 324.623 C226w 1898, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as CHL).

6. Based on local newspaper reports. See "Utah Women in County Office, 1896–1920," Better Days 2020, https://www.utahwomenshistory.org/explore-the-history/utah-women-in-county-office-1896-1920/, for a list of Utah women elected to county office from 1896 to 1920.

suffrage to white, taxpaying male citizens.[7] Women would not vote in another general election until Utah women did so on August 1, 1870. Although some states began to allow women to vote in limited circumstances such as school board elections, it would take more than a century to open the polls to women across the nation. In 1848, the women's rights movement was born as women and men gathered at Seneca Falls, New York, to determine how to improve women's status. One hundred of the participants signed resolutions, including a call to secure women's right to vote.

Suffrage activism began in earnest after the Civil War, but the movement soon split into rival groups over disagreements about the Fifteenth Amendment. The American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), led by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, supported the amendment's enfranchisement of Black men as a step toward women's voting rights and focused on a state-by-state campaign for women's suffrage. The National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, rejected the amendment because it did not enfranchise women. NWSA eventually focused on campaigning for a constitutional amendment for women's suffrage.

Women's voting rights were first enacted in the West, when Wyoming Territory passed a suffrage law that enfranchised women citizens on December 10, 1869. Utah's territorial legislature followed suit in February 1870, and due to the timing of elections, Utah women were the first in the nation to cast ballots with equal suffrage rights open to *all* citizens of voting age. (Still, discriminatory U.S. citizenship laws excluded Native Americans and other women of color.) Approximately twenty-five women voted in Salt Lake City's municipal election on February 14, 1870, and thousands voted across the territory in a general election held on August 1.[8] Wyoming women first went to the polls on September 6 of that year, but then the progress slowed. No other suffrage victories came for more than twenty years.

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7. Judith Apter Klinghoffer and Lois Elkis, "'The Petticoat Electors': Women's Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776–1807," *Journal of the Early Republic* 12 (Summer 1992): 159–93, https://i2i.org/wp-content/uploads/Petticoat-Electors.pdf.

8. Brigham Young to Heber Young, February 16, 1870, in *Brigham Young's Letters to His Sons,* ed. Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 140; "The Election," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican,* August 2, 1870, 3, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6x93h8x/11520939.

Gaining the Vote

Utah women made history and surprised the nation when they cast ballots in 1870. Several factors converged to lay the groundwork for women's suffrage in Utah Territory. The end of the Civil War and the arrival of the transcontinental railroad connected Utah more closely with the rest of the United States. This brought an influx of new arrivals, shifted political dynamics, and attracted increased attention from federal lawmakers.

Opposition to the Latter-day Saint practice of polygamy also led to Utah's women's suffrage law. As Congress increased efforts to end polygamy, antipolygamists suggested that Latter-day Saint women might free themselves from polygamy if they could vote.[9] Susan B. Anthony and other leading suffragists made this argument and hoped that such an experiment would also create an opening for women's voting rights to gain a foothold in the West.[10] In the spring of 1869, Indiana Representative George Washington Julian proposed a law enfranchising Utah women as "a Bill to Discourage Polygamy in Utah."[11]

Representative Julian's bill died in committee, but deliberations in the nation's capital sparked discussions in Utah. George Q. Cannon, second counselor to Brigham Young and editor of the *Deseret News,* printed several articles in 1869 supporting the idea of women's suffrage. In one, he declared, "The plan of giving our ladies the right of suffrage is, in our opinion, a most excellent one. Utah is giving examples to the world on many points, and if the wish is to try the experiment of giving females the right to vote in the Republic, we know of no place where the experiment can be so safely tried as in this Territory. Our ladies can prove to

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9. "There is one State or Territory . . . ," *New York Times,* December 17, 1867, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1867/12/17/80208399.pdf.

10. "Woman Suffrage: The National Convention," *Evening Star,* January 19, 1870, 4, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1870-01-19/ed-1/seq-4/; Testimony of James K. Hamilton Wilcox before the House Committee on Territories, reported in "Female Suffrage—Ends to Be Gained by It," *Deseret News,* March 24, 1869, 6, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=2605153.

11. "H.R. 64: A Bill to Discourage Polygamy in Utah by Granting the Right of Suffrage to the Women of That Territory," 324.623 H64r 1869, CHL, https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets?id=0e50dddd-6f27-484e-9c28-1eb4dae89888&crate=0&index=0. This was not the first proposed law that would have enfranchised Utah women; Representative Julian had introduced earlier bills in 1867 and 1868 that would have extended voting rights to women citizens in all U.S. territories or just in Utah. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage,* 6 vols. (Rochester, N.Y.: Susan B. Anthony, 1881), 2:325.

the world that . . . women can be enfranchised without running wild or becoming unsexed."[12] Utah's legislative assembly took up the issue in January 1870.

Polygamy was also a precipitating factor for Utahns' support for suffrage. After a new antipolygamy bill was proposed in Congress in late 1869, leading Latter-day Saint women collectively inserted themselves into the national debate. The Cullom Bill aimed to enforce the 1862 Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act by stripping polygamists of U.S. citizenship, voting and office-holding rights, and homestead rights.[13] On January 6, 1870, Sarah M. Kimball chaired a meeting in her Fifteenth Ward Relief Society Hall where leading women organized a response to the Cullom Bill.[14] The meeting minutes were published in the *Deseret News* along with a call for an indignation meeting, a common form of nineteenth-century protest.[15] Omitted from the *Deseret News* version, however, was the fact that the women gathered in the Fifteenth Ward Relief Society Hall had voted to "demand of the Gov[ernor] the right of Franchise" and to send women to represent them in Washington, D.C.[16]

The next week, on January 13, five thousand women packed into Salt Lake City's "Old Tabernacle" to decry the Cullom Bill and defend Latter-day Saint doctrine on plural marriage.[17] As Laurel Thatcher Ulrich notes, the goal of this meeting was publicity; the organizers shrewdly banned

12. "Female Suffrage in Utah," *Deseret News*, March 24, 1869, 6, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6rj5d0q/2605152.

13. "A Bill in Aid of the Execution of the Laws in the Territory of Utah, and for Other Purposes," H.R. 696, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess. [1870], https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets?id=1bcb9ce0-8aab-4b82-9243-0e48732fb54f&crate=0&index=7.

14. "3.12 Minutes of 'Ladies Mass Meeting,' January 6, 1870," in *The First Fifty Years of Relief Society: Key Documents in Latter-day Saint Women's History,* ed. Jill Mulvay Derr and others (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2016), 305–10, https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/the-first-fifty-years-of-relief-society/part-3/3-12?lang=eng; Fifteenth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1868–1968, vol. 1, 1868–1873, pp. 139–42, LR 2848 14, CHL.

15. "Minutes of a Ladies' Mass Meeting," *Deseret News,* January 12, 1870, 8, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/desnews2/id/41795/rec/2.

16. "3.12 Minutes of 'Ladies Mass Meeting,' January 6, 1870," 308.

17. "3.13 Minutes of 'Great Indignation Meeting,' January 13, 1870," in Derr and others, *First Fifty Years,* 311–32, https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/the-first-fifty-years-of-relief-society/part-3/3-13?lang=eng; "Great Indignation Meeting of the Ladies of Salt Lake City, to Protest against the Passage of Cullom's Bill," *Deseret Evening News,* January 14, 1870, 2, and January 15, 1870, 2.

all men except reporters and "showcased their most effective speakers."[18] Latter-day Saint women had both local and national audiences in mind, and the success of the indignation meeting demonstrated that Latter-day Saint women could be powerful political partners for Latter-day Saint men.

Less than a month after this impressive display of organization and political strength, the Utah Territorial Legislature unanimously passed a bill extending voting rights to female citizens. Utah women first went to the polls just two days after the bill became law on February 12. The next week, Eliza R. Snow, Bathsheba W. Smith, and Sarah M. Kimball led a committee to thank federally appointed Acting Governor Stephen A. Mann for signing the bill against his own inclination.[19]

To many observers, it seemed impossible for the Latter-day Saint practice of polygamy to continue to exist in a society where women had voting rights. As one popular magazine opined, "Utah is a land of marvels. She gives us, first, polygamy, which seems to be an outrage against 'woman's rights,' and then offers the nation a 'Female Suffrage Bill,' at the time in full force within her own borders. Was there ever a greater anomaly known in the history of society?"[20] In fact, that seeming paradox was one of the many reasons why women's suffrage became a reality in Utah Territory in 1870.

Voting Women

Utah women's votes drew national attention and scrutiny. Due to Wyoming's sparse population, Utahns were the only substantial population of voting women in the United States for years.[21] Americans watched to

18. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A House Full of Females: Plural Marriage and Women's Rights in Early Mormonism, 1835–1870* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017), xii.

19. "Special Notices," *Deseret News,* March 2, 1870, 1, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/desnews2/id/44657/rec/9; "3.16 Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Meeting, Minutes, February 19, 1870," in Derr and others, *First Fifty Years,* 343–49, https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/the-first-fifty-years-of-relief-society/part-3/3-16?lang=eng.

20. "William H. Hooper, The Utah Delegate and Female Suffrage Advocate," *Phrenological Journal* 51, no. 5 (November 1870): 328, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951d003245406&view=1up&seq=776.

21. Extrapolating from information in the 1870 U.S. census, we can estimate that there were almost 1,500 female citizens of voting age in Wyoming, and over 17,000 female citizens of voting age in Utah. See "Sex and School, Military, and Citizenship Ages," *Compendium of the Ninth Census,* 1870, U.S. Census Bureau.

see what Utah women would do with their votes, and national suffrage leaders soon visited the territory.

Former Latter-day Saints in the dissident "New Movement" were the first to establish connections with these leaders. At the invitation of the Godbes, NWSA leaders Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton stopped in Utah during their travels in the summer of 1871. Staying over a week, they lectured in both the "Old" and "New" Tabernacles, as well as the New Movement's Liberal Institute.[22] Stanton declared, "I would rather be a woman among Mormons with the ballot in my hands than among Gentiles without the ballot. If there is hereafter any slavery among the women of Utah it is their own fault, for they hold the power within their own hands to rid themselves of it. Their first thought should be how to use the ballot for their own good."[23]

It soon became clear that Latter-day Saint women's votes were not ending polygamy. Antipolygamists changed their minds about the value of Utah women's suffrage and sought to repeal their voting rights in order to decrease the political power of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Utah and undercut polygamy. The Liberal Party filed several unsuccessful lawsuits to invalidate Utah's woman suffrage law, and starting in 1873, federal lawmakers began including measures to revoke Utah women's voting rights in their proposed antipolygamy legislation.

In the face of these threats, Latter-day Saint women in Utah sought to defend their religious practice and political rights on a national stage. They drew on the network and organizational skills they gained through the Relief Society to generate a grassroots system of protest, holding indignation meetings, printing pamphlets, and petitioning Congress to preserve their voting rights.[24] As they spoke and wrote for a national audience, Latter-day Saint women argued that as citizens they were entitled to government protection of their religious and political rights. They also countered the charges that they voted only as their husbands directed, such as in this 1878 petition against a bill that would have disenfranchised them: "We have exercised the ballot with our own free

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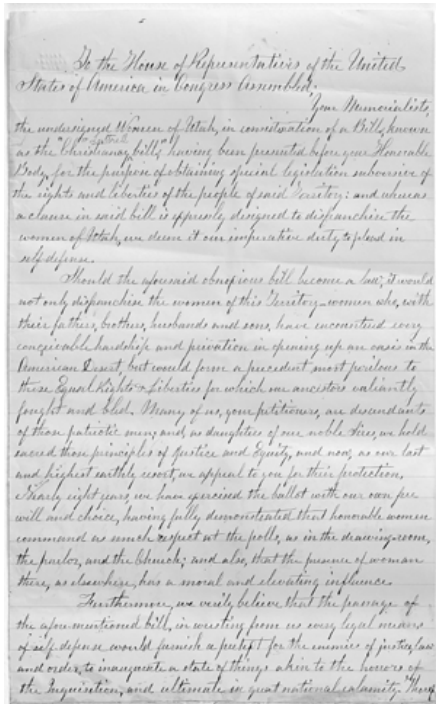
22. Susan B. Anthony diary, June 28–July 7, 1871, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/mss11049.mss11049-001_00683_00886/?sp=102&r=-0.032,0.063,0.663,0.403,0.

23. "Woman Suffrage," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 1, 1871, 3, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s62n6927/12867488.

24. Lola Van Wagenen, "In Their Own Behalf: The Politicization of Mormon Women and the 1870 Franchise," *Dialogue* 24, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 31–43.

will and choice, having fully demonstrated that honorable women command as much respect at the polls, as in the drawing-room, the parlor, and the Church."[25]

Latter-day Saint women also represented their views through the *Woman's Exponent* newspaper founded in 1872. In the first issue, editor Lula Greene Richards declared, "The women of Utah to-day occupy a position which attracts the attention of intelligent thinking men and women everywhere. . . . Who are so well able to speak for the women of Utah as the women of Utah themselves? 'It is better to represent ourselves than to be misrepresented by others!'"[26] The *Exponent* was an important platform for Latter-day Saint women to tell their own story. It also shared Relief Society news, encouraged women to vote, reprinted articles from suffrage newspapers, and reported advances for women's educational and professional opportunities throughout the world.



First page of "Memorial of Utah Women against the Christiancy-Luttrell Bills Which Would Disenfranchise Them," March 4, 1878. National Archives.

Still, Latter-day Saint women occupied an uneasy place within the fractured suffrage movement because of polygamy. Only the radical NWSA headed by Susan B. Anthony was willing to work with Mormon polygamists. The rival AWSA led by Lucy Stone was concerned that an association with polygamous women would damage public opinion, and AWSA members often criticized Susan B. Anthony and other

25. "Memorial of Utah Women against the Christiancy-Luttrell Bills Which Would Disenfranchise Them," March 4, 1878, DocsTeach, National Archives, https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/utah-women-disenfranchisement.

26. "Woman's Exponent: A Utah Ladies' Journal," *Woman's Exponent* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1872): 8, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/912/rec/3.

NWSA leaders for "any appearance of affiliation" with women defending polygamy.[27] NWSA leaders Belva Lockwood and Sarah Spencer became the most outspoken champions of Utah women's voting rights, but NWSA was careful to clarify that it did not support polygamy.[28]

When Emmeline B. Wells became the editor of the *Woman's Exponent* in 1877, she forged connections with NWSA leaders by organizing a signature drive in support of the NWSA's petition campaign for a federal suffrage amendment. Utah sent just under seven thousand signatures, the most of any state or territory.[29] This success created goodwill between Latter-day Saints and NWSA leaders and resulted in an invitation from Sara Andrews Spencer for Utah suffragists to attend the 1879 NWSA convention in Washington, D.C.[30]

Spencer's invitation came just as one of the greatest threats to Utah women's plural marriages and voting rights was developing. The Ladies' Anti-Polygamy Society of Utah was organized in November 1878 and quickly sent petition forms to every minister in the United States so their congregants could urge Congress to pass stricter antipolygamy legislation. More than 250,000 women signed these petitions, which flooded into Congress from every corner of the country.[31]

The Anti-Polygamy Society did not initially seek to repeal Utah women's voting rights. Within a few years, however, Society vice

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27. Amanda E. Dickinson, "Polygamy Degrades Womanhood," *Woman's Journal* 10, no. 13 (March 29, 1879): 97, https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:48874698$103i.

28. "Seeking Freedom," *The National Republican* (Washington, D.C.), March 6, 1884, 2, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86053573/1884-03-06/ed-1/seq-2/; "Mormon Ladies Calling at the White House," *Woman's Exponent* 7, no. 20 (1879): 212, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/6366/rec/166.

29. Carol Cornwall Madsen, *An Advocate for Women: The Public Life of Emmeline B. Wells, 1870–1920* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2006), 154–56.

30. Madsen, *Advocate for Women,* 154.

31. Kathryn L. MacKay, "Women in Politics," in *Women in Utah History: Paradigm or Paradox?,* ed. Patricia Lyn Scott and Linda Thatcher (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005), 373. See Enforcement of the Anti-Polygamy Law of 1862, Dec. 5, 1878–Mar. 1, 1879, Committee on the Judiciary, Petitions and Memorials (HR 45A-H11.4), 45th Congress, Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Enforcement of Anti-Polygamy Law of 1862, Jan. 9–Feb. 22, 1879 (SEN45A-H10.1), Committee on the Judiciary, Petitions and Memorials, 45th Congress, Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Petitions on the subject continued to be referred to the House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary when the 46th Congress began on March 4, 1879. See Various Subjects, Mar. 4, 1879 to Dec. 14, 1880 (HR 46A-H12.3), Committee on the Judiciary, Petitions, and Memorials, 46th Congress, Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

president Jennie Froiseth, herself a Utahn and NWSA officer, became a vocal proponent of repealing women's suffrage in the territory.[32] In the pages of the *Anti-Polygamy Standard,* which she published from 1880 to 1883, Froiseth argued that "the only effect that the franchise has had in this Territory, has been to increase the spread of polygamy and the consequent degradation of woman, to make them, if possible, greater slaves than before."[33] Froiseth and the Anti-Polygamy Society began to lobby Congress to repeal Utah women's suffrage as a means of ending polygamy.

In response to the Anti-Polygamy Society's founding, Latter-day Saint women held an indignation meeting, printed and circulated a memorial and resolutions, and sent Emmeline B. Wells and Zina Young Williams to Washington, D.C. Wells and Williams spoke at the NWSA convention (where they were honored as voting women), delivered petitions to congressmen, and appealed directly to President Rutherford B. Hayes and First Lady Lucy Hayes. As antipolygamy pressure mounted in the coming years, Latter-day Saint women continued to call indignation meetings, send petitions protesting their proposed disenfranchisement, and speak at NWSA conventions against their disenfranchisement. NWSA leaders raised lonely but welcome voices of protest on Latter-day Saint women's behalf, but the tide was eventually too great. Congress passed the Edmunds Act that disenfranchised polygamous men and women in 1882, and then the Edmunds-Tucker Act in March 1887. Among other measures, this law disenfranchised *all* Utah women, regardless of religion or marital status. This was the only instance in U.S. history in which Congress stripped women of their voting rights.

Building Bridges—Working to Regain the Vote

Having voted for seventeen years, many Utah women were outraged at their disenfranchisement and eager to regain voting rights. Latter-day Saint suffragists hoped to regain the vote with Utah's eventual statehood. But the issue of polygamy continued to divide suffragists both locally

32. Froiseth attended the NWSA annual convention in Washington, D.C., in 1884 and held the position of vice president for Utah from at least 1884 until 1888. See *National Woman Suffrage Association: Report of the Sixteenth Annual Washington Convention* (Rochester, N.Y.: C. Mann Press, 1884), 141, https://books.google.com/books?id=Zn4EAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=Utah&f=false.

33. "Polygamy and Woman Suffrage," *Anti-Polygamy Standard,* June 1880, 20, https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets?id=eb489548-1f12-4b40-98b3-05c35d2246a0&crate=0&index=3.

and nationally. Emily S. Richards and Isabelle Cameron Brown attended the NWSA executive session in the spring of 1888 and received authorization to form a territorial suffrage association in Utah, but fellow Utah NWSA officer Jennie Froiseth joined AWSA to protest NWSA's formal inclusion of polygamous suffragists. Froiseth refused to help Brown and Richards organize a NWSA chapter in Utah as long as polygamy still existed. However, Charlotte Godbe Kirby, who had spoken against polygamy, assisted in organizing the chapter and held a leadership role.

Emily S. Richards led the formation of the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah (UWSA) in the Salt Lake Assembly Hall in January 1889. The UWSA leadership was exclusively monogamous at first, with Margaret N. Caine as president. Just one week later, Emily Richards reported to the NWSA convention in Washington, D.C., that the UWSA already had 200 dues-paying members and had gathered over 8,000 signatures in support of suffrage.[34]

Two events in 1890 smoothed the way for Latter-day Saint suffragists to cooperate more fully with other suffragists. In January, the rival NWSA and AWSA organizations merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). With Elizabeth Cady Stanton as president, the NAWSA overcame internal disagreements about working with polygamous women and accepted the UWSA as a member organization. And in October 1890, Wilford Woodruff's Manifesto officially discontinued the practice of plural marriage, which helped pave the way for Utah statehood. Increasingly, a younger generation of monogamous Latter-day Saint women stepped forward to represent the Church and work for suffrage on the national stage.

The Woman Suffrage Association of Utah spread through the network and organization of the Relief Society. As Emily Richards, Mary Ann Freeze, Emmeline B. Wells, and other leaders organized chapters across the territory, Relief Society women formed the backbone of UWSA membership, especially in rural areas. In some places, suffrage activity mapped almost directly onto the Relief Society organization. For example, the secretary of the Glenwood Woman Suffrage Association (WSA) in Sevier County continued noting records of Relief Society meetings and mothers' classes in her minute book once Utah women regained the right to vote.[35] The women elected to UWSA offices were

34. "Utah's Lady Delegate," *Woman's Exponent* 17, no. 18 (February 15, 1889): 138, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/25028/rec/404.

35. Woman Suffrage Association Minutes, Glenwood Ward, CHL.

generally well known for their leadership in local Relief Society, Primary, and Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association (YLNMIA) organizations.

Although minute books have survived for only a few local associations, those records, reports published in the *Woman's Exponent,* and stories in local newspapers show that many Utah suffragists were tirelessly committed to the cause. Alvira Lucy Cox, president of the Sanpete County WSA, reported to a territorial UWSA convention that "we who have accepted the new gospel of Equal Rights, must labor with untiring zeal for the redemption of the masses."[36] UWSA members took this charge seriously as they encouraged the women and men in their community to support restoring women's voting rights. Cox expressed the hope of many Latter-day Saint suffragists that indifference and opposition to women's equality would "melt away like snow before a summer sun in the dawning light of the twentieth century."[37]

By 1895, the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah had chapters in twenty-one of the twenty-seven counties in the territory. Utah suffragists often gathered monthly in Relief Society halls, although they also met in courthouses, schools, and theaters. While women led the organization, men also participated in local and territory-wide meetings. Meetings opened with prayer and songs from the Utah Woman Suffrage Song Book, which was published in 1891 with suffrage lyrics Utah women had written to familiar tunes and Latter-day Saint hymns. Favorites included "Equal Rights," written by Emily H. Woodmansee to the tune of "Hail Columbia," and "Woman, Arise," written by Louisa Lula Greene Richards to the melody of "Hope of Israel." The chorus of Richards's song proclaimed, "Woman, 'rise, thy penance o'er, Sit thou in the dust no more; Seize the scepter, hold the van,[38] Equal with thy brother, man."[39]

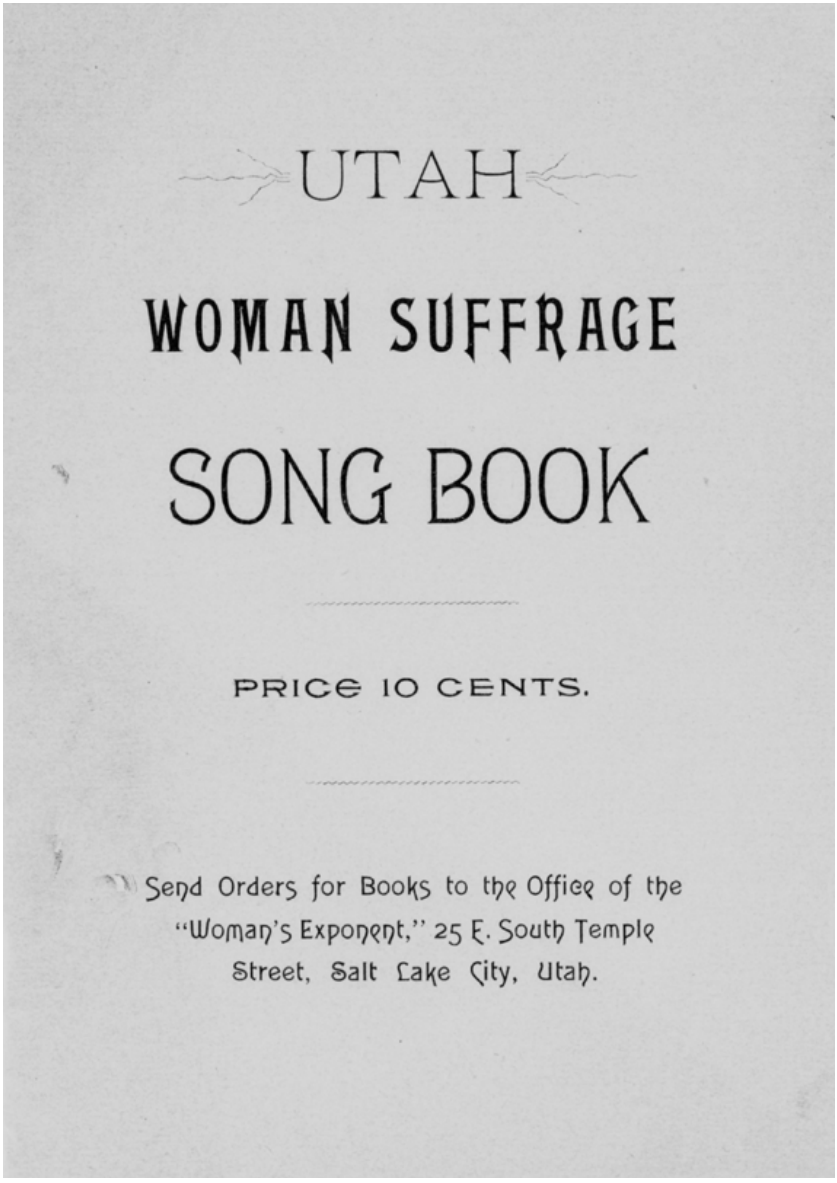
UWSA meetings prepared members to be educated and informed participants in local and national politics. Women both young and old participated, lecturing on suffrage and current political issues, teaching lessons

36. "Equal Suffrage," *Woman's Exponent* 22, no. 7 (October 15, 1893): 50, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/17203/rec/511.

37. "Equal Suffrage," 50.

38. In this case, "van" referred to "vanguard," a group of people leading the way. The song urged Utah women to be explorers at the head of the movement, i.e., the vanguard.

39. "Woman, Arise," *Utah Woman Suffrage Song Book* ([Salt Lake City: Woman's Exponent], 1891), 5, copy at CHL, https://cdm15999.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15999coll24/id/33466.



Utah Woman Suffrage Song Book ([Salt Lake City: Woman's Exponent], 1891).

on civil government, and performing poetic recitations or musical numbers. These were opportunities to publicly declare their belief in women's equality and the good they could do in their communities.

Speakers also responded to anti-suffrage arguments that women were not capable or desirous of voting and that they were already represented politically by the men in their families. At the first meeting of the Morgan County WSA, President Hulda Cordelia Smith remarked that she did not believe a woman "should be subject to laws she had no hand in making, nor ruled over by those not of her choice."[40]

WSA president Elizabeth Coombs argued similarly: "Women should not be taxed without having a voice."[41] Meeting with the Iron County WSA, Paulina Lyman said she "could not remember when she was first converted to woman's rights," but she "thought women could as well go to the polls to vote as to the Post Office, and did not think any homes would be neglected."[42]

Suffragists also worked to build and sustain support for women's political equality in their local communities. In Beaver, WSA members wrote a column in the local newspaper.[43] Sanpete County suffragists held social events to raise money and awareness, including a suffrage dance, a benefit concert for the local library, and a patriotic memorial service for George Washington's birthday.[44] The Sanpete and Beaver County WSAs and others decorated carriages with suffrage banners and marched in local 4th and 24th of July parades.[45] Yellow flowers had been a symbol of suffrage since the 1860s, so suffragists often wore them or used them to decorate meetings and rallies.[46]

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40. "Morgan County W.S.A.," *Woman's Exponent* 18, no. 3 (July 1, 1889): 21, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/37178/rec/413.

41. Woman's Suffrage Association (Farmington, Utah) minutes, 1892–1895, CHL, MS 2621, p. 6, https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets?id=f13dac3d-647f-4c7f-b034-0059a48f73f3&crate=0&index=9.

42. "Woman Suffrage Column," *Woman's Exponent* 24, no. 3 (July 1, 1895): 24, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/32535/rec/541.

43. Beaver County Woman Suffrage Association Papers, MSS SC48, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

44. "Manti," *Manti Home Sentinel,* February 6, 1892, 3, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=5885457; "Nephi," *Manti Home Sentinel,* April 9, 1892, 3, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=5884520; "Local Briefs," *Manti Reporter,* February 10, 1893, 3, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=5882527.

45. "Programme," *Manti Messenger,* June 29, 1894, 4, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=4900763; Beaver County Woman Suffrage Association Papers.

46. "Woman Suffragists," *Provo Daily Enquirer,* September 26, 1892, 4, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6g1740h/1454039; "A Grand Woman Suffrage Rally,"

Utah suffragists felt a connection to suffrage leaders who had joined them in protesting their disenfranchisement by Congress. They stayed connected with the national movement by sending delegates to Utah and national conventions and also through the news and articles the *Woman's Exponent* reprinted from other suffrage papers such as the *National Citizen and Ballot Box* and the *Woman's Journal*. The Beaver County WSA framed photos of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton to hang in the Relief Society hall where they met.[47] American Fork suffragists went one step further with life-size photos of these leaders, also adding "the Susan B. Anthony of Utah, Sarah M. Kimball."[48]

Utah suffragists celebrated suffrage leaders' birthdays. UWSA members sent Elizabeth Cady Stanton a silver-and-onyx ballot box when she turned eighty years old in 1895.[49] For Susan B. Anthony's eightieth birthday in 1900, the Utah Silk Commission sent her a length of black silk, which Anthony had made up into a cherished dress. She wrote to a friend that her enjoyment of the gift was "quadrupled because it was made by women politically equal with men."[50] The dress is still displayed in her bedroom at the Susan B. Anthony House in Rochester, New York. When Anthony died in 1906, she bequeathed a gold ring to Emmeline B. Wells as a symbol of their friendship.[51]

The World's Congress of Representative Women in conjunction with the 1893 Chicago World's Fair provided another opportunity for Utah women to build bridges. As Latter-day Saint and non–Latter-day Saint women worked together to prepare exhibits for the fair, they healed some of the divisions created during the antipolygamy campaign and developed stronger ties with national women's leaders. Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon, who spoke to great acclaim in one of the

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Woman's Exponent 21, no. 4 (August 15, 1892): 4, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/30890/rec/288.

47. Beaver County Woman Suffrage Association Papers.

48. "American Fork W.S.A.," *Woman's Exponent* 20, no. 20 (May 1, 1892): 7, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6qpomxg/23725824.

49. "Elizabeth Cady Stanton," *Woman's Exponent* 24, nos. 11–12 (November 1 and 15, 1895): 4, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6pc7gkk/23726451.

50. Quoted in Kathleen Barry, *Susan B. Anthony: A Biography of a Singular Feminist* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 342.

51. Carol Cornwall Madsen, *Emmeline B. Wells: An Intimate History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2017), 420.

sessions, was described as "one of the brightest exponents of woman's cause in the United States."[52]

In July 1894, Congress passed an Enabling Act essentially inviting Utah to apply for statehood once more. Latter-day Saint suffragists had been preparing for years to ensure that equal suffrage rights for women would be included in Utah's new state constitution. Susan B. Anthony also believed this was the best opportunity to secure women's voting rights. In a letter published in the *Woman's Exponent,* she warned, "Now in the formative period of your constitution is the time to establish justice and equality to all the people. . . . Once ignored in your constitution—you'll be as powerless to secure recognition as are we in the older states."[53] Wyoming and Colorado had become the first two suffrage states in 1890 and 1893, respectively, and Utah women were determined to make Utah the third. UWSA members worked to ensure that both political parties included planks in their platforms supporting suffrage for women and lobbied the 107 delegates elected to the upcoming constitutional convention.[54] Their "careful cultivation of grass-roots, bipartisan support throughout the territory" turned out to be crucial.[55]

Utah's Constitutional Convention

Utah's constitutional convention opened on March 4, 1895, in Salt Lake's newly completed City and County Building. On March 18, almost one hundred women of the Utah Woman Suffrage Association met in the City and County Building to draft a petition for equal suffrage. They filed into the convention hall to listen as delegate Franklin S. Richards submitted their petition to the convention and it was read aloud.[56] In the petition, the women reminded convention delegates of their pledges to support equal suffrage, described the benefits of women's political

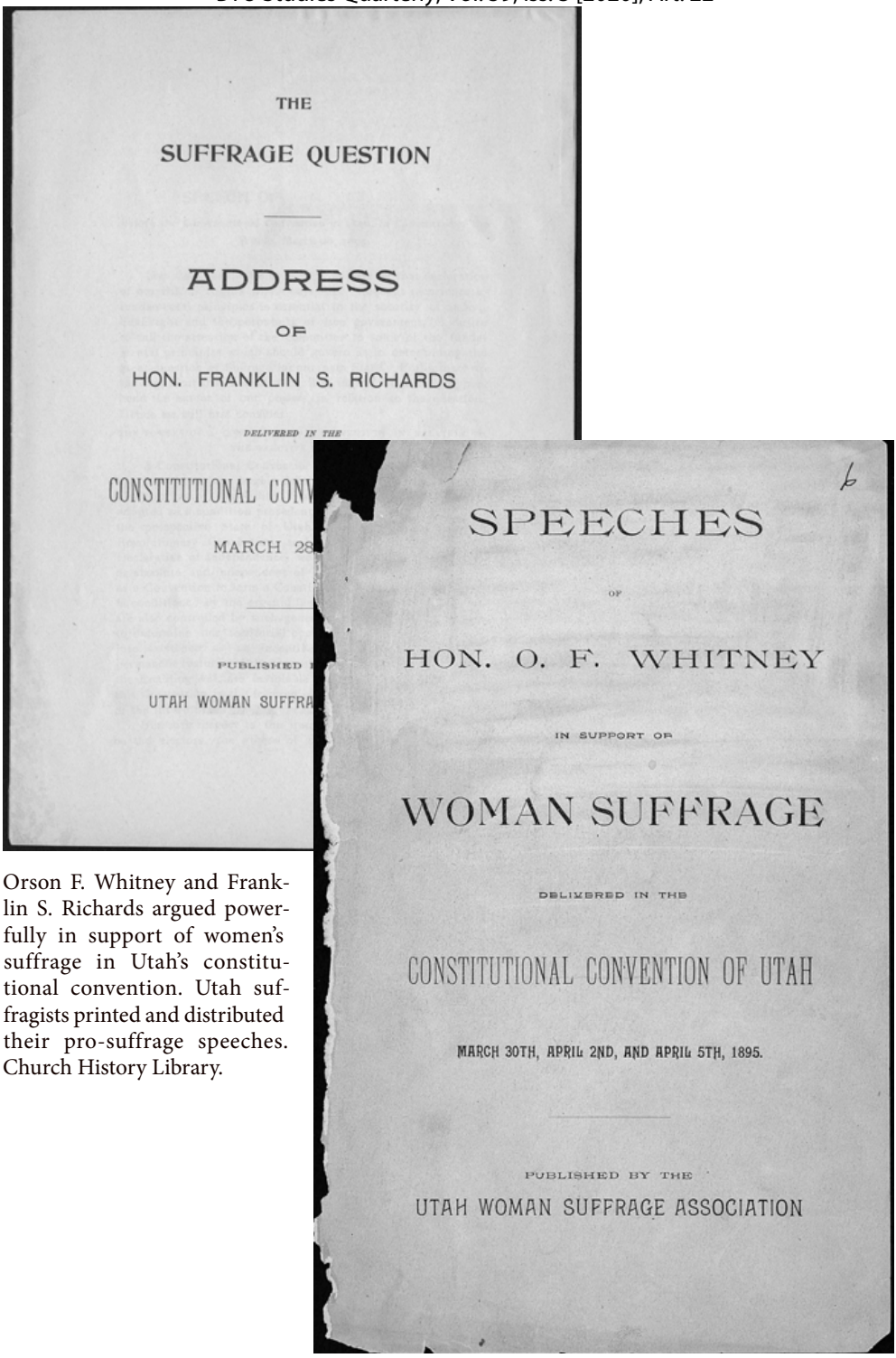
52. "Woman's Great Forum," *The Chicago Record,* May 15, 1893, 1.

53. "Susan B. Anthony's Letter," *Woman's Exponent* 23, nos. 3–4 (August 1 and 15, 1894): 169, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/17702/rec/526.

54. Madsen, *Advocate for Women,* 270–76.

55. Jean Bickmore White, "Woman's Place Is in the Constitution: The Struggle for Equal Rights in Utah in 1895," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (Winter 1974): 368.

56. "Woman Suffragists," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, March 19, 1895, 3, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6jm3hm3/11309680; "Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Assembled to Adopt a Constitution for the State of Utah," Day 15, March 18, 1895, https://le.utah.gov/documents/conconv/15.htm.



THE

SUFFRAGE QUESTION

ADDRESS

OF

HON. FRANKLIN S. RICHARDS

DELIVERED IN THE

CONSTITUTIONAL CONV

MARCH 28

PUBLISHED

UTAH WOMAN SUFFRA

SPEECHES

OF

HON. O. F. WHITNEY

IN SUPPORT OF

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

DELIVERED IN THE

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF UTAH

MARCH 30TH, APRIL 2ND, AND APRIL 5TH, 1895.

PUBLISHED BY THE

UTAH WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Orson F. Whitney and Franklin S. Richards argued powerfully in support of women's suffrage in Utah's constitutional convention. Utah suffragists printed and distributed their pro-suffrage speeches. Church History Library.

participation, and reminded delegates that they were watching: "The women of Utah are by no means indifferent spectators of the drama that is now being enacted."[57]

Despite suffragists' carefully laid groundwork, the question of suffrage became the convention's most hotly debated topic. Beginning on March 28, Davis County delegate Brigham H. Roberts argued against enfranchising women in the state constitution, claiming it might attract opposition and endanger statehood.[58] His speeches over the next few days breathed new life into anti-suffrage arguments and supported calls from some Utahns to submit the issue to voters as a separate question after statehood.

Petitions began circulating across Utah on both sides of the issue, with the UWSA canvassing door-to-door in many places. Orson F. Whitney and Franklin S. Richards were the most outspoken suffrage supporters in the convention. Whitney argued, "It is woman's destiny to have a voice in the affairs of government. She was designed for it. She has a right to it. This great social upheaval, this woman's movement that is making itself heard and felt, means something more than that certain women are ambitious to vote and hold office. I regard it as one of the great levers by which the Almighty is lifting up this fallen world, lifting it nearer to the throne of its Creator."[59] Franklin S. Richards maintained that "if the price of statehood is the disfranchisement of one-half of the people . . . , it is not worth the price demanded."[60]

In the end, pro-suffrage arguments and petitions carried the day. Convention delegates voted to include an equal suffrage clause modeled on Wyoming's. The Utah suffrage clause stated, "The rights of citizens of the state of Utah to vote and hold office shall not be denied on account of sex. Both male and female citizens of this state shall enjoy equally all civil, political and religious rights and privileges."[61] Utah's male electorate overwhelmingly approved the proposed constitution in November's

57. March 18, 1895 constitutional convention proceedings, https://le.utah.gov/documents/conconv/15.htm.

58. The First Presidency was appalled at Roberts doing this and publicly slapped him on the wrist for it, and his constituents tried to recall him.

59. March 30, 1895 constitutional convention proceedings, https://le.utah.gov/documents/conconv/27.htm.

60. March 28, 1895 constitutional convention proceedings, https://le.utah.gov/documents/conconv/25.htm.

61. Utah State Constitution, Article VI, Section 1, https://le.utah.gov/xcode/ArticleIV/Article_IV,_Section_1.html?v=UC_AIV_S1_1800010118000101.

election with 31,305 votes in favor and 7,687 votes opposed.[62] Congress also accepted the constitution, and President Grover Cleveland signed a proclamation making Utah the forty-fifth state on January 4, 1896.

Suffrage State

Utah became the third state with suffrage rights for women citizens when it entered the Union. Suffragists celebrated across Utah, and Susan B. Anthony telegraphed her congratulations: "We all rejoice with you that Utah is a State with her women free and enfranchised citizens."[63] Seven women ran for state office in the 1896 general election, and voter turnout was high. In one of the most closely watched races, seven men and three women (five Democrats and five Republicans) ran for the five open Utah Senate seats representing Salt Lake.

After the Republican-leaning *Salt Lake Tribune* endorsed Angus Cannon, the *Salt Lake Herald* responded on October 31 by endorsing his wife, Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon, on the Democratic ticket as "the better man of the two. Send Mrs. Cannon to the state senate as a Democrat and let Mr. Cannon as a Republican remain at home to manage home industry."[64]

Dr. Cannon won more votes than all the Republicans, including her husband and Emmeline B. Wells, and became the first female state senator in the country.[65] In that 1896 election, Sarah E. Anderson of Weber County and Eurithe LaBarthe of Salt Lake County were elected state representatives, and eleven other women were elected to county offices: Amelia Graehl (Box Elder), Bessie Morehead (Cache), Tryphenia West (Iron), Lottie Farmer (Juab), Mamie Wooley (Kane), Delilah K. Olson (Millard), Mary F. Shelby (Rich), Margaret A. Caine (Salt Lake), Maude Layton (Sevier), Emily Dods (Tooele), and Ellen Jakeman (Utah).[66]

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62. "The Constitution," *Deseret Evening News,* December 4, 1895, 1, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6ko8ops/1856789.

63. Clipping from the papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, cited in Madsen, *Advocate for Women,* 328.

64. *Salt Lake Herald-Republican,* October 31, 1896, 4, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6st8ws1/11353132.

65. "A Legislative Landslide," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican,* November 4, 1896, 10, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6q2568p/11389760.

66. "The Democratic Sweep," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican,* November 10, 1896, 6, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6wt018v/11420862; "Iron County's Vote," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican,* November 14, 1896, 5, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6gx5jk9/11410350; "Card of Thanks," *Round-Up,* November 13, 1896, 1,

These suffrage success stories were possible because of Utah women's organizations and turnout, as well as the decades of political experience they had already gained. But holding office and even casting ballots were not possibilities for all women who lived in Utah, since discriminatory U.S. citizenship laws barred Native American women and Asian immigrants from citizenship (and voting) because of their race. For the fledgling Black community in Utah, the situation was less defined. Black newspapers published in Salt Lake City in the mid-1890s provide some evidence of Black women's political participation through a "Colored Women's Republican Club" in the early years of statehood.

The Club held a meeting in August 1895, at a time when some people hoped Utah women would be allowed to vote on the proposed constitution (the territorial Supreme Court later ruled no). At that meeting, one of the speakers "emphasized the necessity for registering [to vote], and . . . to beware of statements made by certain registrars that colored ladies, as well as working girls, were not enti[t]led to register."[67] Although Black women had the legal right to vote, this indicates that they were facing additional difficulty when attempting to register to vote in 1895. And, of course, the fact alone that there was a "Colored Women's Republican Club" in addition to the "Women's Republican Club" says something about the color line.

But evidence suggests that Black women and men were engaged participants in the first years after statehood. Discussions of the "black vote" used numbers that clearly included female as well as male voters, and articles in *The Broad Ax* show that there were vigorous debates within the Black community about which political party they should support.[68] Some reports show that Black women such as Alice Nesbitt and Elizabeth Taylor, leaders in the "Colored Women's Republican Club," campaigned for Republican Party candidates and worked to turn out voters for their favored candidates.[69] This is consistent with the reportedly high voter turnout for Utah women in general—according to

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https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6r50v5n/9332741; "Official Vote of Tooele County," *Salt Lake Tribune,* November 14, 1896, 3, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6q258s7/12704866.

67. "Rally of Colored Women," *Salt Lake Tribune,* August 23, 1895, 3, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6bz7grk/12940305.

68. "Mr. Taylor Ratified," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican,* October 28, 1896, 5, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6bz7d1b/11383422.

69. "Echoes of the Election," *Broad Ax,* November 12, 1898, 1, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6dj688x/377580.

one report, women's turnout was 96 percent in 1900, with men's turnout at 94 percent.[70]

Working for National Suffrage

After regaining their own right to vote, many Latter-day Saint women continued to support the national suffrage movement, first through the NAWSA-affiliated Utah Council of Women, and later also through Alice Paul's Congressional Union and National Woman's Party. Their commitment to the cause, experience with voting, and high level of community support enabled them to play a unique part in the national struggle for suffrage. As the twentieth century progressed, a new generation of Latter-day Saint women rose to leadership in national organizations as the question of women's voting rights gained more urgency.

Although anti-suffragists argued that women did not want the vote and could not exercise it rationally, Utah women proved otherwise. Women's voter turnout was high, and politically active women influenced Utah families and communities for good. In February 1898, Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon, then serving as a state senator, testified to the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Committee that Utah women's involvement in politics had not degraded their morality or caused them to neglect family duties. Instead, she argued, circumstances in Utah were "a complete vindication of the efforts of equal suffragists. . . . None of the unpleasant results which were predicted have occurred."[71]

In 1899, NAWSA leader Carrie Chapman Catt visited Utah and organized the Utah Council of Women (UCW) to succeed the UWSA. With Emily S. Richards as president, the UCW brought women from different faiths and political parties together to work for the enfranchisement of women across the country.[72] UCW members held national leadership positions in NAWSA, attended and spoke at national and international women's rights conventions, and supported national campaigns for women's suffrage. For example, in 1909, the UCW collected nearly

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70. Emmeline B. Wells, "The History of Woman Suffrage in Utah, 1870–1900," reprinted in *Battle for the Ballot: Essays on Woman Suffrage in Utah, 1870–1896,* ed. Carol Cornwall Madsen (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997), 47.

71. Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage,* 4 vols. (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1902), 4:319, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/29870/29870-h/29870-h.htm. Still, it would be twenty years before a House Committee would recommend the passage of a constitutional amendment for women's suffrage.

72. Madsen, *Advocate for Women,* 352; "Noted Woman Suffragist," *Salt Lake Tribune,* October 30, 1899, 8, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6v70v75/12854500.

Utah and national suffrage leaders meet with Senator Reed Smoot in front of the Hotel Utah, August 19, 1915. *Left to right:* Marie Mahon of New York, Hannah S. Lapish, Emmeline B. Wells, Senator Reed Smoot, Lily Clayton Wolstenholme, Elizabeth Hayward, Margaret Zane Cherdron, Lucy A. Clark, Mrs. J. H. Saxson, Mrs. A. D. Paine, Leila Tuckett Freeze, Ruth M. Fox, Mrs. Charles Livingston, Mrs. L. R. Tanner, and Mrs. M. B. Lawrence. Courtesy National Woman's Party at Belmont-Paul Women's Equality National Monument.

40,000 signatures on a NAWSA petition for a federal suffrage amendment, one-tenth of the signatures gathered nationwide and three times Utah's assigned quota.[73]

As the twentieth century progressed, disagreements split the national suffrage movement yet again. After organizing the NAWSA parade in Washington, D.C., in 1913, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns broke away to pursue more direct agitation for the vote. They formed the Congressional Union for Woman's Suffrage, which became the National Woman's Party (NWP) in 1916. Utah suffragists continued to support NAWSA, but many influential women were also very active in the NWP, including Annie Wells Cannon, Margaret Zane Cherdron, and Lily Clayton Wolstenholme.

NWP members hosted monthly meetings in their Utah headquarters on Salt Lake City's Main Street, attended national conventions, staged rallies and parades, and lobbied their elected officials to support the proposed

73. "Council of Women Has Busy Meeting," *Salt Lake Tribune,* September 2, 1909, 12, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6nk4r4p/14005675.

"Susan B. Anthony Amendment" in Congress.[74] Utah's congressional delegation were strong suffrage supporters, and Senator George Sutherland welcomed NWP envoys when they delivered petitions on the steps of the U.S. Capitol in December 1915.[75] Sutherland introduced the amendment into the Senate, but it failed to pass yet again.[76]

Frustrated by the lack of progress, Alice Paul and the NWP decided to stage the first-ever protest in front of the White House. Beginning in January 1917, women stood at the gates six days a week holding signs urging President Woodrow Wilson to support a suffrage amendment. Most Utah suffragists thought the actions of these "Silent Sentinels" were too radical. When Utahns Minnie P. Quay and Lovern Robertson joined the picketing in November 1917, the Utah Woman's Democratic Club condemned Quay and terminated her club membership.[77] Quay and Robertson were arrested and imprisoned in the Occoquan Workhouse in northern Virginia during the now-infamous "Night of Terror," when guards used violence toward jailed suffragists.[78] Reports of the women's mistreatment ignited public sympathy for their cause and helped induce President Wilson to declare his support for a suffrage amendment.

After decades of debate, Congress finally passed the Nineteenth Amendment in June 1919. That fall, Utah's four female legislators played key roles during a special legislative session to ratify it. State Senator Elizabeth Hayward introduced the joint resolution for ratification, Representative Anna T. Piercey chaired the session in the House, and Representatives Dr. Grace Stratton Airey and Delora W. Blakely gave speeches on the floor.[79] Utah officially ratified the amendment on October 3, 1919,

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74. The amendment granting women the right to vote was colloquially known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. It was passed by Congress in 1919 as the Nineteenth Amendment and ratified by the states in 1920.

75. "Monster Suffrage Petition Presented," *Evening Star,* December 6, 1915, 1, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1915-12-06/ed-1/seq-1/.

76. "Senator Sutherland Presents Suffrage Amendment," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican,* December 8, 1915, 1, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6w99k8q/23477267; "President Promises Women He'll Talk Over Suffrage with the Congress Later," *Washington Herald,* December 7, 1915, 1, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045433/1915-12-07/ed-1/seq-1/.

77. "Says Mrs. Quay Is Not a Democrat," *Salt Lake Tribune,* October 31, 1917, 8, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6db8v59/14740757. Lovern Robertson was not mentioned, probably because she was not a member of the Woman's Democratic Club.

78. "Affidavit of Mrs. Minnie P. Quay," November 26, 1917, Library of Congress; and "Affidavit of Mrs. C. T. Robertson," November 28, 1917, Library of Congress.

79. "Suffrage Ratified by House, Now Goes to Chief Executive," *Salt Lake Tribune,* October 1, 1919, 18, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6806d41/15101313.

Envoys carrying a suffrage petition from San Francisco to Washington, D.C., gather with Utah supporters on the steps of the Utah State Capitol, October 4, 1915. Courtesy National Woman's Party at Belmont-Paul Women's Equality National Monument.

Utah suffragists gather with gold, white, and purple flags outside the National Woman's Party state headquarters on Main Street in Salt Lake City, 1916. Courtesy National Woman's Party at Belmont-Paul Women's Equality National Monument.

becoming the seventeenth state to do so.[80] Ten months later, Tennessee became the thirty-sixth and final state needed to ratify.

On August 26, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution became law, stating, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."[81] Women could no longer be kept from the ballot box simply due to their gender. Utah women celebrated this important step toward equality in the same year they celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their own first votes.

As previously mentioned, U.S. citizenship laws and state laws still prevented many women in Utah and the United States from voting because of their race or national origin. Native Americans were not considered U.S. citizens in 1920, and Asian immigrants were not allowed to apply for citizenship and gain voting rights at that time. Additionally, legal barriers in many states made it effectively impossible for African Americans to cast ballots.

In the face of these inequalities, many women and men in these marginalized communities continued to work for equal voting rights. Their efforts led to legislation like the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924 and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 that allowed Native Americans and Asian immigrants to gain citizenship and voting rights. Still, many states, including Utah, had laws that prevented people living on reservations from voting. Utah's law was in force until 1957.

The landmark Voting Rights Act passed in 1965 as the result of a decades-long, nationwide civil rights movement. This law prohibited voting regulations such as poll taxes and literacy tests that had been enacted to keep people of color from voting. Like the Nineteenth Amendment and other suffrage victories, the Voting Rights Act passed because of the efforts of millions of ordinary people who persevered in the cause of equal rights for all. The voting rights anniversaries in 2020 offer an opportunity to remember their work and learn from their legacy.

Conclusion

The story of suffrage in Utah shows that the suffrage movement was a long slog with setbacks, divisions, and many twists and turns along the

80. "Governor Signs Suffrage Bill," *Salt Lake Telegram,* October 4, 1919, 2, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s66d71q0/20042731.

81. United States Constitution, Amendment XIX, https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/amendments-11-27#toc-amendment-xix-2.

way. Women's voting rights did not expand evenly to everyone at once, and they did not expand permanently. As the first substantial population of voting women in the United States, Utahns were the first to counter antisuffrage arguments with their own experience. They broke ground and paved the way.

Latter-day Saint women were active and engaged participants in the national suffrage movement. Their efforts laid the groundwork for women's voting rights to spread across the United States as they raised funds, circulated petitions, spoke at national and international conventions, and lobbied lawmakers. Their organization, articulateness, and dedication to the cause drew praise from national women's leaders and gave strength to the movement over three generations.

Suffragists sometimes argued that women should vote because taxation without representation was tyranny. They sometimes argued that women's influence was needed to clean up the dirty world of politics, or that women needed to be able to vote to protect the interests of their children. But at their core, work for suffrage was predicated on a belief that God had created women and men to be equal. Latter-day Saint women believed this, and they worked to open opportunities for women across the country to participate in government and public life. As Alvira Lucy Cox, president of the Sanpete County Woman Suffrage Association, wrote, "We who have accepted the new gospel of Equal Rights, must labor with untiring zeal for the redemption of the masses."[82] And labor they did, on a variety of issues that are still relevant to us today. We can draw inspiration from their dedication and resolve to become more engaged and make a difference in our own communities.

Katherine Kitterman is the historical director for Utah women's history nonprofit Better Days 2020 and the co-author of *Champions of Change: 25 Women Who Made History* and *Thinking Women: A Timeline of Suffrage in Utah.* She is currently a PhD candidate at American University, where her dissertation analyzes the connections between suffragists in Utah and the East.

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82. "Equal Suffrage," *Woman's Exponent* 22, no. 7 (October 15, 1893): 50, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/17203/rec/511.

Psalter for the Eternal Mother[1]

i. Goddess Protecting the Light

O, Lady of Luminous Things, Vessel of Radiance
and Wisdom, Let-There-Be and Bearing Witness—

O, Big Bang and Columbidae, Hymn shivering
the gossamer tapestry radiant beneath the cosmos' skin—

O, Summons to Breathe, Hands prayered around stardust
and cosmic bodies huffing cataclysm and holiness into

nebulae surging like an oracle, like a peep stone streaming
the ancient and always nativity of consciousness—

O, Gnostic Mother: First Word, First Light, First Love—
May we flicker with the brightness of your verbs— May

their bounty grant us appetite to wander and believe
beyond knowing— May the insatiable quanta

of your vibrance spread their fingers through our dreams,
weave the symbols into glossaries of movement and renewal—

1. After *Protecting the Light* (2015) and *The Goddess Speaks* (2014) by J. Kirk Richards.

ii. The Goddess Speaks

Feel the pull of her words deep in your bones,
in your goose flesh rising as her voice climbs
the ancient staircase of your genes, footfalls rapping
with the cosmos' pulse, with the tangled hustle
of stardust humming, throbbing, cracking worlds open
in the crowd come to bask in her open-air sermon on
flesh and breath. Let her sermon gentle the body's
erratic liturgy, its litany of DNA and longing.

Watch her preaching swell into an infinite cathedral.
See how the incense of her verbs tickles the pillars?
How she singes the nave with her exegesis? How
the chancel burns in the open canon of her glory?
See how the flames halo at her touch? How they
tongue her secrets? How they whisper your name?

—Tyler Chadwick

Suffrage leaders Emily Richards, Sarah M. Kimball, and Phoebe Beatie, 1875. Susa Young Gates Collection.

A Harmony of Voices

Negotiating Latter-day Saint Unity on Women's Suffrage

Rebekah Ryan Clark

On a snowy April morning in 1895, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles gathered within the walls of the Salt Lake Temple and unanimously declared themselves committed to women's suffrage.[1] That same day, a large group of Relief Society women gathered nearby in the Salt Lake Assembly Hall and unanimously stood in favor of including women's suffrage in Utah's newly designed state constitution.[2] In that defining moment, such unified support for the most pressing women's rights issue of the day by both the governing body and the official women's organization of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was noteworthy. Anomalous circumstances years earlier had stimulated broad support for women's suffrage among both leaders and lay members of the notoriously patriarchal Church of Jesus Christ. Widespread cooperation between men and women—and the endorsement of the territory's predominant church—made the suffrage experience of Utah women unique within the national suffrage movement. While this support inevitably varied among individuals in both intensity and motivation, the

1. George Q. Cannon, April 4, 1895, *The Journal of George Q. Cannon*, Church Historian's Press, https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/george-q-cannon/1890s/1895/04-1895?lang=eng. The meeting included the following members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles: Franklin D. Richards, Brigham Young Jr., Francis M. Lyman, John Henry Smith, George Teasdale, Heber J. Grant, John W. Taylor, Marriner W. Merrill, Abraham H. Cannon, and Quorum President Lorenzo Snow. The remaining two members, Moses Thatcher and Anthon H. Lund, were not present.

2. E. B. Wells, "Relief Society Conference," *Woman's Exponent* 23, no. 19 (May 1, 1895): 262, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/18190/rec/537.

blending of those distinct voices during Utah's fifty years of suffrage activism reveals an instructive alliance among Latter-day Saints.

In nineteenth-century Utah, a community saturated with religiosity, activism on behalf of women became imbued with a powerful spiritual dimension. Latter-day Saint doctrines of individual agency, female divinity, and eternal progression fostered theological support for the principle of women's equal rights. Practical experiences of pioneering new settlements, raising families alone while husbands served missions, and practicing plural marriage engendered women's independence and interdependence. Wider spheres opened for Utah women than were traditionally available within the "Cult of Domesticity" of the Victorian era, though they did not completely escape its influence.[3] Early Latter-day Saint women developed a deep commitment to women's collective action, a profound understanding of their own authority, and a steadfast devotion to the Church of Jesus Christ. These convictions coalesced into active participation in the suffrage movement in the late nineteenth century. Latter-day Saint women were genuinely dedicated to expanding women's rights and strengthening women's collective influence for good, and they also understood that suffrage advocacy positioned them to defend the Church during a period of intense national attacks. Utah's progressive suffrage laws and politically active women counteracted negative stereotypes and secured useful allies in Washington, D.C., allies who helped advocate on behalf of Utah when political and suffrage rights were being threatened by antipolygamy legislation. Recognizing that shared religious objectives transcended gender divisions, Latter-day Saint women and men cultivated a suffrage partnership founded on a rich history of united dedication to building the Kingdom of God on earth.

At a time when most American religious denominations were divided within themselves on the issue of suffrage, members of the Church of Jesus Christ displayed uniquely widespread support for women's voting rights from the early days of the women's movement. In analyzing this unity, it is critical to recognize that while Latter-day Saint women constituted the vast majority of women in Utah, their suffrage experience did not represent all Utah women. A small but vocal coalition of dissident Saints, along with those who were not members of the Church,

3. See Kathleen Marquis, "Diamond Cut Diamond: Mormon Women and the Cult of Domesticity in the Nineteenth Century," *University of Michigan Papers in Women's Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): 114, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mfs/acp0359.0002.002/122?xc=1&g=mfsg&node=acp0359.0002.002:7.

sought to end polygamy and politically weaken the Church by opposing women's suffrage in Utah.[4] In effect, this division further mobilized Latter-day Saints. Unity on the issue of suffrage became a matter of religious survival. Over time, some women of other faiths joined the Latter-day Saints in advocating for Utah women's voting rights, creating another level of partnership that bridged religious divisions.[5]

The Latter-day Saint suffrage experience also did not encompass the involvement of many women of color, who were marginalized within suffrage dialogues and activism throughout the nation because of discriminatory federal laws and local practices. Most Native Americans and Asian immigrants were federally barred from citizenship and voting rights for several more decades and had to wage their own struggles for voting equality.[6] While Utah's small but significant African American population demonstrated active political involvement by the 1890s, Black women's participation in the suffrage movement remained largely separate from the efforts of Utah's official suffrage associations.[7] This paper focuses on the suffrage activism of Latter-day Saint women and men while recognizing the important and ongoing efforts of other Utah residents to obtain political rights.

Suffrage activism was marked by a striking degree of collaboration among Latter-day Saints, particularly during the nineteenth century. Progress would not have been possible without the active engagement and efforts of outspoken, broad-minded, and steadfastly faithful women and men working together on behalf of women. Although divisions arose, most Latter-day Saint women and men worked in concert to defend the rights of their community while carefully navigating

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4. Even devoted supporters of suffrage in principle, such as Jennie Froiseth, Cornelia Paddock, and Annie Godbe, who had all served in national suffrage leadership roles, vocally opposed women's suffrage in Utah because they felt it sustained the practice of polygamy.

5. Notable non–Latter-day Saint women who became members of the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah despite their antipolygamy sentiment included Lillie Pardee, Margaret Blaine Salisbury, Emma McVicker, Corinne Allen, and Isabelle Cameron Brown.

6. Federal legislation such as the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act, the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 extended voting rights and protections. In 1957, the Utah State Legislature repealed restrictions that had prevented many Native Americans from voting, one of the last states in the nation to do so.

7. "Rally of Colored Women," *Salt Lake Tribune,* August 23, 1895, 3; "Echoes of the Election," *Broad Ax* (Salt Lake City), November 12, 1898, 1; "Western Colored Women," *Deseret Evening News,* June 15, 1904, 2; "Colored Women Form Organization," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 3, 1904, 8.

tensions raised by individual expression and diverging voices. In general, Latter-day Saint suffragists sought to be assertive without being adversarial, progressive without being divisive, confident without being confrontational, and unified without being identical. By working within, rather than against, the existing hierarchical structure of their community, they more effectively accomplished their goals of defending their religious beliefs, regaining suffrage rights with statehood, and supporting the national movement to extend those rights to women throughout the nation. As Susa Young Gates, an ardent suffragist and prominent Latter-day Saint leader in the early twentieth century, summarized, "Harmony of voices makes music. Harmony of human efforts and of actions, brings peace. It is the comparative unity of action in the group which brings civilization and progress into all life."[8] By merging progressive activism with their advocacy for religious beliefs, Latter-day Saint suffragists blended different voices, fostered unity, and achieved a high level of harmony and progress toward women's political equality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Foundations of Enfranchisement

By the time Utah was preparing for statehood, the vast majority of Latter-day Saint men and women had long been vocal advocates of women's political rights. The idea of women's suffrage in Utah was first suggested by the *New York Times* in the late 1860s as a low-risk method to test suffrage and possibly eradicate polygamy.[9] In response, the Church-sponsored *Deseret Evening News* immediately embraced the idea of enfranchising women and expressed confidence that Latter-day Saint women would in fact uphold Church policies, affirming, "The people of Utah are not afraid of the consequences of giving the women of the Territory the right to vote."[10] The paper later declared itself an "earnest advocate for Women's Rights" and asserted, "The plan of giving our ladies the right of suffrage is, in our opinion, a most excellent one."[11]

8. Susa Young Gates, "Women of All Times," 2, Odd Chapters and Fragments, History of Women files, Susa Young Gates Papers, circa 1870–1933, Church History Catalog, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter CHC), https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets?id=86f5a269-40d8-4c13-b195-29085895ee88&crate=0&index=22.

9. "Minor Topics," *New York Times,* December 17, 1867, 4.

10. "The Female Suffrage Question," *Deseret Evening News,* January 9, 1868, 2.

11. George Q. Cannon, "A New Plan" and "Female Suffrage in Utah," *Deseret News,* March 24, 1869, 78, https://contentdm-lib-byu-edu.erl.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/desnews2/id/42088/rec/12.

Such an endorsement had its roots in the deep cooperation and mutual trust that had been fostered among the Saints since the earliest days of the Church. Joseph Smith taught the women that "all must act in concert or nothing can be done."[12] Mary Fielding Smith observed the spiritual unity felt among members in the Kirtland temple in 1837, recalling that "the Brethren as well as the Sisters were all melted down and we wept and praised God together."[13] When the Prophet Joseph Smith "turn[ed] the key to" the women as he organized the Relief Society "according to the ancient Priesthood," he promised that "knowledge and intelligence shall flow down from this time—this is the beginning of better days" for women.[14] Many Latter-day Saints later attributed the start of the women's movement to the formation of the Relief Society, claiming, "The sure foundations of the suffrage cause were deeply and permanently laid on the 17th of March 1842."[15] President George Albert Smith provided an even more expansive view of the "better days" promised by Joseph Smith, testifying in 1945 that "when the Prophet Joseph Smith turned the key for the emancipation of womankind, it was turned for all the world, and from generation to generation the number of women who can enjoy the blessings of religious liberty and civil liberty has been increasing."[16]

In many ways, women in the early Church enjoyed a community where their voices were valued, their spiritual authority was acknowledged, and their contributions were respected. As the Saints moved west, the demands of pioneer life facilitated a more public role for women in Latter-day Saint communities. Historian Lola Van Wagenen has observed, "In these efforts, they learned to move forward carefully

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12. "1.2 Nauvoo Relief Society Minute Book," March 31, 1842, in *The First Fifty Years of Relief Society: Key Documents in Latter-day Saint Women's History,* ed. Jill Mulvay Derr and others (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2016), 43, https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/the-first-fifty-years-of-relief-society/part-1/1-2/1-2-3?lang=eng.

13. Mary Fielding Smith to Mercy Fielding Thompson, July 8, 1837, Mary Fielding Smith Collection, circa 1832–1848, CHC, https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets?id=40452f44-8728-49ad-815c-6b55b0a90fff&crate=0&index=13.

14. "1.2 Nauvoo Relief Society Minute Book," April 28, 1842, in Derr and others, *First Fifty Years,* 59, https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/the-first-fifty-years-of-relief-society/part-1/1-2/1-2-7?lang=eng.

15. Sarah M. Kimball, "Reply to 'A Man's Advice about Woman Suffrage,'" *Woman's Exponent* 20, no. 11 (December 1, 1891): 81, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/16570/rec/467.

16. George Albert Smith, "Address to the Members of the Relief Society," *Relief Society Magazine* 32, no. 12 (December 1945): 717, https://archive.org/stream/reliefsocietymag32reli#page/717/mode/2up.

enough to avoid problems, but forcefully enough to break new ground."[17] Church leaders sanctioned women's public role by emphasizing unity and shared goals. Although women were still circumscribed by Victorian notions of separate spheres, Brigham Young and Eliza R. Snow encouraged Utah women to attend medical school and enter trades and professions, "urging the Sisters forward to be more useful and to take a wider sphere of action."[18] While reorganizing the Relief Society in Utah in 1868, President Eliza R. Snow defined union as "the soul of successful concentrated action" and counseled, "United effort will accomplish incalculably more than can be accomplished by the most effective individual energies."[19] Utah's early endorsement of equal suffrage went beyond political expediency and indicated a trust in the joint partnership of men and women to improve society. In an editorial by George Q. Cannon, the *Deseret News* urged, "With woman to aid in the great cause of reform, what wonderful changes can be effected! Without her aid how slow the progress! Give her responsibility, and she will prove that she is capable of great things; but deprive her of opportunities, make a doll of her, leave her nothing to occupy her mind, . . . and her influence is lost."[20]

In January 1870, as Latter-day Saint women publicly demonstrated this influence by engaging in collective political action on behalf of the Church, they continued to emphasize cooperation and unity. At a women's mass meeting protesting federal antipolygamy legislation, speakers declared that women were "*one* heart, hand and brain, with the brotherhood of Utah," that they were "co-workers in the great mission of universal reform," and that "in the Kingdom of God, woman has no interests separate from those of man."[21] In what was perhaps the easiest

17. Lola Van Wagenen, "In Their Own Behalf: The Politicization of Mormon Women and the 1870 Franchise," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 24, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 34, https://www.dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi/articles/Dialogue_V24N04_33.pdf.

18. "Minutes of a Ladies Mass Meeting," January 6, 1870, Fifteenth Ward Relief Society minutes and records, 1868–1968, vol. 1, 1868–1873, 156, CHC, https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets?id=b0d3ab4a-9810-46cd-99fc-53c482bff1b4&crate=0&index=155.

19. Eliza R. Snow, "Female Relief Society," *Deseret Evening News,* April 18, 1868, 2, https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=Aul-kAQHnToC&dat=18680418&printsec=frontpage&hl=en.

20. George Q. Cannon, "Woman and Her Mission," *Deseret News,* May 26, 1869, 6, https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=Aul-kAQHnToC&dat=18690526&printsec=frontpage&hl=en.

21. Hannah T. King, Harriett Cook Young, and Eliza R. Snow, in "Minutes of 'Great Indignation Meeting,'" January 13, 1870, *The First Fifty Years,* https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/the-first-fifty-years-of-relief-society/part-3/3-13?lang=eng, italics in original.

legislative victory of the suffrage movement, just a few weeks later Utah women became the first female citizens in the nation to vote under an equal suffrage law.[22] The suffrage bill was unanimously passed by the territorial legislature, composed entirely of Latter-day Saint men, and was signed into law on February 12, 1870. Two days later, twenty-five women voted in a Salt Lake City municipal election. A new era of political partnership had begun.

Women in the Church had mostly positive but some mixed reactions to this newly won right, demonstrating the inherent diversity of opinion within women's experiences even in a relatively homogenous group like nineteenth-century Relief Society women. On February 19, a week after Utah's historic suffrage legislation was signed into law, a large group of Latter-day Saint women's leaders met in the Fifteenth Ward Relief Society Hall. Sarah M. Kimball boldly declared that she could now "openly declare herself a womans rights woman," clarifying that "the interests of man and woman cannot be seperated [*sic*]." The meeting minutes record that many of the women similarly "manifested their approval" of women's rights. Wilmirth East announced, "I have never felt that woman had her privileges. I always wanted a voice in the Politics of the Nation, as well as to rear a family." Presendia Kimball alluded to the collective benefit that women's suffrage could provide: "I am glad to see our daughters elevated with man and the time [will] come when our votes will assist our leaders." Acknowledging the need for restraint, Phoebe Woodruff said she was "pleased with the Reform and . . . had looked for this day for years," but she warned that they should "not run headlong and abuse the privilege." Even Margaret T. Smoot cautiously admitted, "I have never had any desire for more rights than I have. I have always considered these things beneath the sphere of woman. But as things progress I feel it is right that we should vote."[23] For the bolder advocates of women's rights, like Kimball, their already progressive beliefs uniquely aligned with their spiritual commitment to defend the Church, providing expanded opportunities for public activism. For initially reluctant women, like Smoot, the sanction they received from male and

22. Wyoming had granted women equal suffrage two months before, making it the first state or territory to grant equal suffrage to female citizens without property or other restrictions. Since Utah held both municipal and general elections in 1870 before Wyoming held its first election, Utah women are considered the first to vote.

23. "Minutes of the 2nd Meeting of the Ladies' Co-operative Retrenchment Society," February 19, 1870, Fifteenth Ward Relief Society minutes and records, 1868–1968, vol. 1, 1868–1873, 153–56, CHC, https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets?id=bod3ab4a-9810-46cd-99fc-53c482bff1b4&crate=0&index=168.

female leaders in the Church likely persuaded them of the acceptability and even necessity of extending their "sphere." Despite variation in their reactions and motivations, these faithful women resolutely and unitedly used their new political voices not only to defend their own rights and beliefs but also to actively support the expansion of equal suffrage throughout the nation.

As Latter-day Saint women entered and engaged in the political arena, their experiences reflected a blend of caution, cooperation, faith, and outspoken advocacy. Eliza R. Snow, the Relief Society General President, supported women's suffrage but cautiously tried to distance Latter-day Saint women's activism from "strong-minded" women engaged in a "war of sexes."[24] Indicating her insular approach, she emphasized, "In the Church and Kingdom of God the interests of men and women are the same; man has no interests separate from that of women, however it may be in the outside world, our interests are all united."[25] Emmeline B. Wells, Utah's most prominent suffragist, sought to create bridges rather than distance between Latter-day Saint women and other national suffragists, vocally advocating for progressive reforms such as equal pay, equal job opportunities, and a national women's suffrage amendment.[26]

Although more progressive than Snow on women's rights issues, Wells and many other Latter-day Saint suffragists remained devoutly faithful and never suggested a full upheaval of the patriarchal social order. Wells empowered women to act as partners with men but warned against the militancy and confrontation that occur "when women seek to essay the role of revolutionists instead of reformers, when they set up one sex as of necessity antagonistic to the other, when they claim for women not liberty but license to set at defiance wholesome social regulations and nature's laws."[27] Sarah M. Kimball, an independent and fearlessly progressive leader, likewise demonstrated deep respect for the

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24. Eliza R. Snow, "Latter Day Saint Ladies of Utah," *Deseret News*, July 26, 1871, 287–88.

25. Eliza R. Snow, "Minutes of the Organization Meeting of the Young Ladies Retrenchment Association of Cedar Ford," *Woman's Exponent* 4, no. 1 (June 1, 1875): 2.

26. Carol Cornwall Madsen, *Emmeline B. Wells: An Intimate History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2017), 156; Carol Cornwall Madsen, *An Advocate for Women: The Public Life of Emmeline B. Wells, 1870–1920* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 2006), 68–69.

27. Emmeline B. Wells, "Woman's Rights and Wrongs," *Woman's Exponent* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1872): 5, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/937/rec/3.

direction and authority of male priesthood leaders as she confidently led the Fifteenth Ward Relief Society and the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah.[28] She later revealed that "as time rolled on we were very careful," demonstrating her awareness of the bounds of propriety.[29] Kimball exemplified boldness, while teaching that "it was necessary the sisters be united in their efforts, but yet the women cannot accomplish much unless they have the hand of encouragement reached out to them by the brethren."[30]

Utah quickly gained nationwide attention for its progressive extension of women's rights, although suffrage remained intertwined with the controversial practice of polygamy for several more decades. The resulting complexities deepened divisions with "Gentile" women and disaffected Latter-day Saints, many of whom ultimately led the anti-polygamy campaign to revoke women's suffrage in Utah despite supporting women's suffrage in general.[31] These tensions in turn solidified unity among Latter-day Saints on the suffrage issue. Using primarily the structural organization of local Relief Societies, suffragists mobilized the majority of Utah women to combat negative perceptions, lobby against escalating antipolygamy legislation, and gather petitions advocating the protection of their suffrage rights. Despite their efforts, the federal Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 disenfranchised *all* Utah women as part of its crushing assault on the political and economic power of the Church of Jesus Christ.[32] In response, Utah suffragists obtained permission from the National Woman Suffrage Association to form their

28. Janelle M. Higbee, "President Mrs. Kimball: A Rhetoric of Words and Works" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1998), 38, https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/4788/.

29. "Conference N.A.W.S.A.," *Woman's Exponent* 24, no. 9 (October 1, 1895): 61, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/32740/rec/546.

30. A. S. Rogers, "Letter to the Editor," *Woman's Exponent* 6, no. 4 (July 15, 1877): 29, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/1559/rec/126.

31. For example, Jennie Froiseth served as a vice president for Utah on the national board of the National Woman Suffrage Association but opposed women's suffrage in Utah, arguing, "Suffrage, as it exists in Utah, is an entirely different matter from what the suffragists in the East are working for." Jennie Froiseth, "Polygamy and Woman Suffrage," *Anti-Polygamy Standard* 1 (June 1880): 20.

32. Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, 48 U.S.C. ch. 10 § 1461 (1887). In addition to repealing suffrage for all Utah women regardless of their religious or marital status, this federal legislation threatened the survival of the Church by imposing devastating punishments, including confiscating Church property, disincorporating the Church, and increasing imprisonment of polygamists.

Portrait of *(seated)* John T. Caine, Margaret Caine, Joseph F. Smith, Emily S. Richards, Franklin Richards, *(standing)* George F. Gibbs, L. John Nuttal, and Charles W. Penrose when in Washington lobbying for Utah statehood, 1888. Courtesy Church History Library.

own branch. Rather than act unilaterally, prominent Relief Society and suffrage leaders such as Emmeline B. Wells, Zina D. H. Young, Emily S. Richards, Bathsheba W. Smith, Sarah M. Kimball, and Jane Richards took the lead in securing ecclesiastical support before finalizing official national affiliation. They proactively proposed a plan to form a territorial suffrage organization to President Wilford Woodruff and other Church leaders, who unanimously approved.

At a large meeting of the newly formed Woman Suffrage Association of Utah at the Assembly Hall in Salt Lake City on April 11, 1889, influential male and female leaders framed this new phase of women's public activism in terms of equality and partnership. Martha P. Hughes (later Cannon), a prominent doctor and Utah suffragist who became the nation's first female state senator just a few years later, gave a "well written address" in which she boldly declared, "All men and women are created free and

equal."[33] Bishop Orson F. Whitney spoke at length, referencing the doctrinal basis for his belief in equality as he explained, "Woman is the other half of man; he is not complete without her. They are brother and sister, offspring of the same heavenly Parentage, and should go hand in hand in every righteous effort, in every worthy cause. . . . The advancement of one means the advancement of the other."[34] George Q. Cannon, First Counselor in the First Presidency, also voiced his practical support of equal voting rights, citing the "good work performed by able women" on behalf of Utah. He noted, "I have never seen any effects in connection with woman suffrage to deplore."[35] Charles W. Penrose advocated for women's right not only to vote but also to hold public office.[36] The speeches exhibited a high level of trust in women's judgment, a commitment to women's causes, and support for women in leadership as well as apprehensions about maintaining harmony. Echoing Eliza R. Snow's earlier warnings against adversarial activism, Penrose cautioned against "berating 'the monster man'" and encouraged cooperation, saying, "Man and woman should be together in all things."[37] Emily S. Richards also sought to allay concerns by assuring the audience that women's suffrage did not "depart from woman's true sphere in life, nor make her usurp man's prerogatives," concluding that "woman's rights are human rights."[38]

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33. Martha P. Hughes, "Woman Suffrage Meeting," *Woman's Exponent* 17, no. 24 (May 15, 1889): 190, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/36820/rec/410.

34. Orson F. Whitney, "Woman Suffrage Meeting," *Woman's Exponent* 17, no. 23 (May 1, 1889): 182, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/37014/rec/409. Whitney had grown up particularly close to Emmeline B. Wells and her daughter Emmie and had even taken over writing some of Emmeline's *Woman's Exponent* editorials while she was lobbying in Washington, D.C. Madsen, *Emmeline B. Wells*, 221.

35. George Q. Cannon, "Woman Suffrage Meeting," *Woman's Exponent* 17, no. 24 (May 15, 1889): 191. George Q. Cannon had previously written to President John Taylor praising the lobbying influence of Emmeline B. Wells and Zina Young Williams during their trip to Washington, D.C., in 1879. George Q. Cannon to John Taylor, February 7, 1879, George Q. Cannon, Letterbook, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, cited in Madsen, *Emmeline B. Wells,* 188.

36. At the request of Emmeline B. Wells, Charles W. Penrose had introduced a bill to the Utah Territorial Legislature in 1880 that would have given Utah women the right to hold public office even sooner. The bill passed the legislature but was vetoed by the federally appointed governor. See Madsen, *Advocate for Women,* 186–87.

37. C. W. Penrose, "Woman Suffrage Meeting," *Woman's Exponent* 17, no. 24 (May 15, 1889): 190–91.

38. Emily S. Richards, "Woman Suffrage Meeting," *Woman's Exponent* 17, no. 23 (May 1, 1889): 184.

As local and county suffrage organizations multiplied throughout the territory in 1889, leaders continued to assuage public fears about women stepping into the political sphere. At the meeting forming the Juab County Woman Suffrage Association, newly elected president Elizabeth Ann Schofield directly addressed these reservations, saying, "Every lady should feel it her duty to make an effort to obtain the Franchise. Many do not understand the true meaning of Woman Suffrage. Some think woman is trying to usurp man's rights. Not so! She only desires to stand side by side with him, and share those privileges he values as inestimable."[39] Upon being elected president of the newly formed Beaver County Woman Suffrage Association, Julia P. M. Farnsworth similarly declared, "I am a friend of humanity, which comprises men and women; they are inseparable." Farnsworth dutifully reiterated the widely held belief that "woman's true sphere is the home," but she qualified this assertion by echoing teachings from Brigham Young and other early leaders that a woman should not be barred from also engaging in public enterprises if "she can do justice to other professions."[40]

Latter-day Saint suffrage leaders also dispelled reservations about women's activism by emphasizing top Church leaders' support for the cause. For example, just five days after being sustained as General President of the Relief Society, Zina D. H. Young helped establish a local suffrage association in the Farmington Ward. Young specifically assured the Farmington Relief Society that the First Presidency approved of suffrage for women, and then the new association president Elizabeth Coombs reminded the gathering, "As an advocate of Woman Suffrage, Brother Joseph F. Smith said . . . that he had no right which he would not like to have his wives and daughters enjoy."[41] Apostle Francis Marion Lyman also spoke at that meeting and forcefully declared his own support of women's equality while expressing dismay at the large percentage of men and women who were "suspicious of womans rights."[42]

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39. Elizabeth Ann Schofield, in "W. S. A. in Juab County," *Woman's Exponent* 18, no. 1 (June 1, 1889): 6, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/37049/rec/411.

40. Julia P. M. Farnsworth, in "Woman Suffrage Association," *Woman's Exponent* 17, no. 19 (March 1, 1889): 150, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/24934/rec/405.

41. Woman's Suffrage Association (Farmington, Utah) minutes, 1892–1895, April 13, 1892, 8, 10, CHC, https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets?id=f13dac3d-647f-4c7f-b034-0059a48f73f3&crate=0&index=7.

42. Woman's Suffrage Association minutes, 11.

Elder Lyman asserted that President Brigham Young "was an advocate of the franchise of woman," and that President Wilford Woodruff and the "brethren generally" advised the sisters to advocate for the cause, concluding, "I desire to say here that it is according to the mind and will of the Lord, as manifested by the First Presidency, that the women take hold of this woman Suffrage movement as they do in the Relief Society, every Latter-Day-Saint woman should join and use her influence for good."[43] These assurances of approval from the Church hierarchy were effective in establishing popular support for suffrage among Latter-day Saints like Clara Stayner, who served as the first vice president of the Woman Suffrage Association of Farmington. Stayner later said that she had been "greatly opposed" to women's suffrage at first but became converted to the idea because "this move has been sanctioned by the authorities of the Church."[44]

As more Latter-day Saint women joined in the cause of suffrage activism during the years leading up to statehood, they fostered more unity than ever before with women outside their faith but also experienced greater divisions within their own suffrage ranks.[45] The 1890s were a complicated transition period as the Church sought to establish commonality with mainstream Americans in preparation for statehood.[46] This acculturation included efforts such as renouncing the controversial practice of polygamy, joining the National Council of Women, and aligning with major national political parties rather than Utah's unique religiously divided political system.[47] Resulting partisan politics, power struggles, and personal ambitions led to fractures in the unity of the

43. Woman's Suffrage Association minutes, 11–12.

44. Woman's Suffrage Association minutes, 17.

45. See Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Decade of Detente: The Mormon-Gentile Female Relationship in Nineteenth-Century Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (Fall 1995), 298–319; Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Schism in the Sisterhood: Mormon Women and Partisan Politics, 1890–1900," in *Battle for the Ballot: Essays on Woman Suffrage in Utah, 1870–1896* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997), 245–72.

46. See Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 4–5; Matthew Bowman, *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith* (New York: Random House, 2012), 163; and Terryl L. Givens, *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), xv.

47. Wilford Woodruff, "Official Declaration 1," October 6, 1890, https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/scriptures/dc-testament/od/1?lang=eng; Rebekah Ryan Clark, "'A More Universal Sisterhood': Latter-day Saints in the National Council of Women, 1888–1987," *Journal of Mormon History* 47 (forthcoming, January 2021); "Utah Politics and Parties," *Deseret Evening News,* March 31, 1891, 4.

suffrage associations, causing what Emmeline B. Wells described as "considerable feeling and some pettiness."[48] Mary Isabella Horne observed, "Politics have divided us more than anything else that ever happened."[49] Reflecting their differences in party loyalty, Dr. Ellen Ferguson led an unsuccessful attempt to oust Wells from the presidency of Utah's suffrage association in 1894. Wells and Emily S. Richards, the president and vice president, respectively, of the territorial association, were rising leaders in opposing political parties but overcame these tensions as they urged suffragists to maintain "the best of feeling . . . between the women of both parties" and to avoid "intense partisanship to hinder their working together for the public good."[50] Differences in strategic approach also threatened the unity of Utah's suffragists. Just prior to the 1895 Constitutional Convention, a handful of militant suffragists tried to convince local members of the more moderate Woman Suffrage Association of Utah to defect and form a separate suffrage "League."[51]

Wells mitigated these challenges and maintained suffragists' loyalty in part by asserting her confidence in the relationships they had built with the leading men supporting the suffrage cause, writing, "I rather trust men than distrust them by far."[52] Women in Utah's local, county, and territorial suffrage associations recognized that garnering the unified support of men as well as women was critical to laying the groundwork for regaining the franchise. The *Women's Exponent* encouraged such cooperation, asserting, "When pure-minded women move earnestly and in unity upon some of these momentous questions at issue, and when noble, lion-hearted men are willing to join harmoniously

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48. Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, June 9, 1891, 14:187, Digital Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter BYU Digital Collections), https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/p15999coll20/id/39958/rec/6. See also Madsen, *Advocate for Women*, 271. "As the national political parties began to take a firm hold in Utah, the divisiveness that Emmeline and others feared began to encroach on the unity of the suffrage association."

49. "Ladies' Semi-Monthly Meeting," *Woman's Exponent* 23, nos. 15–16 (February 1 and 15, 1895): 238, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/18052/rec/534.

50. Cassie Newman, "S.L. Co. W.S.A.," *Woman's Exponent* 24, no. 19 (March 1, 1896): 122, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/32923/rec/554; "Woman's Work and Duty," *Woman's Exponent* 25, no. 9–10 (November 1 and 15, 1896): 69, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/WomansExp/id/18471/rec/567.

51. See Madsen, *Advocate for Women*, 271–73.

52 Emmeline B. Wells to Mary A. White, January 14, 1895, 3, Papers of the Beaver County Woman Suffrage Association, BYU Digital Collections, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/p15999coll24/id/33532.

in these great and high endeavors for the bettering of the condition of those who are powerless to lift themselves, . . . then there will be something permanent accomplished."[53] While serving as the president of the territory-wide Woman Suffrage Association of Utah in 1890, Sarah M. Kimball boldly stated, "Education and agitation are our best weapons of warfare." Rather than direct this hostile imagery at men, however, she solicited their direct cooperation: "Believing that the best results follow the deliberations of men and women, we favor the admission of men as members of the [territorial suffrage] association."[54] As statehood became imminent and suffrage activism accelerated, Latter-day Saint suffragists sought to strengthen their cohesion with male supporters.

Statehood, Suffrage, and the Constitutional Crisis

In 1895, Utah Territory was finally on the brink of achieving its long-sought statehood. The official end of Church-sanctioned plural marriage had paved the way for Congress to pass the 1894 Enabling Act, inviting Utah to apply a seventh time for entrance into the Union. Utah's Constitutional Convention opened at the new Salt Lake City and County Building on March 4 and continued until May 7. Prior to the convention, the women of the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah had assiduously secured pledges of suffrage support from the majority of delegates and both major political parties.[55] This broad cooperation was reinforced by experience; Utah women had previously voted with positive results for seventeen years before their rights were stripped by federal antipolygamy legislation in 1887. Since that time, Utah suffragists had mobilized, lobbied, and kept the suffrage issue alive in Utah. Despite the appearance of unanimity, the issue still emerged as the Constitutional Convention's most hotly debated topic. Several critical meetings held in conjunction with the convention revealed tensions and complexities underlying Utah's widespread support for women's suffrage. They also illustrated the active role that Latter-day Saint women played in securing the inclusion of suffrage rights in Utah's new state constitution.

During this contentious and uncertain period, Latter-day Saint women remained the most consistent and vocal force behind restoring

53. "Fortieth Anniversary of the Woman Suffrage Movement," *Woman's Exponent* 16, no. 18 (February 15, 1888): 140.

54. Sarah M. Kimball, "Greeting," *Woman's Exponent* 18, no. 18 (February 15, 1890): 139.

55. "Woman Suffrage Column: Utah W.S.A.," *Woman's Exponent* 23, no. 15–16 (February 1 and 15, 1895): 233.

women's suffrage rights in Utah. By the time of the Constitutional Convention, the women had organized suffrage associations in at least twenty-one Utah counties and were engaged at all levels of the debate. Since the delegates to the convention were meeting in the main chambers of the City and County Building on March 18, the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah held its own territorial convention just down the hall in the Probate Courtroom. That afternoon, several suffragists hand delivered a petition to the Constitutional Convention on behalf of "the great majority of the women of Utah."[56] The petition was signed by official representatives of the Relief Society and the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association as well as the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah, giving it religious sanction and claiming authority on behalf of the more than 35,000 Utah women in those organizations. This petition reminded delegates of their pledges and gratefully declared that the women were "keenly alive to the importance and far reaching consequences of your labor in our behalf." It echoed the themes of equality, unity, and partnership that Utah suffragists had long fostered, asking the delegates to "open the doors that will usher [women] into free and full emancipation." It also assured that the women sought "no rival sovereignty, no sphere peculiar and apart, no conflicting regime or antagonistic legislation, no hostile policy or divided counsels," but rather "higher and truer harmony, more genuine and enlightened fellowship, more real co-operation, more vital and perpetual union."[57] The *Woman's Exponent* similarly reminded its readers of their collective goals: "It is to help *good* men do *better* work that women wish for the franchise."[58]

When debates erupted at the Constitutional Convention, the proposed suffrage provision became unexpectedly controversial. On March 28, delegate Brigham H. Roberts launched an eloquent attack that temporarily threatened passage.[59] Roberts, one of the few Latter-day Saint leaders who vocally opposed the enfranchisement of women, strategically appealed to a wider base by not only attacking women's suffrage on its merits but also stoking fears that it might jeopardize

56. "Convention and Woman Suffrage," *Woman's Exponent* 23, no. 17 (April 1, 1895): 241; Utah State Archives and Records Service, Statehood Constitutional Convention (1895) Records, Series 3212, March 18, 1895.

57. "Convention and Woman Suffrage," 241–42.

58. "Woman Suffrage," *Woman's Exponent* 23, no. 17 (April 1, 1895): 244.

59. "Roberts Ends the Debate," *Salt Lake Herald—Republican*, April 3, 1895; Utah State Archives and Records Service, Statehood Constitutional Convention (1895) Records, Series 3212, March 28, 1895.

statehood. Several delegates joined Roberts in arguing that the suffrage question should be submitted as a separate vote after statehood was secure, but a large majority of delegates continued to support women's right to vote. Andrew Smith Anderson immediately declared his support for including women's suffrage, asserting that "the principles of justice demand it. It embraces the principles of human rights and liberties and that great fundamental principle that there shall be no taxation without representation."[60]

Orson F. Whitney and Franklin S. Richards, both prominent members of the Convention and the Church, boldly led the defense of women's suffrage based on principle over political expediency. They gave such eloquent arguments that the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah printed and distributed pamphlets containing their speeches. They attested to women's intellectual, organizational, and civic capacity and directly addressed rising fears about the potential impact on statehood. Reminding the other delegates that there were "some things higher and dearer than Statehood," Whitney argued, "I would rather stand by my honor, by my principles, than to have Statehood."[61] Franklin S. Richards similarly proclaimed, "I say that if the price of Statehood is the disfranchisement of one-half of the people, . . . it is not worth the price demanded."[62] Whitney also declared that a woman was not "made merely for a wife, a mother, a cook, and a housekeeper. These callings, however honorable, . . . are not the sum of her capabilities." He further emphasized the spiritual basis for extending women's rights by using arguments that would have resonated with the largely Latter-day Saint audience: "This great social upheaval, this woman's movement . . . means something more than that certain women are ambitious to vote and hold office. I regard it as one of the great levers by which the Almighty is lifting up this fallen world, lifting it nearer to the throne of its Creator."[63]

In response to these debates, the Apostles who met in the Salt Lake Temple on April 4 "unanimously condemned" the stand taken by Roberts, with "some going so far as to say that an enemy could not have betrayed us more or as much."[64] It is telling that these leaders interpreted Roberts's

60. Utah State Archives and Records Service, March 28, 1895.
61. Utah State Archives and Records Service, March 28, 1895.
62. Utah State Archives and Records Service, March 28, 1895.
63. Utah State Archives and Records Service, March 28, 1895.
64. Cannon, *Journal,* April 4, 1895.

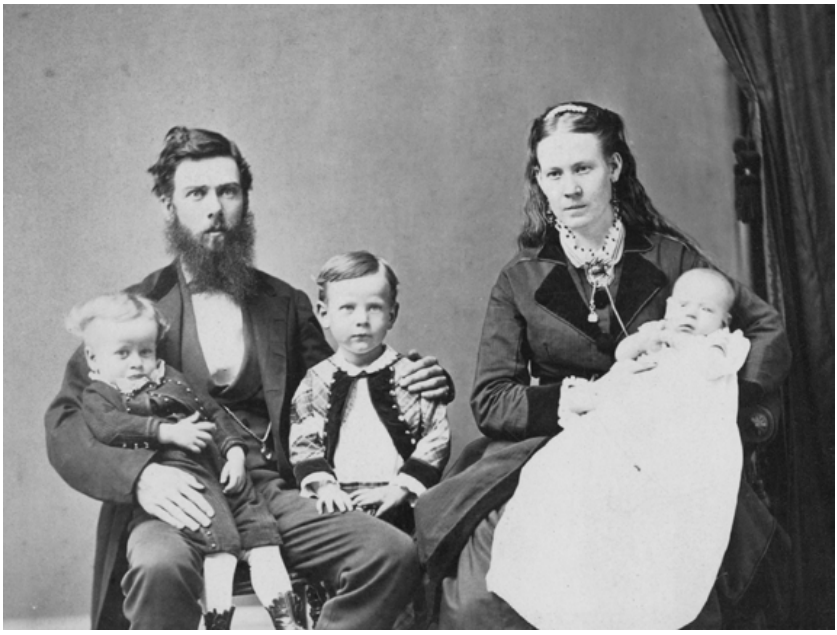
arguments as a personal betrayal. Their disapproval stemmed in part from defensive concerns that the "heated speeches" would stoke latent animosity among the "Gentiles" and in part from their long-established history of ideological and practical support of women's suffrage. First Counselor George Q. Cannon, who joined the meeting later that morning along with the rest of the First Presidency, recorded that "further conversation brought several brethren to their feet, in which they expressed themselves very strongly in favor of woman suffrage, particularly Brother Jos. [Joseph] F. Smith."[65] Cannon disrupted this unity by raising his own concerns about the possible impact of the suffrage provision on Utah's statehood. Cannon himself had publicly supported women's suffrage for years and had personally contributed funds to the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1878, but at this juncture, his support was challenged by the pressing need to secure statehood. Having just returned from Washington, D.C., where he served as Utah's territorial delegate to Congress, he pragmatically persuaded the other leaders to not officially endorse the provision.[66] While support for women's suffrage itself was unanimous among this leading body of Apostles, they stepped back and allowed the process to play out.

Women in the territory were, as their suffrage petition asserted, "by no means indifferent spectators of the drama."[67] That same afternoon, local Relief Society presidencies and members from throughout Utah Territory gathered at the Assembly Hall on Temple Square for the afternoon session of the general Relief Society conference. Emmeline B. Wells, then serving as the General Secretary of the Relief Society as well as the president of the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah, spoke to the conference about the equal suffrage provision pending in the Constitutional Convention. Emily S. Richards then urged the congregation to "uphold the question and be united and stand firm." Richards made a motion for all women who favored equal suffrage in the Utah constitution to stand. Bathsheba W. Smith, who had been the first Relief Society

65. Cannon, *Journal,* April 4, 1895. Joseph F. Smith often spoke powerfully about women's rights, urging that women "not stand in the way of those of their sisters who would be, and of right ought to be *free,*" and that "God never did design that a woman should receive less for the product of her labor . . . than a man should receive for the same labor." Joseph F. Smith, in "Relief Society Conference," *Woman's Exponent* 24, no. 6 (August 15, 1895): 45.

66. Cannon, *Journal,* April 4, 1895; Madsen, *Emmeline B. Wells,* 171 n. 38.

67. "Convention and Woman Suffrage," 242; Utah State Archives and Records Service, March 18, 1895.



Franklin S. and Emily S. Richards and their children, circa 1873. Courtesy Church History Library.

woman to make a motion publicly supporting suffrage twenty-five years earlier, seconded the motion, "and every woman in that large congregation was on her feet immediately."[68]

This Relief Society meeting stood in stark contrast with the one held at Salt Lake City's Grand Opera House the next afternoon, where a large group of women instead advocated for submitting suffrage separately after statehood. Many of these women, such as Jennie Froiseth and Cornelia Paddock, had led the antipolygamy crusade and helped secure the revocation of suffrage in Utah in the 1880s. Froiseth, Paddock, Brigham H. Roberts, and Charlotte Ives Godbe Kirby were among the main speakers at the meeting.[69] Kirby, the first to officially represent Utah at a national suffrage convention, was ironically one of the only Latter-day Saint women to support separate submission.[70] Kirby's marriage to Latter-day Saint dissident William Godbe and her confrontations

68. "Relief Society Conference," *Woman's Exponent* 23, no. 19 (May 1, 1895): 262.
69. "Vox Populi," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 6, 1895, 5.
70. Charlotte Ives Kirby, "A Woman's Answer," *Salt Lake Tribune,* April 4, 1895, 7.

with Emmeline B. Wells made her connection to other Latter-day Saint suffragists tenuous, another example of fractures within Utah's suffrage factions. In the coming weeks, women on both sides of the suffrage question circulated petitions throughout the territory.[71]

The spring of 1895 was arguably the most divided era in Utah's history of support for women's suffrage. The ability to successfully overcome these divisions demonstrates the strength of the bridges that Latter-day Saint suffragists had been building for twenty-five years since first obtaining the vote in 1870. During the Constitutional Convention debates, one delegate credited the Relief Society as the main force that had "worked up sentiment" for the inclusion of suffrage rights.[72] The organization indeed served as a vehicle for suffrage activism, infusing their advocacy with spirituality and providing the structural organization to mobilize and disseminate suffrage information. Comprising the clear majority of Utah women, they also made up the majority of the membership in the territorial and county suffrage associations, with local Relief Society presidents often serving simultaneously as local suffrage association presidents. The tireless efforts of these women, and of the men who supported them, made the ultimate reconciliation of these tensions possible. The suffrage provision was approved by an overwhelming majority at the Constitutional Convention on April 5, and the final vote on April 18 successfully secured the inclusion of women's right to vote and hold office in Utah's new state constitution.

Beyond State Suffrage

After this victory, many Latter-day Saint suffragists remained personally committed to securing a federal suffrage amendment during the first two decades of the twentieth century.[73] They often imbued their public activities with spiritual significance and evangelized equality, blurring religious and political lines by urging, "We who have accepted the new gospel of Equal Rights, must labor with untiring zeal for the redemption of the masses."[74] This conjunction of sacred and civic commitments

71. Utah State Archives and Records Service, April 18, 1895. These petitions resulted in 24,801 signatures for inclusion and 15,366 for separate submission.

72. Utah State Archives and Records Service, April 5, 1895.

73. See Katherine Kitterman and Rebekah Ryan Clark, *Thinking Women: A Timeline of Suffrage in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2019).

74. Alvira Lucy Cox, "Equal Suffrage," *Woman's Exponent* 22, no. 7 (October 15, 1893): 50.

fortified suffrage advocacy and facilitated Latter-day Saint partnerships on behalf of suffrage.

The week after the close of the Constitutional Convention, Susan B. Anthony and Reverend Anna Howard Shaw arrived in Salt Lake City for a regional National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) convention hosted by the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah. They were greeted with much enthusiasm by a large procession of Utah suffragists, and a crowd of more than six thousand attended their speeches that night in the Tabernacle. Despite the recent resurgence of discord among Utah women over the issue of separate submission of the suffrage question, this Rocky Mountain Suffrage Convention included an interdenominational group of suffragists who united in the larger goal of advancing women's rights throughout the nation. Shaw praised the men of the Utah Territorial Legislature: "The work of the world demands the highest and best interests of men and women working side by side together."[75] Mary Isabella Horne, a prominent leader among Latter-day Saint women, similarly voiced her commitment to this universal cause, saying, "I would be glad if we could induce all the men and women to believe in equal suffrage for both sexes. God created us equal. . . . The time is coming when women will stand side by side with man, that they may work together."[76] As Latter-day Saint women continued their suffrage advocacy on a more national platform, they sought to do so "side by side" with the men who had supported them throughout their advocacy in Utah.

Leading suffragists in Utah were not on the margins of their religious society. They often served as prominent leaders within the women's organizations of the Church of Jesus Christ and simultaneously engaged in petitioning, fundraising, lobbying, attending conventions, and serving in leadership positions in national suffrage organizations such as NAWSA, the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, the National Woman's Party, and the National and International Councils of Women. The Church funded several women's trips to national women's rights conferences, and male leaders of the Church repeatedly lent support and encouragement for women's public advocacy. Emily S. Richards, who served as president of the Utah State Council

75. "Conference N.A.W.S.A.," *Woman's Exponent* 24, nos. 7–8 (September 1 and 15, 1895): 55.

76. M. Isabella Horne, "Conference N.A.W.S.A.," *Woman's Exponent* 24, nos. 11–12 (November 1 and 15, 1895): 77.

of Women, appealed to shared spiritual goals when she requested that the First Presidency of the Church donate books for a NAWSA suffrage fundraiser, observing that it would be "a good opportunity to do some missionary work."[77] As Emmeline B. Wells was preparing to go to a National Council of Women conference, Church leaders including President Lorenzo Snow, President Joseph F. Smith, and Elder Heber J. Grant set her apart as if she were going on a mission. They gave her a priesthood blessing that she might have "influence with the women among whom she may associate in this Convention, . . . that they may become our friends and not our enemies, and that the rights and privileges which belong to the women of Thy people . . . may be recognized and acknowledged by the women of the nation and by all the people of the nation."[78] This blessing demonstrated not only Wells's desire to have her public activities consecrated by priesthood authority but also the willingness of the Church to endorse her efforts for the benefit they provided to both the Church and the women of the nation.

Tensions emerged as Latter-day Saints tried to assimilate into early twentieth-century America, and suffragists continued to seek harmony among those of their faith when faced with conflicting or even dissonant voices. One of the most challenging examples occurred in 1899, when Emmeline B. Wells and other Utah delegates risked their membership in the National Council of Women by defending Brigham H. Roberts, once their most vocal suffrage opponent. Sacrificing a "golden opportunity" to demonstrate unity with other American women, they instead defeated a Council resolution denouncing Roberts as a polygamist.[79] When they were forced to choose, their loyalty to the Church of Jesus Christ outweighed their allegiance to other causes. Even after a resurgence of such antipolygamy opposition among women's organizations,

77. Emily S. Richards to Lorenzo Snow, November 17, 1900, 3, Letters, Ric-Ruc, First Presidency (Lorenzo Snow) general correspondence, https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets?id=eed494a2-0878-4481-aefb-50c57b6f6a45&crate=0&index=2. Richards respectfully notes that she did "not presume to make any selection" of the books but instead left that to the "wisdom" and "dictates of the spirit" which God had given the First Presidency.

78. "Blessing Pronounced upon the Head of Emmeline B. Wells," November 9, 1900, Emmeline B. Wells Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

79. Wells, Diary, February 11, 1899, 24:78, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/p15999coll20/id/43730; Carol Cornwall Madsen, "The Power of Combination: Emmeline B. Wells and the National and International Councils of Women," *BYU Studies* 33, no. 4 (1993): 654–55.

the First Presidency continued to support women's suffrage activities while cautiously urging the women to maintain their distinctive identity. They reminded Relief Society leaders that their religious identity was "paramount in importance" compared to other associations and advised them to lead rather than follow the examples of other women's organizations, writing, "You are the head and not the tail."[80]

Diverging approaches to women's activism also arose among Latter-day Saint suffragists as they continued to advocate for a federal suffrage amendment in the twentieth century.[81] Most Utah suffragists supported NAWSA but also initially embraced the rival Congressional Union's more radical demands. Emily S. Richards, now the leader of Utah's largest suffrage organization, ultimately denounced the methods of Alice Paul's National Woman's Party (NWP). Annie Wells Cannon, however, served as Utah's representative on the NWP advisory board while also faithfully and congenially serving on the Relief Society General Board with Richards.[82] Latter-day Saint religious connections ran deeper than political or strategic differences, and suffragists managed to make space for different voices and maintain support for the suffrage cause. When the federal suffrage amendment was finally won, fifty years after Utah women had first begun to vote, Latter-day Saint men and women celebrated and took pride in the role they had played in this historic reform movement. At the October general conference in 1920, just after the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, President Heber J. Grant stood at the pulpit and "expressed his pleasure that the women of America had been granted the franchise."[83]

As Laurel Thatcher Ulrich so famously said, "Well-behaved women seldom make history."[84] Latter-day Saint suffragists undoubtedly made history. Although their controversial marital relationships and women's

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80. Relief Society Minutes, October 3, 1913, and March 17, 1914, quoted in Madsen, "Power of Combination," 668.

81. "Suffragettes are Ready for Convention," *Salt Lake Tribune,* August 19, 1915, 12; "Women of Utah Pledge Support," *Salt Lake Herald—Republican,* August 21, 1915, 12.

82. *The Suffragist* 7, no. 51 (January 11, 1919): 2. Alice Louise Reynolds, another prominent Latter-day Saint, also contributed funds to the National Woman's Party in 1918. *Suffragist,* 11.

83. "Plea for Broader and Deeper Charity," *Washington County News*, October 14, 1920, 2. While the Nineteenth Amendment removed gender restrictions, many marginalized groups in America had to continue the struggle for equal voting rights for several more decades because of restrictive citizenship and voter registration laws.

84. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Well-Behaved Women Seldom Make History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007). Ulrich's observation has taken on many different meanings, but its

rights activism were considered radical from the outside, within their own community they were considered "well-behaved women." In fact, it was arguably *because* they faithfully worked within their social, religious, and cultural structures that they were so effective in building the bridges with Latter-day Saint men that expanded their political influence. They helped men understand that the advancement of God's kingdom depends on the equality of men and women. These suffragists emerge as models of apparent contradictions: decisive, outspoken, and progressive while remaining respectful, faithful, and conservative. Neither adversarial nor passive, they were confident and assertive examples of women's empowerment and religious commitment. As the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah reminded the Constitutional Convention in 1895, "The key and clue to all true progress is the large harmony that the Infinite Spirit is breathing into the rising grandeur of human development."[85] That harmony was the secret to their success.

Rebekah Ryan Clark is a historian for Better Days 2020 and co-author of the book *Thinking Women: A Timeline of Suffrage in Utah*. She holds a law degree from the J. Reuben Clark Law School at Brigham Young University and a history and literature degree from Harvard University, where her honors thesis was on Latter-day Saint women's suffrage activism. She has worked in the women's history division at the Church History Department and as an online instructor for BYU–Idaho. Rebekah currently serves on the board of the Mormon Women's History Initiative Team and lives in Highland, Utah, with her husband, Andrew, and their five young children.

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original intent seems to assert that women working within their community's accepted norms contribute to history in meaningful but often unrecognized ways.

85. "Convention and Woman Suffrage," 241; Utah State Archives and Records Service, March 18, 1895.

The "New Woman" and the *Woman's Exponent*

An Editorial Perspective

Carol Cornwall Madsen

> "*The* Woman's Exponent . . . *will furnish good material for future historians who will, it is ardently hoped, remember the women of Zion when compiling the history of this Western land. There has been no great work during these years commenced by women that has not been considered and helped by this little paper.*"[1]

Economically, politically, socially, and theologically, members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were known for being insular and cohesive at a time when the United States was stretching its boundaries and developing unifying communication and transportation networks across the continent. The concept of Manifest Destiny was imbibed by the young republic, and rugged individualism became a symbol of the adventurous entrepreneurs who saw a bounteous future in the great American West, especially with the addition of Mexican territory in 1848 and the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. The Church was clearly out of sync with the path the nation followed, instead wrapping itself in the encircling "wagons" of distance and cohesion that promised security and sanctuary against the barbs and threats and abuse by those who drove them to the western frontier of the United States and then followed them there. But when polygamy was introduced in 1852 as another "peculiar Mormon practice," the limits of religious, social, and political tolerance were reached. Polygamy was an affront to Victorian sensibilities, irrespective of its religious foundation, and every effort was exerted to stamp

1. "The Fortieth Volume," *Woman's Exponent* 40, no. 1 (July 1, 1911): 4.

it out. Several congressional antipolygamy acts, a U.S. Supreme Court decision declaring polygamy unconstitutional, and nearly thirty years of effort were required, however, to force the Church to capitulate.[2] In 1890, Church President Wilford Woodruff issued a "Manifesto" suspending the practice of plural marriage, and with it went a primary obstacle to statehood, which seven attempts and nearly half a century had failed to achieve. When statehood was granted in 1896, Utah in many respects joined the mainstream of American life.

LDS Women Gain an Advocate

Against this well-known background of Utah history, the *Woman's Exponent* emerged in 1872 to speak for Mormon women, who were often the target of antipolygamy diatribes. Several factors contributed to the birth of this semimonthly journal for LDS women. Prior to the June publication of the *Woman's Exponent*'s first issue, the newly founded *Salt Lake Herald* (whose editor, Edward L. Sloan, had originated the idea of a woman's paper) announced that "the women of Utah are today unquestionably more the subject of comment than those of any other portion of the country, or indeed of the world. As they have long exercised the right to think and act for themselves, so they claim the right to speak for themselves through the potent medium of the types."[3]

A second salient reason was Sloan's confidence that the women of Utah could write and defend themselves against the clamor of disparagement that surrounded them on all sides. In January 1870, at the same time Sloan was laying plans for the *Woman's Exponent,* LDS women met in the old tabernacle in Salt Lake City to protest the particularly punitive antipolygamy Cullom Bill then being debated in Congress. Women conducted the meeting, and fourteen members of the large, exclusively female assemblage spoke on behalf of plural marriage. The rally brought them many accolades for their "logic and rhetoric," not only from local papers but also from New York papers.[4] The Utah legislature, comprised

2. The LDS Church publicly declared its acceptance of plural marriage as doctrine in 1852. The Morrill Act of 1862 declared bigamy a legal offense, and the Edmunds Law of 1882 and the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 followed with increasingly harsh enforcement measures.

3. "Woman's Exponent," *Salt Lake Daily Herald,* April 9, 1872.

4. The *Deseret News* published quotations from the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald,* February 16, 1870, and March 8, 1870. The Cullom Bill, against which they rallied, was ultimately defeated. See "Female Suffrage in Utah," *Deseret News,*

Woman's Exponent.

Vol. I. SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, JUNE 1, 1872. No. 1.

NEWS AND VIEWS.

Women are now admitted to fifty American colleges.

Rev. De Witt Talmage is pronounced a success as a sensation preacher.

Theodore Tilton says the best brains in northern New York are wearing white hats. They might wear chapeaux of a more objectionable color.

Daniel W. Voorhees in one day destroyed the political record of a life-time, and that was when he became henchman to a judge with an ecclesiastical mission.

An Alabama editor writes "United State," and refuses to write "United States"—a straw to show how Southern sentiment runs. What a state he must be in?

The season of scattering intellectual filth has set in over the country. It occurs quadrennially in the United States, commencing a few months before the Presidential election.

Dr. Newman failed to become a Bishop at the Methodist General Conference, and Dr. Newman mourns this second great defeat. He has remembrances of Salt Lake in connection with the previous one.

Great outcry is raised against the much marrying of the Latter-day Saints. The tendency of the age is to disregard marriage altogether, but there seems no indication of a desire to have Deseret die out.

The "Alabama" muddle like "confusion worse confounded" becomes worse mixed the more it is stirred. It stretches itself over the path of time, and "like a wounded snake drags its slow length along." The country has become heartily sick of it.

Some Eastern journals head their Utah news with "Deseret." With keen appreciation of the coming and inevitable, they accept the mellifluous name chosen for the region wrested by that industry which "the honey bee" represents, from the barren wilds of nature.

George Francis Train sends us a bundle of Train Ligues. The compliment is appreciated, but the act is like sweetness wasted. We can vote, but not for "the next President of America." Utah has not become Deseret yet, nor can it participate in President making.

The last week of May, 1872, will be memorable in American annals as the first time since the first ordinance of secession was passed in the South, that both houses of Congress had their full list of members. Statesmanship can retain a complete Federal legislature, but the article has grown somewhat scarce.

To pardon the worst class of criminals on condition that they emigrate to the United States, is growing in favor with European monarchies. Germany and Greece so far have done the largest business in this line, the latest batch of villains thus disposed of being the Marathon murderers from Greece. Orders have been forwarded by President Grant to New Orleans, to which port it is understood they have been sent, to prevent their landing. They should be captured, ironed, returned to Athens with Uncle Samuel's compliments, and a bill for direct and "consequential" damages presented.

News comes from France that trailing dresses for street wear are going out of fashion. So many absurd and ridiculous fashions come from Paris that the wonder is thinking American women do not, with honest republican spirit, reject them entirely. This latter one, however, is so sensible that its immediate adoption will be an evidence of good sense wisely directed.

The anti-Mormon bill of Judge Bingham seems to have fared no better in the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives than the one to which Mr. Voorhees stood sponsor. It is gratifying to think that a majority of that committee yet respect the antiquated and once revered instrument still occasionally referred to as the Constitution.

Rev. James Freeman Clark claims "that if it is an advantage to vote, women ought to have it; if a disadvantage men ought not to be obliged to bear it alone." Speaking from experience we feel safe in affirming that the Rev. gentleman is right, and we hope for a time when this immunity may be universally enjoyed by our pure-minded and light-loving sisters. We don't presume that those belonging to the opposite class care anything about it.

Mrs. Carrie F. Young, editor of the "Pacific Journal of Health," has been lecturing in Idaho on Temperance and Woman Suffrage. The editor of the "Idaho World" was not present, but did not regret his absence. He says, "We feel a most decided repugnance to the exhibition of a woman upon the rostrum, advocating such degrading theories as 'woman suffrage' and other cognate subjects." He omits to state whether "Temperance" is one of the "degrading theories" to which he refers.

Force is ever the argument of a bad cause. The principles which cannot be overcome except by the exercise of physical power, present a front that arrests the attention of thinking minds. Where argument fails and force is employed to overcome an opponent, the power of the principles to which opposition is made is admitted. Will those who urge repressive legislation against the people of Utah think of it? Witness the Voorhees bill as an illustration.

A notable event, as a result of the late terrible Franco-German war, is the opening of the German University in Strasbourg, which takes place June 1st—to-day. That famous city on the Rhine, after a siege memorable in the annals of warfare, passed into the hands of the Germans, and now they take the surest means to permanently consolidate their power, by establishing there one of those seats of learning for which Germany has become enviably famous.

Miss Susan B. Anthony, it is said, declared before the Cincinnati Convention met, that if it gave her cause "the cold shoulder," she would go to Philadelphia and pledge the ballots of the women of America to U. S. Grant. As the women of America are yet without ballots, and as it is very questionable, if they had them, whether they would authorize any single individual to pledge them for any candidate, the supposition is fair that Miss Anthony possesses too much good sense to have made any such declaration.

Rev. Mr. Peirce, a Methodist clergyman who has made Salt Lake his headquarters for some time, in lecturing east proposed the extinction of polygamy by the introduction here of vast quantities of expensive millinery goods, and by inducing "Gentile" women to dress in gorgeous style that "Mormon" women might imitate them and run up such heavy dry goods bills that it would be impossible for a man to support more than one wife, if even one. Mr. Peirce, no doubt, preaches modesty and humility occasionally, by way of variety; now he recommends the encouragement of pride, vanity and extravagance to accomplish his "Christian" designs. The course he advises has been largely followed in many places, has tenanted brothels, aided to fill prisons, broken up families, hurled women of reputation and position down to degradation and infamy, and has met heavy denunciations from inspired men whom Mr. Peirce professes to revere. He would steal the livery of evil to serve religion in. There is not much of this reverend gentleman, and what little there is must be either very silly or very wicked.

The editor of "The Present Age" has been to a church and heard an orthodox sermon, in which the preacher took occasion to say that all religious "isms," including Mohammedanism, Mormonism and Spiritualism, rested their claims for being true "upon miracles." The "Age" is a Spiritualist, but denies that his "ism" rests its claim for "a true upon miracles. Latter-day Saints say that Mormonism lends no claim for credence in it on miracles; the reverse is the truth. The "Age" defines a miracle to be "the setting aside for the time being of a natural law to meet an unexpected emergency." Had he said a miracle was the bringing into operation of certain natural laws not generally understood or comprehended, he would have been nearer correct. When somebody can tell how a natural law may be or can be set aside, except by the operation of some other natural law, his definition, which is the generally received one, may be entitled to more consideration. We imagine the working of the overland telegraph is as great a miracle to the Cheyenne Indians as any recorded miracle that the "Age" or the orthodox ministers can quote.

Mrs. Laura De Force Gordon attended the Cincinnati Convention and claimed a seat as a delegate from California. Her claim was treated with hisses and laughter. She took a position in front of the stand and endeavored to speak, but her voice was drowned by a tumultuous discord. Her persistence in seeking to address an assemblage that treated her claim in such a manner was undignified; while the action of the Convention in receiving her with hisses and uproarious laughter, was disgraceful. The Liberal Republicans assembled in Cincinnati for a general work of purification and reform, evidently stood greatly in need of general reform themselves, in the matter of manners as well as in politics. Mrs. Gordon was as much entitled to a seat in that Convention as Carl Schurz himself, for we have yet to learn that the call for it specified that "male" Republicans only were admissible.

A new periodical in London is called "The Ladies."

The first issue of the *Woman's Exponent,* June 1, 1872. Courtesy Church History Library.

of male members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was so convincingly swayed by the words and manners of these women that a month later it decided, with little opposition, to grant them the right to vote. Though women's enfranchisement would add strength to the political dominance of Latter-day Saints in the territory, it also ignited in many of the lawmakers a latent sense of the injustice of denying women the vote.

Utah's enfranchisement of women was certainly one of the factors that convinced Edward Sloan that the women of the Church were capable of maintaining a paper of their own. Though the paper would be managed and written by women, Sloan was putting the paper in the tradition of Church publications from its founding, such as the *Times and Seasons, Millennial Star,* and numerous religious pamphlets designed to tell the Mormon story. The *Woman's Exponent* would be the means of telling the LDS women's story.

Sloan would also be numbered among those men across the country who selected women to become editors of the newspapers or magazines they founded. Two of the most popular early nineteenth-century publications were the *Ladies Magazine* and *Godey's Lady's Book,* both of which were founded by Louis A. Godey and edited by Sarah Josepha Hale. In 1870, when Sloan, a longtime journalist, and his partner, William C. Dunbar, founded and edited the *Salt Lake Herald,* Sloan was interested in running a woman's column in the newspaper. Dunbar rejected the idea, which led Sloan to found a separate paper for women—the *Woman's Exponent*.

As an editor, Sloan was aware of the growing popularity of women's magazines and newspapers. Following the Civil War, many of them were political in nature, seeing the denial of women's vote as parallel to the suppression of voting rights of the newly emancipated slave population.[5] Sloan, however, eschewed the idea of entering the national debate on woman's rights, just as Godey disdained the discussion of slavery in his magazines. As Sarah Hale had declared in 1841, the popular *Godey's Lady's Book* would not deal with politics or theology because, she announced, "other subjects are more important for our sex and more

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February 16, 1870, 18; "The Ladies' Mass Meetings—Their Significance," *Deseret News,* March 8, 1870, 49.

5. The National Woman Suffrage Association lobbied extensively to include women in the Fifteenth Amendment that enfranchised former slaves after their emancipation but without success and thereafter turned its attention to creating a new amendment giving women the vote.

proper for our sphere." Her publication was a strong element in both defining and promoting the then-current home-centered definition of womanhood and "woman's sphere," attracting thousands of devoted followers of its fashion plates and feminine approach. It rejected any signs of changing traditional social practices other than extending more educational opportunities for women and encouraging women to utilize them.[6] But Sloan did believe that his new paper would be a timely move, allowing LDS women to counteract in their own words some of the derogatory descriptions of LDS women appearing in other publications.

The woman's rights movement slowly encroached on the preeminence of the traditional image of womanhood, leading to a number of publications by women fostering a wider public arena for women. At its founding in 1872, the *Woman's Exponent* almost inadvertently joined a large coterie of woman's rights journals and papers. In the first issue, Louisa Greene, its first editor (1872–1877), outlined its editorial dimensions, which were slightly broader than Sarah Hale's mission statements. It was to be a journal of LDS women's thoughts, a forum for their opinions, and a record of their work. She absolved the paper from any need to "advocate woman suffrage" (since Utah women had been voting for two years), "to contend against" wrongs perpetrated by the male half of the community, or to "champion any special claims. . . . We have no rivalry with any, no war to wage, no contest to provoke."[7] Yet, in that same editorial, Greene promised to speak freely on every topic of current interest to both the women of Utah and women the world over. In order to fulfill the latter promise, however, Greene soon found it necessary to advocate the cause of woman suffrage, contend against the discrimination of women in education and employment and especially the denigration of LDS women, and "defend" vigorously the Church's practice of plural marriage. These were all issues of interest to her readers and writers and comprised a third of the journal's editorial content during its forty-two-year history. The early demise of Sloan, the paper's founder, just two years after the *Exponent*'s establishment, left the editors as the final arbiters of the journal's content, and they enthusiastically engaged their paper in the national conversation on woman's rights that marked the later years of the nineteenth century.

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6. Nancy Woloch, "Sarah Hale and the *Ladies Magazine,*" in *Women and the American Experience,* 3d ed. (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2000), 114.

7. "Our Position," *Woman's Exponent* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1872): 4.

Louisa Lula Greene Richards, first editor of the *Woman's Exponent.* Courtesy Church History Library.

After the *Herald*'s announcement of the woman's newspaper, the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune,* a non-LDS newspaper, stated, "What kind of a woman character it will possess we know not, but, seeing that the Church organs make a considerable display of it, we think it may be like Utah female suffrage—another polygamic institution."[8] Surprisingly, upon receiving a copy of the first issue of the *Exponent,* the *Tribune* conceded that "aside from its polygamic leanings we regard it as the greatest stride the Mormons have yet made in literature, being well edited and quite newsy, and we think it will take well amongst the Mormon ladies as it is much more modern in style and contains less of priestly cant than most other Mormon publications."[9] This was an unexpected endorsement of the paper, one particularly aimed at non-Mormon readers.

Editing the *Woman's Exponent*

When the paper was formally launched in June 1872, both its name and editor were in place. Louisa Greene, a young single woman from Smithfield, Utah, would lead the *Woman's Exponent* into becoming a strong advocate for the growing woman's rights movement.[10] Elsewhere, other new publications by women were promoting the "emancipation" of women, focusing on broadened legal and political rights, with varying degrees of success. The *Revolution,* organ of the National Woman

8. *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, April 11, 1872.

9. *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, June 10, 1872.

10. See Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Louisa Lula Greene Richards: 'Remember the Women of Zion,'" in *Sister Saints,* ed. Vicky Burgess-Olson (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 432–53; and Carol Cornwall Madsen, "'Remember the Women of Zion': A Study of the Editorial Content of the *Woman's Exponent,* a Mormon Woman's Journal" (master's thesis, University of Utah, 1977), 50–85.

Suffrage Association and edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, lasted only two years, from 1868 to 1870, but it laid the groundwork for the long struggle ahead. Most enduring was the Boston *Woman's Journal,* a publication of the American Woman Suffrage Association (1870–1919) and a rival to the National Association. *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* (1870–1876) of New York and the *New Northwest* (1871–1887) of Portland were both prominent in their time. These periodicals followed the lead set by the *Lily* (1849–1856), a temperance paper that shifted to woman's rights, and the *Una* (1853–1877), which began as and remained solely a woman's rights paper.[11] In addition to these popular papers, the *Woman's Exponent* occasionally published news from the Chicago *Balance*, the *Homestead* of Oakland, the *Golden Dawn* of San Francisco, the *New Century* (published by the Women's United States Centennial Committee in Philadelphia), the Boston *Watchman,* and especially *Woman's Words.*[12] Indeed, the editors of the *Woman's Exponent* were joining a large sorority of editors of woman's rights papers that reached across the country.

While the *Exponent* enjoyed the Church leaders' advocacy and financial help in meeting printing costs, the paper was produced independently, sustained primarily by its subscriptions.[13] It was never an official organ of the Relief Society, though it became a resource for information on the activities of the various units of the Relief Society, as well as those of the Young Ladies' MIA and Primary Association throughout the territory. It did not try to replicate either a newspaper or a ladies' magazine but developed a unique style appropriate to its own purposes. Issued semimonthly, it had no organized staff or paid employees except for female typesetters and the printers. Its circulation was relatively small (never reaching the goal of 3,000), but its content reflected the opinions of a variety of contributors besides its editors. Its lofty goal was clearly announced in its prospectus:

> The women of Utah to-day occupy a position which attracts the attention of intelligent thinking men and women everywhere. . . . They have been grossly misrepresented through the press, by active enemies who

11. A brief history of the *Lily* is Edward A. Hinck, "The Lily, 1849–1856: From Temperance to Woman's Rights," in *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840–1910,* ed. Martha M. Solomon (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991), 30–47; Mari Boor Tonn surveys the *Una* in "The Una, 1853–1855: The Premier of the Woman's Rights Press," in Solomon, *Voice of Their Own,* 48–70.

12. Madsen, "Remember the Women of Zion," 26.

13. Madsen, "Remember the Women of Zion," 35–37.

> permit no opportunity to pass of maligning and slandering them; and with but limited opportunity of appealing to the intelligence and candor of their fellow countrymen and countrywomen in reply.
>
> Who are so well able to speak for the women of Utah as the women of Utah themselves? "It is better to represent ourselves than to be misrepresented by others."
>
> For these reasons, and that women may help each other by the diffusion of knowledge and information possessed by many and suitable to all, the publication of Woman's Exponent, a journal owned by, controlled by and edited by Utah ladies, has been commenced.[14]

Obtaining sufficient copy for each issue was an unwelcome task. Many of the paper's readers were unresponsive to the issues raised by the paper, either reluctant to see their names in print or indifferent to the crusade for woman's rights that seemed peripheral to their own lives. As a result, besides handling the financial accounts, the editing, the layout, and the mailing of each issue, the editors also carried the burden of writing much of the content themselves. At the outset of the new periodical, Louisa Greene noted that though circulation had rapidly increased in the first few months, literary contributions were not as forthcoming as expected. "There are numbers of ladies throughout the Territory who could write," she noted, "and yet do not, and could clothe in pointed, touching words, ideas that would be of great value to their sisters everywhere."[15] When Emmeline Wells became editor, she complained of the daunting task of acquiring sufficient copy and confided to her diary, "I never supposed when I commenced working on the paper that I would have to do everything for myself. I feel sometimes my burden is too heavy."[16] However, as the *Exponent* was ineluctably drawn into the debate on suffrage, polygamy, and statehood, more copy joined the editors' editorials, and the paper became an influential tool in disseminating information from the active woman's rights movement in the East as well as news of other advancements in women's status elsewhere in the world.

In addition to the editors' own contributions and the pieces submitted by a small band of loyal contributors, the *Exponent* also included

14. "Woman's Exponent, a Utah Ladies' Journal," *Woman's Exponent* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1872): 8.

15. "Our Journal," *Woman's Exponent* 1, no. 10 (October 15, 1872): 76.

16. Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, vol. 4, January 18, 1878, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

reprints from other journals, letters from readers, reports from women-led Latter-day Saint auxiliaries, and the minutes from the bimonthly meetings of the independent Retrenchment Association.[17]

For two dollars per annum, the subscriber could expect twenty-four bimonthly issues. This schedule persisted for seventeen years; then, after 1889, publication became erratic, varying from nine to twenty-two issues per year for one dollar. In those hundreds of pages produced during the paper's long run, much of LDS history is written and preserved, including an editorial focus on Church policies and events, a growing association with the organizations and individual women supporting woman suffrage, and other concerns pertinent to women. It also became a repository of individual women's biographies and autobiographies, as editor Wells sought to fulfill Brigham Young's commission to "write brief sketches of the lives of the leading women of Zion, and publish them" and to "tell the sisters to take the *Exponent* and keep it, for it will contain the record of their work and a portion of church history."[18] Indeed, it is a great repository of LDS women's history. Wells's efforts to meet Young's request resulted in two hundred multicolumn life sketches of LDS women and eight hundred lengthy obituaries.[19] In addition, short stories (mainly by editor Wells), poetry, and commentary on Church events and conferences as well as local events and individuals appeared alongside reprints of articles from other women's papers.[20]

Only 3 percent of the editorials dealt with household affairs. Readers' letters, tributes to friends and leaders, and minute details of the proceedings of national meetings attended by LDS women also filled the pages of the *Exponent.* Group biographies of women in various fields of employment such as journalism, medicine, literature, politics, education, philanthropy, and even farming were included, their stories usually

17. The Senior and Junior Retrenchment Societies were briefly existing organizations designed to encourage the Saints to live more frugally, especially in food, dress, and home decor, and to patronize LDS-owned commercial businesses. They merged into what was informally called the Retrenchment Society, which existed outside any line of ecclesiastical authority or supervision. See Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Retrenchment Association," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* ed. Daniel H. Ludlow and others, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1223–25.

18. Brigham Young, quoted in "The Jubilee Celebration: The Need of Press Representation," *Woman's Exponent* 20, no. 17 (March 15, 1892): 132.

19. This compilation is in possession of author.

20. Madsen, "Remember the Women of Zion."

written by the editors.[21] The *Woman's Exponent* recognized women in the wide variety of lives they lived.

The Relief Society and Woman's Rights

In 1889, another unplanned connection between the Relief Society and the woman's rights movement, promoted by Emmeline Wells and the *Woman's Exponent,* gave LDS women an opportunity to recognize the value of the rights they had already obtained mainly through the Relief Society, organized in March 1842 in Nauvoo, Illinois. The ostensible beginning of the national woman's rights movement was the convention held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. In preparation for that meeting, Elizabeth Cady Stanton had written a Declaration of Sentiments, which enumerated the grievances arising from the suppression of woman's representation, not only in the realm of politics but also in all aspects of civil life, particularly education, religion, employment, and the law. Emmeline Wells, in an editorial written forty-seven years after the organization of the Relief Society, connected that 1842 event with the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention held six years later. "The organization of the Relief Society," she opined, "opened perhaps one of the most important eras in the history of woman. It presented the great woman-question to the Latter-day Saints, previous to the woman's rights organizations, which have created such extensive agitation . . . since. . . . It has given to woman . . . opportunities for expressing her own thoughts, views and opinions; all of which has had a tendency to make her intelligent in regard to matters which before were considered incompatible with 'woman's sphere,' and unintelligible to her 'weaker mind.'"[22]

This ebullient assessment of the benefits of the LDS women's Relief Society bolstered the self-image of many Latter-day Saint women and measurably counteracted the effects of the mordant barbs of their anti-Mormon detractors. Ardent encouragement from Eliza R. Snow and other Relief Society leaders also helped to bolster the confidence of their Relief Society sisters. Periodic reports from ward Relief Societies, published in the *Woman's Exponent,* bear out the reality of Wells's extensive beneficial claims of the progressive nature of the Relief Society.

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21. See, for example, *Woman's Exponent* 17, nos. 1–24 (June 1888–May 1889); *Women's Exponent* 22, no. 4 (September 1, 1893): 28; *Women's Exponent* 40, no. 9 (May 1, 1912): 69; and *Women's Exponent* 41, no. 14 (February 1, 1914): 100–102.

22. Emmeline B. Wells, "Women's Organizations," *Woman's Exponent* 8, no. 16 (January 15, 1880): 122.

The woman's movement was an all-encompassing and even radical movement, supporting not only the right to vote but also women's right to ownership of their own property upon marriage, educational opportunities on all levels, a wide swath of employment, and independent leadership in their own Church auxiliary organizations.[23] Utah was well advanced in granting many of these rights to women, and Wells was not averse to crediting the Relief Society for obtaining those newly confirmed rights.

Utah Women Join the Woman's Movement

Despite their progressive stance, LDS women activists didn't formally enter the national conversation on equal rights so much as they were inadvertently drawn into it. An issue oft debated by antipolygamists was the question of how it was possible for women to live in a society that provided numerous civil rights to them even as that society kept them under the yoke of an outlawed marriage system. The *Woman's Exponent,* however, was a great defender of the unrecognized values and opportunities that women in plural marriage possessed, making it a handmaid in the movement for equality. The *Exponent*'s response to the constant derogation of the practice and of the women who practiced it focused on women's right to choose their own form of marriage, including plural marriage. Being among the few enfranchised women in the nation, LDS women also recognized that woman suffrage was a means of empowering women in the public sphere. Rather than voting to overturn the practice of plural marriage, however, LDS women voted to maintain a woman's right to choose to become a plural wife. Joining in the most encompassing and intense issues relating to women through its editorials, the *Exponent* was indeed forced to renege on its original

23. Louisa Greene firmly declared the progressive nature of Utah, writing that "President [Brigham] Young proves himself to be the most genuine, impartial and practical 'Woman's Rights man' upon the American Continent, as he has ever done; his counsels, instructions and advice to women being always directed toward their progress and advancement in usefulness and the possession of valuable knowledge." Louise L. Greene, "Work for Women," *Woman's Exponent* 1, no. 22 (April 15, 1873): 172. At the admittance of two women to the Utah Bar, Utah being one of the first territories to allow such, she declared that "women [in Utah] enjoy more of what is contended for as woman's rights than they do in any State in the Federal Union; and that they appreciate their position and are seeking to qualify themselves for spheres of usefulness to which their sisters in other parts of the country can only yet look in prospective." Louise L. Greene, "Woman Lawyers," *Woman's Exponent* 1, no. 9 (October 1, 1872): 68.

intention to avoid controversial matters. In doing so, the paper clearly showed its advocacy for women and a new image of the nineteenth-century woman. Nearly half (44.53 percent) of the editorials over the forty-two-year span of the *Woman's Exponent* dealt with woman suffrage, plural marriage, or woman's rights. Neither editor shied away from wrestling with the vitiation and degradation that characterized the arguments mounted by detractors of Mormonism generally, and polygamy specifically, as well as of woman suffrage. In fact, addressing these issues on the *Exponent*'s editorial page gave the *Exponent* currency, substance, and legitimacy as a resource for women to understand and participate in the events swirling around them. And it clearly made LDS women and the *Woman's Exponent* major components in the national discussion of woman's rights.

The *Exponent* published in its first issue an article signed "E" (certainly an effective pseudonym, with all the Elizas, Emmelines, and Elizabeths as possible contenders for authorship). The article argued for equal pay, equal educational opportunity, and greater options for employment.[24] This article opened the way for the paper to publish other grievances, both general and personal. It showed an awareness of at least one woman eager to share her thoughts publicly on the concerns voiced in the national movement for woman's rights. The paper's clearly expressed avoidance of any need to "contend" or "champion" or "defend" was nullified in its first issue, and the *Exponent* became a major player in the long contention between Mormon and federal officials, particularly over plural marriage. The endorsement by Church leaders indicated consent to the women's quest for equality and helped to build name recognition and awareness of the paper and its stance during these early years.[25] With Church support and a medium to express their views, LDS women were ready to join the growing movement for woman's rights.

Plural Marriage as a Woman's Right

The urgency to defend plural marriage against the many antipolygamy bills appearing in Congress made addressing the issue one of the first departures from the editors' early promise to refrain from contending with critics and defamers. The Church's original religious and constitutional defense of the practice did not match the kind of argument that

24. "Woman's Rights and Wrongs," *Woman's Exponent* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1872): 5.

25. "The Woman's Paper," *Woman's Exponent* 18, no. 1 (June 1, 1889): 4; George A. Smith, "Sustaining the *Exponent,*" *Woman's Exponent* 3, no. 2 (June 15, 1874): 11.

polygamy's denigrators employed, one focused on the social policies, psychological factors, and familial aspects of the practice. Latter-day Saints were thus obliged to meet the critics on their terms. Emmeline Wells, for example, promoted the idea that plural marriage could prove an antidote to many of the immoral practices of the world, a strong plank in the platform of woman suffrage. Plural marriage, she asserted, was consistent with "laws of life and health" for both present and future generations, while the "other [was] contrary to morality and chastity." Idealistically, she claimed that plural marriage had at its foundation the strength and building up of family life; it was the worldly way that destroyed the family. Additionally, she believed that polygamy could be the means of eliminating prostitution, since all women would have the opportunity for marriage with good and righteous men.[26] Far from being a bondage and enslavement of women, the *Exponent* argued, plural marriage gave women "more time for thought, for mental culture, more freedom of action, a broader field of labor, inculcates liberality and generosity, develops more fully the spiritual elements of life, fosters purity of thought and gives wider scope to benevolence."[27] In other words, polygamy "does not narrow, but widens woman's field for usefulness."[28] This idea was bedrock to the editors of the *Exponent* and to other public defenders of the practice, and to their credit, their unrelenting stance neither impeded the development of personal friendships with their gentile suffrage cohorts nor denied them membership in some of the national women's organizations of that time, particularly the National Woman Suffrage Association and the National and International Councils of Women.[29] In all three groups, LDS women had much opportunity to speak, persuade, and defend not only their lifestyle but also the woman's movement in general. Polygamy was a woman's issue, they maintained, and very much an element of woman's rights.

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26. "The Position of Utah," *Woman's Exponent* 10, no. 15 (January 1, 1882): 116.

27. "Women Talkers and Women Writers," *Woman's Exponent* 5, no. 6 (August 15, 1876): 44.

28. E. B. Wells, "Patriarchal Marriage," *Woman's Exponent* 6, no. 6 (August 15, 1877): 44.

29. A local antipolygamy society comprised of non-LDS and disaffected LDS women had the support of several "purity" organizations as well as several denominational women's auxiliaries. The American Woman Suffrage Association, rival to the National Association, did not permit the admission of LDS women, nor did the Daughters of the American Revolution, leading to the organization of the Daughters of the Revolution, which did accept LDS women.

While her defense of the practice was basically constitutional in principle, editor Emmeline Wells capitalized on the personal ramifications of the practice. As an exemplar, she personified the plural wife who developed self-reliance, resilience, and personal independence. These qualities flowed into Wells's ideas of the "New Woman," a concept then being created through the arguments and political rhetoric of the suffragists and other woman's rights activists.

Of course, the federal government didn't quite agree with Emmeline's assessment of the good that polygamy might offer, so Wells tried a logical approach and an appeal for the rights of citizens: "Would it not be well for the nation to pause, ere any irrevocable step is taken, that would strike at the peace and happiness and individual liberty of the people of Utah, and examine well and closely into the conditions of the Territory? Would it not be wiser to hear both sides of this case, before decisive steps are taken to punish? We have always understood every person in the Republic was entitled to a fair hearing, before any verdict could be given."[30] Her citizen's appeal was also unconvincing to the authorities, though she saw precedents being set for possible future consequences resulting from federal intervention in religion. "The sectarian priests who have been loudest in denouncing the 'Mormons' from the pulpit and to the government may tremble for fear of the retribution which is sure to follow upon their devoted heads, now that the government has commenced legislating against one form of religion."[31] Twice a plural wife, Wells believed it should be a legitimate choice for all women.

Defending their marriage style brought numerous LDS women into the public sphere. The *Woman's Exponent* gave those women a platform on which those who were fortified enough by their indignation toward the actions of the government could rise up and express their dismay. Wells was not intimidated by her opponents and felt the support of her Church leaders. It was a frenzied time, however. From 1882 to 1890, when government action was full-blown against polygamy, the 101 *Exponent* editorials on the practice were primarily directed toward defending the constitutional right to practice it (despite a negative Supreme Court ruling in 1879). They denounced the various legislative acts prohibiting it, enumerating the dire results of their enforcement. National suffrage meetings unified Utah and national suffragists in expressing their

30. "Hostile Measures," *Woman's Exponent* 10, no. 18 (February 15, 1882): 140.

31. "Sensational Stories about the Mormons," *Woman's Exponent* 10, no. 21 (April 1, 1882): 164.

opposition to both the Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act of 1882—which, among its provisions, disenfranchised all men and women involved in plural marriage—and the 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Act, which removed the right to vote from all Utah women, not just polygamous wives. Before the Edmunds-Tucker Act passed in 1887, the *Exponent* made one of its last comments on the subject: "Those who live longest will see in the *finale* of the present controversy and persecution now raging, ostensibly in consequence of the practise of a principle that was taught and practised by holy men of old, that it will yet appear that officeseeking, political place and power and Mammon were the real motives that caused the raid against the 'Mormons.'"[32]

The finale came with the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, which attacked the financial holdings of the Church, and in 1890, President Wilford Woodruff issued a "Manifesto," agreeing to suspend the performance of any additional plural marriages. Emmeline Wells wrote her final editorial on the practice:

> This is indeed an interesting period in the history of this people, and those who have been looking for a great change to transpire that Zion might be liberated from bondage, ought to take into consideration, how often it has been repeated to the Saints, that the Lord's ways are not man's ways, and that great things never come about as even *wise* men anticipate. . . . Again and again in ancient and modern revelation has the Lord said He would have a tried people even "as gold seven times purified," therefore the Saints should not murmur as did ancient Israel lest they lose sight of "the prize of the high calling."[33]

These words were hopeful but had little effect on the alteration of LDS life after plural marriages were outlawed. However, though LDS women lost the battle over polygamy, they were determined to regain the statutory right to the vote permanently. With statehood on the horizon, the *Woman's Exponent* announced the organization of LDS women into a distinct suffrage organization to be known as the Utah Territorial Woman Suffrage Association.[34] Through the polygamy crusade, women recognized the necessity of the vote in the determination of public policy. The *Woman's Exponent* would be a strong force in support of woman

32. "Thoughts on the Times," *Woman's Exponent* 14, no. 7 (September 1, 1885): 52, italics in original.

33. "Fear Not for Zion," *Woman's Exponent* 20, no. 10 (November 15, 1891): 76, italics in original.

34. "Woman Suffrage Meeting," *Woman's Exponent* 17, no. 16 (January 15, 1889): 121.

suffrage, now a pressing campaign that was making headway in the West.[35] Those women who had publicly defended their right to choose their own marital pattern had gained the experience to speak and write about the need for, and the right of, women to vote.

Woman Suffrage

From the day they first received their right to the ballot in 1870, LDS women were forced into defensive mode. Each new antipolygamy bill proposed by Congress became more punitive in its methods of enforcement and began rescinding women's right to vote. The *Woman's Exponent* became an essential tool in the debate, explaining the value to the community of the ballot in women's hands. As Wells explained, "Women have not asked for suffrage because of place or power, or to crowd men out of the ranks of the wage-earners or professions, but that they may be acknowledged as being an equal in the work and business of the great world in which all must live and take part. . . . This great work can never be done well by one half of the human family; it is the opinion of all who think deeply that men and women must do the work together and unitedly."[36]

Not all LDS women were as eager as suffragists to fight for the vote; most of those who were against it were non-LDS or disaffected LDS women and were concerned about the additional political power that enfranchised women would provide to the Church. Wells was dismayed at the apathy she detected among many LDS women and particularly urged foreign-born sisters to seek citizenship and citizens to acknowledge the precious right and privileges of the ballot. If women could acknowledge the power that the vote would give them, the *Exponent* declared, "and come forward in their united strength and help maintain the rights; which will secure to them and those they love, and their children, the homes and the liberty of which in times past they have been so unjustly deprived," they would be a force with which to reckon.[37] Utah suffragists, however, having now lost their right to vote after seventeen years of enfranchisement, had to fight to reclaim it. To do so required an organized plan, originated and implemented by the women themselves,

35. Fifteen states granted women the right to vote before the 1920 passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. All but two were in the West or Midwest.

36. "Responsibility of Women Voters," *Woman's Exponent* 26, nos. 8–9 (September 15 and October 1, 1897): 196.

37. "Woman Suffrage in Utah," *Woman's Exponent* 10, no. 6 (August 15, 1881): 44.

which they were capable of doing. Their efforts at lobbying Utah's constitutional convention delegates in 1895 by their persuasive arguments were successful, and woman suffrage became part of Utah's organic law when statehood was declared in 1896.[38]

It had not been an easy crusade, however. When the Edmunds-Tucker Act passed in 1887, it disenfranchised not only the men and women who were involved in plural marriage, but all women in the territory. The illogic of removing the right to vote from non-LDS Utah women drew national suffragists to the defense of woman suffrage in the territory, and LDS women worked with them as a team to reinstate woman suffrage in Utah. The personal and organizational relationship that developed proved to be a crucial connection in the years that followed.

The *Woman's Exponent* remained one of the most consistent and dependable journalistic advocates of this civil right for women. It was always more than an inanimate record. It was a major voice, a viable advocate, illuminating the issues and participating in the debate. Six years after the demise of the paper in 1914, Emmeline Wells, now ninety-two, celebrated with Utah the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 extending the vote to all women in the country. As Zina D. H. Young noted at the first general Relief Society conference in 1889, the *Exponent* had always stood ready "to advocate the woman's side" of all "vexed" questions, and editor Wells had later noted that the goal of the paper was not just to report but to discuss all issues that impacted women's lives, especially suffrage, education, marriage, and other points of debate included in the woman question.[39] Indeed, by the strength of their own convictions, the editors had made their "little paper" an indispensable woman's advocate during a volatile time in LDS women's history.

After the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, the movement's promise that suffrage would energize the power and unity of women, so evident during the long suffrage campaign, failed to materialize. Women did not exhibit the strength of their political power by voting as a bloc—or by voting at all. The editorial response to this dilemma was inherent in the questions the *Exponent* asked of its readers in a similar scenario after Utah women were initially given the vote:

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38. Jean Bickmore White explains in detail the uneven trail to including woman suffrage in the 1895 Utah State Constitution in "Prelude to Statehood: Coming Together in the 1890s," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (Fall 1994): 300–15.

39. "First General Conference of the Relief Society," *Woman's Exponent* 17, no. 22 (April 15, 1889): 172; Emmeline B. Wells, "Editorial Thoughts," *Woman's Exponent* 18, no. 12 (November 15, 1889): 92.

"Women of Utah! do you reflect upon these things? Do you appreciate the blessings of the ballot? If you do, why do you not manifest it by your works?"[40] But women expressed their individuality by voting for their own choice of candidates, and the power of female unity did not appear at the ballot box.

The New Woman

Of even more value and significance was the *Woman's Exponent*'s part in defining the "New Woman" emerging from the nineteenth century. "This is woman's era," Emmeline Wells was fond of saying, and the *Woman's Exponent* helped to describe the slow metamorphosis from "woman on a pedestal" to a "real woman," Wells's preferred term. One of her favorite contemporary writers, Sarah Grand, was among those who introduced the term, which was popularized in the novels of Henry James, the plays of Henrik Ibsen, and the works of other writers. According to historian Ruth Bordin, "The term New Woman always referred to women who exercised control over their own lives be it personal, social, or economic."[41] Independence was a key virtue. With greater educational and employment opportunities now available to women, the New Woman was largely independent of men as providers and protectors.

The New Woman found a strong voice in the *Woman's Exponent*. Editor Wells was pleased with the proliferation of women's clubs and organizations designed around women's interests. She herself organized two writing clubs, conceived to encourage women to write about their views on any subject, and she published many of their papers. She lauded the women who had broken the chains banning them from pursuing careers in medicine, law, education, business, journalism, and even politics and public affairs, noting that Utah was ahead of the rest of the nation in offering such opportunities to women. The *Exponent* happily joined the growing number of women's papers, which Wells felt were essential features of the progressive elements of the nineteenth century. By addressing thousands of readers across the country, they

40. "Woman Suffrage in Utah," *Woman's Exponent* 10, no. 6 (August 15, 1881): 44.

41. Ruth Bordin, *Alice Freeman Palmer: The Evolution of a New Woman* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1993), 2. The ideals of the New Woman were expressed not only in literature but also in art, music, dress, education, and employment. It was a White, middle-class concept that generated many new views of womanhood. This redefinition of womanhood and the ever-widening sphere of female participation in social and political life have been viewed as the first U.S. feminist wave and were highly influential in the feminist movement of the twentieth century.

could forward the work of "reformation" as well as record it. The *Exponent* was strongly committed to engaging in that march of progress.

In asserting their own voices in public pursuits traditionally dominated by men, women were expressing the full impact of their "emancipation" from tradition-bound gender expectations and creating this new image of womanhood. Their newly heard voices affirmed the validity of their own experiences as well as their right to offer commentary on social practices and political policies.

As editor of the *Exponent* during the height of this transition in women's status, Emmeline Wells built on the arguments raised by her editorial predecessor on woman's equality. Even before becoming editor, Wells had used the pseudonym Blanche Beechwood for several articles on woman's status in marriage. She was bold in her assessments. In the past, Wells affirmed, "women [have been] what men have made them." Men had defined the parameters of women's character, their nature, their abilities, their sphere of action, and their mission in life, she asserted. If men were so much more "superior to women," she added, "let them show themselves so." "Real women" desire someone worthy of the "reverence" men seem to expect. Sadly, she concluded, "man, with all his boasted knowledge, and practical skill in reading character, is still in comparative ignorance of how women feel, or what they are."[42] Too often, the editorial mused, men treat their wives "as toys, to be picked up and cast aside at will; very well for pastime playthings, or for housekeepers; but to consider them real, genuine, rational beings, is a novel idea." Many men consider women as "vain, frivolous, fickle and deceitful, incapable of performing any important part in life creditably."[43] In many marriages, Wells commented a few years later, the wife gave "all—that she may sit by his hearth, bear his children, preside at his table, and merge her life into his, to the extinguishing and crushing out of all desires, ambitions, tastes, or capabilities for anything save what he deems proper, or right."[44] She was particularly concerned about the financial arrangements in marriages, even more so when she was later unexpectedly left to provide her own living.[45] She often

42. Emmeline B. Wells [Blanche Beechwood, pseud.], "Real Women," *Woman's Exponent* 2, no. 15 (January 1, 1874): 118. Wells used a pseudonym for a series of articles about equality in marriage.

43. Wells [Blanche Beechwood, pseud.], "Real Women," 118.

44. "Woman's Progression," *Woman's Exponent* 6, no. 18 (February 15, 1878): 140.

45. When Daniel Wells married Emmeline as his sixth plural wife, he was involved in several successful financial ventures. However, because of a number of unforeseen

editorialized on the subject and felt that financial dependence deprived a woman of personal independence. She disdained those marriages in which the husband retained to himself all knowledge of the family's financial affairs, leaving the family vulnerable to such unexpected changes in fortune as Wells would experience for herself. Not only that, she affirmed, but there could be no real partnership in marriage if one of the partners was uninformed about the financial basis of the family.[46] The New Woman, independent, educated, and financially astute, could use those attributes to enhance family life. "Whatever efforts woman can make, whatever she may do that is not detrimental to home life," Wells believed, "that she should be permitted to do without ridicule and without censure."[47] In other words, she wrote, why could marriage not be a partnership, with "each [partner] according to the other all the freedom of thought, feeling, and expression they would grant to one who was not bound to them by indissoluble ties?"[48] This was the ideal, she felt, of a woman not losing but finding outlets for her capabilities, not only in a community setting but at home in the family.

Though the *Exponent* spoke primarily to adult women, Wells occasionally addressed articles to her younger readers, hoping to "raise their consciences" and thus broaden or modify their expectations. She appealed to them to mature intellectually as they matured physically. In an 1874 article written under a pseudonym, she chided them for their slavish imitation of faddish fashions and worldly ways: "Where there is an unconstrained, natural young lady, whose whole soul is not wrapt up in fashion, dress and style; who has independence of character enough to think for herself; who is not feverishly impatient with a desire to

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circumstances, the businesses failed, and the financial status of the Wells family dramatically dropped. The other wives had sons on whom they could depend. Emmeline had only daughters. As a result, the *Woman's Exponent* became her primary means of support soon after she became editor.

46. Emmeline B. Wells [Emile, pseud.], "A Defense," *Woman's Exponent* 4, no. 24 (May 15, 1876): 190. Wells used a different pseudonym as author of this article on the financial arrangements of a family, probably because of the sensitive subject matter. Because she lived apart from the rest of Daniel's wives and seldom saw her husband, she found it necessary to go to the "big house" where he lived and personally appeal to him whenever money was needed for her personal or household needs or those of her daughters. She never knew whether she was exceeding her share of the family finances or not.

47. E. B. Wells, "Woman's Relation to Home," *Woman's Exponent* 8, no. 7 (September 1, 1879): 52.

48. "Woman's Progression," 140.

know who her future husband will be and whether his wealth will be immence [*sic*]; who is contented with her lot and cheerful, joyous and happy, . . . people wonder why she is not like the rest."[49]

To her older readers she had much to say about "strong-minded" women, a pejorative term when used by opponents of change but valued by women who were movers and partakers of the ideals of the New Woman.[50] Editor Wells knew that many of her LDS contemporaries were suspicious of the new term and used it derogatorily. But Wells declared that she had a "strong-minded" mother, who raised her brood of ten children largely on her own and discovered the inadequacies of a woman without a provider. Wells was emboldened by strong-minded women of all ages. Such women, she discovered, were sure of their own convictions while cultivating self-reliance, intellectuality, personal integrity, self-respect, and competence. The "true woman" of the Victorian ethos—demure, passive, and compliant—was giving way to the New Woman of the post-Victorian period in American society.

This transition of the meaning of womanhood as articulated by the *Exponent*'s editorials was bolstered by a host of changes in what was considered "woman's sphere." In Utah, the pioneering effort upset traditional divisions of labor in cultivating home life and in building communities, redefining the dimensions of "spheres." Women were among the first faculty and the first student bodies in Utah's growing chain of higher-education institutions. Elizabeth Kane visited Utah with her husband, Colonel Thomas L. Kane, in 1873, and she observed after traveling through the territory that Utahns were "thousands of years behind us in some of their customs [like polygamy]; in others, you would think these people the most forward children of the age. They close no career on a woman in Utah by which she can earn a living."[51] In Utah, financial independence was a major step toward personal independence.

Finally, Wells shared her thoughts about women who felt their usefulness had ended when the nest had emptied: "It is the opinion of many who are wise and learned that woman's mission upon the earth

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49. Emmeline B. Wells [Blanche Beechwood, pseud.], "Our Fashionable Young Ladies," *Woman's Exponent* 3, no. 8 (September 15, 1874): 58.

50. To many more traditional-minded men and women, this was a pejorative term, but to most writers for the *Woman's Exponent,* it was an admirable description. These were the women who dared to defy society and step out of their prescribed domestic roles to expand their life experience.

51. Elizabeth Wood Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes: Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona* (Philadelphia: self-pub., 1874), 4–5.

is maternity, with its . . . accompanying cares and anxieties, and needful exigencies; that these fill the measure of her creation, and when it is done, she should . . . retire from the sphere of active life and gracefully welcome old age. That motherhood brings into a woman's life a richness, zest and tone that nothing else ever can, I gladly grant you, but that her usefulness ends there, or that she has no other individual interests to serve I cannot so readily concede."[52] Still presiding as general Relief Society president at age ninety-two, she demonstrated another option for older women.

Thus, the *Woman's Exponent*'s answer to those who stood guard at the borders of distinct spheres of life for women and men was to announce in its editorials that this was indeed woman's era and barriers to the progress of women were slowly falling. "Let them [women]," Wells proclaimed, "have the same opportunities [as men] for an education, observation and experience in public and private for a succession of years, and then see if she is not equally endowed with man and prepared to bear her part on all general questions socially, politically, industrially and educationally as well as spiritually."[53] This was the goal of the woman's movement, and it laid the foundation for producing the New Woman.

The *Woman's Exponent* was a strong advocate of this new image of womanhood, far removed from the delicate, dependent qualities of the former "woman on a pedestal." Gradually fading as a popular image of women, the woman on a pedestal gave way to new social forces that unlocked women's latent capabilities and created a place for them more useful than a pedestal in the "great work of the world [which] can never be done well by one half of the human family."[54]

Carol Cornwall Madsen, professor emerita of BYU, received her PhD in history at the University of Utah and was employed by the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute of Latter-day Saint History in the Church History Department. When the institute moved to BYU, she served as associate head of the Women's Research Institute for two years and on several university committees, including the annual Women's Conference. She also originated a course entitled "Women and the American Experience," which she taught for many years. She has authored or edited five books and more than fifty articles on Utah and Latter-day Saint women's history. Five of her articles and two of her books have been award winners.

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52. Emmeline B. Wells [Blanche Beechwood, pseud.], "Life Lessons," *Woman's Exponent* 4, no. 9 (October 1, 1875): 70.

53. Emmeline B. Wells [Blanche Beechwood, pseud.], "Action or Indifference," *Woman's Exponent* 5, no. 7 (September 1, 1876): 54.

54. "Responsibility of Women Voters," 196.

Emmeline Wells and the Suffrage Movement

Edited by Cherry B. Silver and Sheree M. Bench

Emmeline B. Wells, Diarist, Editor, Civic and Church Leader

In 1909, Susa Young Gates listed Emmeline B. Wells, along with Elmina S. Taylor and Eliza R. Snow, as one of the three greatest women The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had produced.[1] Biographer Carol Cornwall Madsen attests to the spread and durability of Emmeline's influence, reminding us that "she was the most widely known Mormon woman of her time, in and outside" the Church and Utah.[2] She was bright, observant, and articulate, with a keen memory. She was an outspoken representative of her people, meeting with presidents and national suffrage leaders, and she left a voluminous record of noteworthy events, Relief Society business, and her interactions with and impressions of prominent members of her community.

Emmeline Woodward was born in a small Massachusetts town in 1828. Her mother recognized her talents and ensured that she received a good education. She also encouraged her to listen to the Latter-day Saint missionaries. Baptized in 1842 at age fourteen, Emmeline entered into an arranged marriage with James H. Harris when she was fifteen

1. Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, February 26, 1909, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as EBW Diary). Transcripts of the Emmeline B. Wells diaries are available online at https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/emmeline-b-wells?lang=eng.

2. Carol Cornwall Madsen, *Emmeline B. Wells: An Intimate History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2017), xii.

and immigrated to Nauvoo with the Harris family in 1844. There she met Joseph Smith and determined to stay with the Saints, even after she saw her infant son sicken and die and was abandoned by her young husband. Newel K. and Ann Whitney befriended the young woman, and she became a plural wife of Newel; they had two daughters before he died in 1850. She then married Daniel H. Wells in 1852 as his sixth plural wife. While she reared their three daughters, she wrote for the new publication the *Woman's Exponent,* became its editor in 1877, and continued that effort for thirty-seven years. Brigham Young asked her to take charge of the Relief Society mission to save grain. She served as corresponding secretary and general secretary of the Relief Society for over twenty years and then as the fifth general president of the Relief Society from 1910 until the year of her death, 1921.

Because Emmeline B. Wells kept diaries for most of her life and wrote much of the content of the *Woman's Exponent,* she provides us with in-depth knowledge of important events in the suffrage movement. Editorial exchanges with other women's journals sparked letters between Emmeline and Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, leaders of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). She corresponded with prominent suffragists Belva Lockwood and Sara A. Spencer. She wrote to and met with later suffrage leaders like Anna Howard Shaw, Rachel Foster Avery, and Carrie Chapman Catt.

This article combines excerpts from Emmeline's diaries with editorial descriptions of suffrage events that she wrote for the *Woman's Exponent.* The article covers two events in different time periods. First is the 1879 meeting in Washington, D.C., when NWSA representatives took a petition for woman suffrage to U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes. Emmeline was part of that delegation and presented her own appeal to President Hayes to understand the situation of Latter-day Saint families in Utah. Second is the drafting of the Utah state constitution in 1895, when a group of women under Emmeline's direction successfully petitioned committee members to include universal suffrage in the new state's legal framework.

The Women Delegates' 1879 Trip to Washington, D.C.

In January 1879, Emmeline B. Wells had the chance to meet with national woman suffrage and congressional leaders for the first time. In reaction to an antipolygamy campaign and the Supreme Court decision against George Reynolds in the test polygamy case, John Taylor, then President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, agreed to

Emmeline B. Wells, January 14, 1879. Courtesy Church History Library.

send Emmeline and Zina Young Williams to Washington, D.C. The two women stayed at the Riggs Hotel, where they were shepherded by suffrage leaders, and then spoke at the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) meeting. They were listened to because they had the right to vote in Utah Territory, but they were seen as curiosities because they were defending a plural marriage system. They received an audience with President Rutherford B. Hayes and his wife, Lucy, and coordinated visits to members of Congress with Utah's representative, George Q. Cannon. After two weeks of making contacts, Emmeline felt their petition and voices in defense of the women and children of Utah had been heard.

"I thank God I was the first to represent our women in the Halls of Congress," Emmeline wrote in her diary with a feeling of accomplishment on February 20, 1879. However, despite the women's efforts, the politicians who politely received them, like President Hayes and Senator George Edmunds, later spoke against the Church and tightened enforcement of the Cullom Bill through the Edmunds Act of 1882 and the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887. What endured from Zina and Emmeline's first visit to Washington were respectful relations with leaders of national women's organizations. For decades, Emmeline held posts on important committees for the NWSA and later the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the National Council of Women, and the National Woman's Press Association.

Short diary entries in 1879 highlight the variety of Emmeline's activities in Washington, D.C. They indicate her on-site thinking and record her emotional response to the situation at hand as well as list people she was seeing and provide "background noise"—comments on her health, the weather, the quality of her hotel room. Articles and editorials from the *Woman's Exponent* contain considered reports on the national event, sketches describing the appearance and character of the people she met and places she visited, and reprints of petitions, speeches, and newspaper reports. Emmeline presents more than one persona as she prepares her articles: she writes as a first-time railroad traveler; she speaks as Aunt Em the society editor, commenting on ladies' fashion and foibles; most often she writes as the political editorialist, depicting national events and their significance for her Utah readers. She reprints an article about herself and Zina Young Williams visiting the U.S. president. Finally, Emmeline issues a challenge to readers of the *Exponent* to keep themselves informed and to fight to preserve woman suffrage in Utah.

Here we have woven together Emmeline B. Wells's brief but often candid diary entries with her more descriptive and complete *Exponent* pieces to create a fuller sense of her firsthand account of working with national leaders and politicians. The pagination listed comes from the manuscript diaries [enclosed in brackets] and the digitized images {enclosed in braces}.[3]

Diary Entries and Reports in the *Woman's Exponent*

January 1, 1879 • Wednesday
. . . Aunt Zina [D. H. Young] and I were at the Pres. [John Taylor's] Office, it was decided myself and one[4] go to Washington [D.C.].[5]

January 2, 1879 • Thursday
All arrangements completed– good-bye said to friends– girls[6] attended Will[iam] Jennings party– several friends called to see me. packed all my things. felt very lonely indeed– so many sick– blessings etc. [p. 23]

January 8, 1879 • Wednesday
Arrived in Philadelphia at three o'clock took the cars for Washington about 6. more tunnels, more rivers. past through Baltimore, felt very ill indeed arrived about ½ past 12. Riggs House[7] ~~The same~~ [p. 25]

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3. Manuscript diaries and digitized images are available through the L. Tom Perry Special Collections website, http://archives.lib.byu.edu/repositories/14/resources/7790. Annotated transcriptions of diary entries from 1844 to 1879 and from 1892 to 1896 are available at https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/emmeline-b-wells?lang=eng. Other Wells diaries from the forty-seven total will appear at intervals on the Church Historian's Press website.

4. Zina Young Williams, who was later married to Charles Ora Card.

5. Emmeline Wells and Zina Williams were assigned by Church leaders to attend the National Woman Suffrage Association meetings in Washington, D.C., held January 9 and 10, 1879; their purposes were to lend Utah's support for universal woman suffrage and to lobby Congress concerning repressive legislation against the Latter-day Saints. Carol Cornwall Madsen, *Advocate for Women: The Public Life of Emmeline B. Wells, 1870–1920* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2006), 161–68.

6. Daughters at home were Emeline Whitney Wells, Elizabeth Ann Wells, and Louise Martha Wells.

7. Riggs House was a private hotel that was used as headquarters of the National Woman Suffrage Association. It also provided lodging for prominent visitors to Washington, D.C., including Susan B. Anthony and George Q. Cannon. Carol Cornwall

"*Home Affairs,*" Woman's Exponent *7 (January 15, 1879): 124.*

Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells and Mrs. Zina Young Williams left this city on the morning of the 3d inst. for Washington, as delegates to the Eleventh Annual Convention of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, held in the capitol, on the 9th and 10th of the present month. Aside from the importance of attending the Convention itself, their visit was most auspiciously timed, for not only were they prepared to meet the efforts of the local anti-polygamic crusade and represent the women of Utah in a right way, but to answer interesting queries regarding the probable feeling existing among the Latter-day Saints as a sequence to the recent decision made by the Supreme Court of the United States, declaring the validity of the anti-polygamic law of 1862.

January 9, 1879 • Thursday

Last evening we met Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony Mrs. Spencer Mr. Cannon our delegate– Mrs. Spofford– landlady and others,[8] I was very ill. Our room was a pleasant one opening on the Treas. Dep.t. was most cordially received. went to the N.W.S.A. [p. 25] at Lincoln Hall. spoke in the evening. [p. 26]

"*'Over the Hills and Far Away,'" Editorial,* Woman's Exponent *7 (February 1, 1879): 186.*

. . . After dashing along at railroad speed for five days and a half, we reached Washington Wednesday m., so completely worn out for want of sleep and rest that the bed was preferable to luncheon in the fine hotel where our good friends, the National Suffragists, had quartered during their stay at the Convention.

Here we were cordially welcomed by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, whose name is well known to our readers, and Miss Susan B. Anthony, whose name has rung from one end of the country to the other in connection with "woman's suffrage." These good ladies sought to make us feel perfectly at home; and when soon after in came Mrs. Sara

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Madsen, *Advocate for Women,* 177 n. 66; Davis Bitton, *George Q. Cannon: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999), 225.

8. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Sara Andrews Spencer, and Jane H. Spofford were leaders in the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA); their meetings were held in Lincoln Hall on Ninth and D Streets. George Q. Cannon was the Utah Territorial delegate and a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. "Notes and News," *Woman's Exponent* 7 (January 1, 1879): 113; Madsen, *Intimate History,* 184–85.

Andrews Spencer, whom we met face to face for the first time, our heart went forth in great waves of love to her for her courageous defense of the women of Utah here in the Congress of the National Capitol, and under the broad flag of freedom to all men. At some future time we may give you pen sketches of these illustrious ladies, but at present we can only glance at them and pass on. Mrs. Spofford, the hostess of the house, also came to enquire kindly after our welfare, hearing we had come off a long journey.

The first evening after we arrived in Washington, a preliminary meeting of the N. W. S. A. was held at the residence of Belva A. Lockwood, Attorney and Solicitor, and plans were made for the two days' session. Everything seemed very strange to us—coming to a large hotel full of people of fashion, grand old aristocrats from the north and the south. Among the number are some very fine looking elderly men, who are members of [the] House and Senate. Vice-President Wheeler is stopping here, and several other eminent and distinguished people, both men and women.

Thursday morning, Jan. 9, in company with Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Spofford we drove to Lincoln Hall. Mrs. Stanton made the opening speech. She is very beautiful for a woman of her years; her hair is magnificent, and as she arranges it seems almost like a crown. She was neatly and tastefully attired in a figured satin dress with a train, which she deems as necessity on account of her size, and presided at the Convention of the N. W. S. A. during the two days, and also evening sessions, with a great deal of dignity, and never for one moment lost her self-possession, not even when a warm discussion took place between Fred. Douglas[s], Marshall of the Dis. of Columbia, and Mr. Pervis of Philadelphia, the last evening of the Convention. In that respect she reminded us very much of our dignified woman-leader, Miss E. R. Snow; yet in other respects the two are very unlike. Mrs. Stanton is short and very plump; she is extremely well-preserved, travels about and lectures as if she were a young woman, (here is another similarity between the two).

Miss Anthony is in every respect Mrs. Stanton's opposite, except that they agree on the woman question. She is entirely different from what one would fancy in reading about her. Upon the platform she wore a very rich black silk dress trimmed with velvet and lace. In many respects she is a very remarkable woman. She possesses great firmness and strength of character, and is a famous talker; her voice is not as pleasant as Mrs. Stanton's, but her words are sharp and incisive, and

she never utters a sentence in public that is not calculated, from its construction, to strike deep at the foundation of the evil of which she speaks. Her best lecture delivered here was "Bread and the Ballot." . . .

Mrs. Sara Andrews Spencer must not be forgotten in our little paper, nor in Mormon history when it is written. She possesses great executive ability, has a very good voice, is gifted with fine expression, uses the choicest words, and sums everything up in the most concise and comprehensive manner. She is the woman who is behind the curtain doing the work of a dozen women, all for the benefit of her sex—and her heart is in it; ever[y]body who hears her speak knows she speaks from the soul, and she has as fine talents as one could ask for to make a mark in the world—to win fame. But she is slowly plodding in the work of reform in this great city, and working her way along against the woman of fashion, the woman who don't want to vote, who's got all the rights she wants; and by and by she's going to win. So much for the pioneer workers in Woman's Suffrage.

January 10, 1879 • Friday
To Lincoln Hall, very cold house very full– spoke a few minutes in the morning. Worrying all the time about home– was appointd on a Committee to wait on Pres. [Rutherford B.] Hayes. Have been cordially received everywhere–

January 11, 1879 • Saturday
At. Ten o'clock we were called together in the red-parlor in an executive meeting many distinguished ladies were present. In the afternoon went to Mrs. [Lucy Ware Webb] Hayes reception was introduced to both[9] and had a most delightful interview made an appointment for Monday at 10 o'clock.

January 12, 1879 • Sunday
Snowed furiously went to hear Rev. Mr. Mason preach on a subject ahead of the times. Afternoon at Mrs. Spencer's helping with the Memorial of W.S.[10] to Pres. Hayes.[11] [p. 26]

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9. President and Mrs. Hayes.

10. Woman Suffrage.

11. A committee from NWSA presented a petition for woman suffrage, which EBW reprinted in the *Woman's Exponent.* "Petitions and Memorials," *Woman's Exponent* 7 (February 15, 1879): 197.

Emmeline B. Wells diaries. The collection at Brigham Young University includes Wells's forty-five original diaries, written from 1844 to 1920. The diaries are scanned and available in the BYU Digital Collections, and a finding aid is provided to help researchers. This photo shows one diary open: volume 21, from 1897. Photograph by Kelsey Mann. © L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University.

January 13, 1879 • Monday
<Telegram this morning all better–> In the morning went to see the Chief Executive of the Land Pres. Hayes. He was with his secretary and one other gentleman yet he invited us into his library– and I said just what I had time to say Mrs. Hayes came and we talked to her.

January 14, 1879 • Tuesday
This morn. went to Photo-gallery had pictures taken[12] Called on Mrs. [Rosine M.] Parnells saw [General Winfield] Scotts monument Went to Pres. Hayes reception in the evening. saw many elegantly dressed ladies. [p. 27]

12. The widely distributed photo of EBW in her silk brocaded dress holding a pen and seated at a desk (see p. 95) was most likely photographed in the Charles M. Bell Studio on Pennsylvania Avenue. Madsen, *Intimate History,* 189 n. 48; "C. M. Bell Studio Collection," Prints and Photographs Reading Room, Library of Congress, accessed October 25, 2017, https://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/c-m-bell-studio-photographs.html.

January 16, 1879 • Thursday
<went to the Capitol to Memorial Services of Prof. [Joseph] Henry–>[13] We did some writing and I addressed a letter to Mr. [James P.] Knott of Kentucky Chairman of House Judiciary Committee, called at his house and saw Mrs. [Amelia Archer] Purrington who spoke a good word for me and I got an appointment in the morning. Zina went to see her cousin Seraph [Young Ford] and I re[14]

January 17, 1879 • Friday
We were before the Judiciary Committee of the house and Zina Mrs. Spencer and myself all spoke, Mr. [Elbridge G.] Lapham of New York and others were strongly impressed, good must result.

January 18, 1879 • Saturday
We went to Mrs. Hayes reception and I took with me the "Women of Mormondom"[15] and a letter to her ladyship– got the man who attends at the House to present them to her– in the evening went to Br. Cannon's house with Mrs. Spencer [p. 28] her husband, Zina, & Mrs. [Theresa Juan] Lewis–

January 19, 1879 • Sunday
A very dull day for us very cold and windy. Seraph and husband[16] and Mrs. [Marilla Marks Young] Ricker and Br. Cannon were here Mrs. Spencer came in the afternoon and we drove to the houses of some of the Senators. Mr. [Allen G.] Thurman was specially kind and told us to come to the Com. in the morning so did Senator [George F.] Edmunds.[17]

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13. Joseph Henry (1797–1878), physicist and inventor, served as the first director of the Smithsonian Institute. EBW and her party joined an audience of eminent people memorializing Henry in the assembly room of the House of Representatives. "Henry, Joseph," in Dumas Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), 8:551–53; *Memorial of Joseph Henry,* Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1882), 37–122.

14. TEXT: Incomplete word. The preceding sentence is written below the heading for January 17 but is partially enclosed in a wavy line, indicating that the text belongs with the January 16 entry.

15. *Women of Mormondom* was written by Edward W. Tullidge with the help of Eliza R. Snow, EBW, and other leading women of the Church. It presents autobiographies, notable experiences, and aspects of the faith of the Latter-day Saints.

16. Seth Ford.

17. George F. Edmunds, senator from Vermont, authored the Edmunds Act of 1882 and Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 that disenfranchised those practicing illegal

January 20, 1879 • Monday
Monday morning went to the Capitol found Senator Edmunds waiting for us. saw most of the members of that Com. even [Isaac P.] Christiancy met Gen, [Henry A.] Morrow[18] delighted to meet him. Senator [John H.] Mitchell was very kind– went home with Mrs. Spencer–

January 21, 1879 • Tuesday
<Letters from home> All day preparing memorials for Congress. Mrs. Spencer extremely kind to us I was really quite ill Zina went to the Smithsonian I felt as if we were accomplishing something. Br. Cannon views it with favor. [p. 29]

January 22, 1879 • Wednesday
Was all day writing went over to see Br. Cannon in the evening and Mrs. Kimball arrived from Philadelphia, spent the evening very eagerly chatting, Drove to the houses of some influntial Senators.

January 23, 1879 • Thursday
Called on Speaker [Samuel J.] Randall of the House & Senator Thurman of New York met Mr. Eliot of the New York Evening Post[19] Memorial introduced into the House, by Speaker Randall and called for reading by [John B.] Clark of Mo. [Martin I.] Townsend of New York objected to the Judiciary Com. reporting

January 24, 1879 • Friday
Friday 24. A beautiful day Mrs. Kimball first in the morning, then Mr. Cannon next then to the Capitol to learn the fate of our memorial in the hands of the Senate In the evening Went to the Capitol to hear the report of Judiciary Committee [p. 30]

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cohabitation in Utah and ended the right to vote for all women. Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah, the Right Place* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1995), 192, 195.

18. Henry Andrew Morrow (1829–1891), commander of the Michigan 24th Infantry Division during the Civil War, was commanding officer at Camp Douglas, which was east of Salt Lake City, from 1872 to 1873. "Henry Andrew Morrow," Find a Grave, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/5909843/henry-andrew-morrow; O. B. Curtis, *History of the Twenty-Fourth Michigan of the Iron Brigade* (Detroit: Winn and Hammond, 1891), 477–78.

19. The *New York Evening Post* supported social reforms like abolition and woman's suffrage. Henry R. Elliott is listed in the 1880 census as a journalist born in New York and boarding in Washington, D.C. "Just the Same as the Men," *Remonstrance against Woman Suffrage* (Boston), January 1918, 8; 1880 U.S. Census, District of Columbia, 345A.

January 25, 1879 • Saturday
About 1 o'clock was taken with faintness & palpitation, sent for Dr. [Joshua O.] Stanton gave me something for my nervous and mental excitement, was suffering all day afterwards, went in the evening to see Senator Thurman, Dr. Edison, Mrs. Purrington. Br. Cannon came to see us. [p. 31]

"*Visit to Washington," Editorial,* Woman's Exponent *7 (February 15, 1879): 194.*
In our last editorial, written from Washington, we promised our readers to tell them something more of our visit to the National Capitol, and perhaps we ought to say a trifle more concerning the Convention. The suffrage ladies espoused the cause we represented nobly, and gave us more opportunities of bringing the Utah question forward than we could possibly have expected. Indeed, we felt delicate in responding to their kind and pressing solicitations to speak, knowing how very unpopular Mormonism is in the world. We have a grateful remembrance of these noble women, and trust in the future we may have an opportunity of returning the kindnesses and courtesies we received at their hands. . . .

We cannot tell you now just how we managed to see everybody we wanted to see, and say what we wanted to say, but we will pass on to the White House . . . and our interview with President Hayes. His Excellency made the appointment himself, and after we had given him a few facts in relation to the condition of this people, and what was likely to be the consequences of severe and harsh measures, he remarked that he had never before considered the subject in the light we had presented it, and he felt it was of too much importance to trust to memory, and desired us to make a similar statement in writing, which we prepared and placed in His Excellency's hands before leaving Washington. We also had the pleasure of a private interview with Mrs. Hayes, who is certainly a most remarkable woman; her simplicity in dress, her homelike air, her friendly greeting for all those who call upon her, her sweet expression, her benevolent face and charming manner all attract the admiration of visitors, and her firmness in persisting in discarding wine and all intoxicating drinks from the White House, all these things stamp her as a woman of remarkably strong character. To our party she was kindness personified; she listened attentively to all we had to say in regard to the circumstance of our people, and her womanly sympathies were very perceptibly aroused.

We frequently met with people who manifested the greatest interest in the Mormon Question. How far their influence might benefit our

people, or how much popularity they would sacrifice for the sake of aiding the Mormons, we have no way of determining. . . .

"*The Washington Convention,*" *Editorial,* Woman's Exponent *7 (March 1, 1879): 202–3.*

We have no wish to tire our readers by dwelling too much or too ardently upon our visit to Washington, but as we have never given a summary of the proceedings of the convention in order, and as it is a subject in which women who hold the franchise should have a deep interest, we propose now to take the convention in order. . . .

Mr. Frederic Douglas[s], by invitation of Mrs. Stanton, made a few remarks suitable to the occasion, the audience manifesting their pleasure by applauding him freely.

Mrs. Stanton then announced as a committee to wait upon President Hayes and inform him of the existence of 20,000,000 women citizens in the United States, which fact he failed to recognize in his recent message, Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith, Mrs. Matilda Joslyn and Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells. Miss Anthony then made some very clever, cutting and humorous remarks. Mrs. Dundore then addressed the convention. In her remarks she said hers was a guerilla warfare, she was bound by no parties or method.

Evening session. The rain poured in torrents, the wind blew fiercely, and yet the hall was crowded in every part. Mrs. Wells, of Utah, was the first speaker. Miss Anthony followed, delivering her very celebrated lecture, "Bread and the Ballot." She is a very earnest woman and impresses every one with her individuality. She was frequently applauded, and certainly made some strong arguments and good hits. Mrs. Wells made a few more remarks. . . .

1894–1895 Suffrage Activities in Connection with Utah Statehood

Efforts were unsuccessful to lighten the punitive load on families living in plural marriage in the Territory of Utah. The Edmunds Act of 1882 was followed by the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, which imprisoned men convicted of cohabitation with more than one woman and removed the right to sit on juries and took away the right to vote from men who would not renounce belief in polygamy and for all women. This disenfranchisement of Utah women, after they had been voting responsibly for seventeen years, proved a serious setback for national suffrage organizations as well as for local women.

When President Wilford Woodruff saw that Church properties would be confiscated, including the temples, he acted as "the God of heaven commanded"[20] and issued the Manifesto in 1890 discontinuing the practice of plural marriage. In addition, Church leaders disbanded the People's Party and advised members to affiliate with one of the national political parties. These actions opened the way for the act enabling Utah to apply for statehood.

When members of the Utah Constitutional Convention debated whether to include woman suffrage in the wording of state law, Emmeline reached out to Susan B. Anthony and national suffrage leaders for advice. Anthony sent back a strong declaration in July 1894, which Emmeline published in the *Woman's Exponent:*

> My Dear Friends—I am delighted that you are now to be in the Union of States, as you have been for many years in the union of the dear old National Woman Suffrage Association! On behalf of the forty-three states and the District of Columbia that compose our union, I congratulate you not only because Utah is to be a state, but because I hope and trust that her men, in Constitutional Convention assembled, will, like the noble men of Wyoming, ordain political equality to her women. And I am sure that you, my dear sisters, who have not only tasted the sweets of liberty, but also the bitterness, the humiliation of the loss of the blessed symbol, will not allow the organic law of your state to be framed on the barbarism that makes women the political slaves of men.
>
> Now in the formative period of your constitution is the time to establish justice and equality to all the people. That adjective "male" once admitted into your organic law, will remain there. Don't be cajoled into believing otherwise! Look how the women of New York have toiled and toiled over forty years to get "male" out of our constitution. Fifty thousand petitions and appeals poured into the constitutional convention of 1867, and we were sent away empty-handed; and now over half a million of the men and women of the state have prayed this constitutional convention[,] and its suffrage committee reports 13 to 4 against granting our prayer [i.e. petition]. And we can hardly expect the 170 members to do much better than the seventeen appointed by their president to consider and report upon the question.
>
> No, no! Don't be deluded by any specious reasoning, but demand justice now. Once ignored in your constitution—you'll be as powerless to secure recognition as are we in the older states. And more, the men of your convention should not allow the question to be separately

20. Wilford Woodruff, Cache Stake Conference, Logan, Utah, November 1, 1891, reported in *Deseret News Weekly,* November 14, 1891.

> voted upon either. But the suffrage clause should read, "Every citizen of the age of 21," etc. I do feel very, very anxious lest the enemies of equal rights to women will be too powerful, but I shall hope that truth and justice will prevail and that Utah will present her state constitution with political equality to women established beyond the power of repeal. . . .
>
> Susan B. Anthony[21]

In late January and early February 1895, Emmeline attended the National American Woman Suffrage Association meetings in Atlanta, Georgia. At these meetings, Susan B. Anthony honored her by coming to her side and putting her arms around her after she delivered her report on the status of suffrage in Utah. Emmeline went on to Washington, D.C., where the triennial National Council of Women featured speakers from the Relief Society and Y.L.M.I.A. She returned to Salt Lake to hear key debates in the Utah State Constitutional Convention between B. H. Roberts, who argued for a separate vote on woman suffrage, and Franklin S. Richards and Orson F. Whitney, who supported suffrage for all citizens together in one organic act. She also prepared to host a regional woman suffrage convention to be held in Utah in May 1895, featuring noted national speakers Susan B. Anthony and the Reverend Anna Howard Shaw.

As president of the Utah Territorial Woman Suffrage Association, Emmeline wrote Anthony frequently, sometimes to rejoice when positive political action was taken, sometimes to mourn when Emmeline, thwarted by lack of funds, could not witness the celebration of the women in Washington after Utah's statehood was actually achieved. Her diary entries and reports in the *Woman's Exponent* excerpted below reflect the anticipation, the caution, the jubilation, and the distress of these up-and-down episodes occurring from 1894 to 1896.

National Woman Suffrage Convention in Atlanta, Georgia

January 31, 1895 • Thursday
Opening of the Convention Miss Anthony in the Chair, Rev. Anna [Howard] Shaw invocation to Our Father & Mother etc. then minutes etc– Miss Anthony appointed Committee on Credentials Harriet Taylor Upton Ch. then Com. on Plan of Work Mrs. C. C. [Carrie Chapman] Catt Ch. & Miss Laura Clay Kentucky Miss Mary Hay New York

21. "Susan B. Anthony's Letter. Rochester, New York, July 21, 1894," *Woman's Exponent* 23 (August 1–15, 1894): 169.

Mrs. Annie L. Diggs Kansas & Mrs. E. B. Wells Utah– We immediately withdrew to set to work– the hall was handsomely decorated & the flags for seats represented the different States & Territories alphabetically. Badges had been prepared by the Howard girls which were yellow stamped in black with the words inscribed Constitution Wisdom Justice Moderation. Evening devoted to speeches– {p. 60}

February 1, 1895 • Friday
My report came in this afternoon but I could not do it I was so exhausted with the work in Committee– . . . {p. 61}

February 2, 1895 • Saturday
<Rec'd telegram this morning baby boy[22] born to Annie last night–> This is quite an eventful day for me, as I am to speak. Went into Committee on Plan of Work at 9. A.M. and did not finish until about one o'clock. This is the most important Committee of the session. Went to Opera House in time heard Plan of work read by Mrs. Catt– and all the Comments.

I had ten minutes to report Utah and Miss Anthony came forward put her arms around me and made such an eloquent appeal that some of the ladies were moved to tears, it was a tribute of personal affection as well as a flattering compliment to the Territory. The officers of the Association were voted upon & elected Miss Anthony Pres. Mrs. Avery Cor. Sec. & Mrs. Catt National Organizer added to the Business Committee {p. 62}

"Convention in Atlanta," Editorial, Woman's Exponent *23 (February 1 and 15, 1895): 236–37.*
We left S. L. City via U. P. R. R.[23] Saturday Jan. 26 ult. at 5-20 p.m. and arrived in Atlanta, Georgia, Wednesday January 30th, at 11-40 a.m., in company with Mrs. Marilla Daniels, Provo, and Mrs. Aurelia S. Rogers, Farmington.

We were met at the station by a delegation of the Atlanta W. S. A., a gentleman and two ladies wearing the yellow ribbon badge, and went direct to the Aragon, a fine hotel, the headquarters of the National-American W. S. A. We found some prominent suffrage women had already arrived

22. Cavendish Wells Cannon.
23. Union Pacific Railroad.

and soon after Susan B. Anthony came and Mrs. Chapman-Catt, these ladies had been speaking in several places in the south and were delighted at the seeming success of their labors.

There is no need of describing Miss Anthony to our readers or to newspapers generally, she is so famous now throughout the country, that she can stand alone and independently as the central figure for equal suffrage and is so popular that every woman however ambitious accords to her the honor due her noble work and individually, and if she is not a queen of a kingdom she is certainly a queen of hearts.

Thursday evening the ladies were notified there would be an informal meeting in one of the hotel rooms reserved for Committees, and a[t] half-past seven p.m. the many representatives who had arrived were assembled. The roll of states was called and about thirty were represented, a few words being spoken by each of the states of suffrage work where there was an Association at all. Miss Anthony as usual commenting in her original fashion and making every one feel at home with her at least; and she manifested a deep interest in Utah and expressed the ardent hope that it would be the next state to come into the union with equal rights for all.

Thursday 9 a.m. Jan. 31st, an Executive session was held at which considerable business was planned and at ten o'clock the Convention opened in DeGive's Opera House. The suffrage flags were draped over the platform and the seats were marked off for the several states with yellow flags and the name of each respective state stamped on, so there was not the least trouble in seating the delegations.

Miss Anthony came forward amid vociferous cheers from all parts of the house, which was well filled, and about as many men as women, and called the Convention to orders, holding in her hands the historic gavel that rapped to order the Legislature of Wyoming signalizing the first victory for woman suffrage and stated the fact amid the hearty applause of the audience. . . .

It would be utterly impossible for one to "tell it all" unless in a daily paper with an extra edition, but we hope to publish from time to time some of the best speeches made by the ablest speakers. It was a notable gathering of brilliant, cultured brainy women. We shall publish as soon as possible the Plan of Work and the Resolutions as adapted by the Convention, also the report from Utah, which pertains specially to home matters. The Atlanta evening Journal in its Saturday night issue had this to say, which was commendatory of the remarks made of the work in Utah.

When Mrs. Wells had concluded, President Anthony came forward and putting her arm around her gave her endorsement to the speaker. As she told of the work being done in Utah she kept her arms around the delegate and the audience was visibly affected at this exhibition of affection.

Of the many interesting things we have seen and heard and the proceedings of the Convention especially of evening sessions, we can only promise more in the future pages of our dear little paper of which we could distribute thousands of copies in this trip if we had them. In the meantime the dear friends at home may be assured that at present all is well with the Utah delegation, only we are anxious to see those who [are] expected to attend the National Council of Women in Washington D.C.

"*Woman Suffrage Column: Utah W. S. A.,*" Woman's Exponent *23 (February 1 and 15, 1895): 233–34. [This is EBW's report to the NAWSA in Georgia.]*

Mrs. President, officers and members of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

Since we made the report from Utah to the Convention held in Washington in February, 1894, public affairs in the territory have very materially changed. Whereas heretofore Congress has opposed the admission of Utah to statehood, this last year there was little or no opposition. An enabling act having passed the Congress of the United States, providing for a Constitution to be framed suited to the conditions of the country, and in harmony with the laws of the Republic, we look forward with great hope to the Constitutional Convention which will convene in the coming March, believing that the men of our Territory will stand for equal suffrage, and that the word male will be excluded from the statutes of the new state, giving all persons born in America, or naturalized, the same rights to citizenship. The division of the voters on strictly party lines did much toward bringing Utah into favorable recognition by the government; the questions that once agitated the people are obliterated, and in this respect as regards women, much was accomplished through the work done for the Columbian Exposition, when all women combined their efforts to make the Utah exhibit a complete success in every line, or department of woman's work. This has also given suffrage sentiment a more wide-spread recognition from the fact that women who had once been enfranchised, and who had practically realized the

privileges of the ballot; through mingling with those who were new to the Territory, and indifferent on the subject, (some of them even opposed) by their associating became unawares as it were, partially if not wholly converted to woman suffrage.

Previous to the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention which was held in November last, considerable campaign work was done by both the popular parties, Republicans and Democrats, and suffrage women in the several counties used their utmost influence and best powers of persuasion to diffuse the ideas of equal rights. Here and there women were invited to speak in political meetings, and they usually responded. All the political parties in Utah adopted resolutions in their platforms, practically pledging themselves (in a way) to work for women suffrage in the State convention.

The W. S. A. in the territory has been very conservative, and has not as an association affiliated, or allied itself to any party, but maintained its allegiance to the woman suffrage question proper, awaiting developments and holding itself in readiness to work with a purpose when the opportune time should arrive, as come it will, and must.

Meantime, the members have not been idle, or off their guard, but have sought diligently in season and out of season to spread the good word. Debates have been frequent and numerous on this question, and have been held on public platforms, and in social and literary clubs by the younger people and even children. Only the very day I left home to come to the convention, a boy not more than twelve years old came to me for literature and information, telling me he was to debate on woman suffrage with one of his schoolmates, and adding, "I am on the affirmative and I'm going to win." "Of course, you will," I replied, "it's the winning side."

There are nineteen counties organized now in Utah, three during this last year, and although money is very scarce in the West, we are determined to keep up our membership in the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, because we feel that in union there is strength, and believe that the women of all states and territories in the United States should unite on this great question which means so much for womenkind, and for the betterment of all the world. We are determined, as an association in Utah, not to be aggressive, but to maintain our integrity to the cause of equal suffrage which we have so much at heart, and hold ourselves as a reserve force, feeling sure that the time is near at hand when the womanly and moral element will be needed

in the nation to co-operate with men in the solution of the grave questions which agitate the country, the great wrongs to be righted, in which women are as deeply interested as men, mortgage indebtedness, bonding, excessive taxation, and other serious matters which call for reform, and to materially assist in these matters, women must have equal political privileges and advantages with the men of the nation.

The Utah suffragists have very strong backing in the young men born in the vales of the Wasatch, with an inheritance of the love of freedom (a characteristic peculiar to mountainous countries,) and nurtured by the mothers and fathers who prized liberty dearer than life. A number of the delegates to the coming Constitutional Convention are young men who cherish these principles, therefore we consider the outlook most hopeful and encouraging. A delegation of women will doubtless be carefully selected to go before the convention and listen, watching carefully any and every measure calculated to infringe upon the full freedom and liberty of women, and to present petitions, if needful, should emergencies unlooked for arise.

Our conditions are very favorable as regards the press; the State papers (almost without exception) will publish a reasonable amount of suffrage matter and the country papers are equally helpful in this respect. Home magazines devote space to these subjects, and we have a competent State Press Committee.

We have had since June first 1872, the *Woman's Exponent* which has always advocated equal suffrage ever since it was established, and though it is comparatively local in circulation, yet it is ever loyal to the rights of women and to the National Association, and it is circulated in many states and territories, also in foreign countries, and upon the islands of the sea. This little paper has certainly been an important factor in educating the women of our mountain vales in the suffrage cause. To be sure, some parts of our territory are more active in organized work than others, and have more local clubs, but generally speaking, the tendency is to solidity, and in the right direction.

In my opinion, there are two good reasons why the women of Utah should have the ballot, apart from the general reasons why all women should have it. First: because the franchise was given to them by the Territorial Legislature and they exercised it seventeen years, never abusing the privileges, nor was any cause assigned for taking the ballot away from them, except as a political measure.

Second: There are undoubtedly more women in Utah who own their own homes and pay taxes (if in a small way) than in any other state with

the same number of inhabitants, and Congress has, by its enactments in the past, virtually made many of these women heads of families.

And in conclusion, let me say the conditions of equality in all our educational institutions is and has always been the same for girls as for boys. It was the sentiment of the founders of the territory, and has no doubt had a broadening influence upon the whole body politic of that grand and promising rising star in the West which is now about to emerge from the obscurity in which it has been hidden into the bright galaxy of states, and take its place with the stars of equal magnitude in the Western domain of the Republic.

E. B. Wells, President

Utah Constitutional Convention, 1895

July 25, 1894 • Wednesday
I received a letter from Susan B. Anthony in reference to Statehood and the suffrage which I took to John Q. [Cannon] to be published. She wants us to set to work and try to get a platform in the Constitution and be admitted as Wyoming was. The Constitutional Convention should do this whether we intercede with them or not, their own knowledge of the country's needs and what women have done to help settle the Territory should inspire them. [p. 206] {p. 86}

April 18, 1895 • Thursday
This morning I hurried with all speed in order to prepare the new lists that came in and was off to the Convention in very good time but not too soon after all– Saw Thurmon [Samuel R. Thurman] at the Cullen and talked with him– found him very confident of the result– he is one who reassures you when in doubt– the vote was taken and stood 69. for and 32 against– a little bitterness was manifest from [Brigham H.] Roberts & [Charles S.] Varian also [William F.] James but altogether it was smooth sailing I sent a telegram to Susan B. Anthony to let her know– We kept very quiet and made no demonstratiom[24] {p. 137}

24. For a review of the debates over a woman suffrage clause, see Jean Bickmore White, "Woman's Place Is in the Constitution: The Struggle for Equal Rights in Utah in 1895," in *Battle for the Ballot: Essays on Woman Suffrage in Utah, 1870–1896,* ed. Carol Cornwall Madsen (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997), 221–43.

"Equal Suffrage in the Constitution," Editorial, Woman's Exponent *23 (May 1, 1895): 260.*

In the [Utah] Constitutional Convention on the morning of April 18th, the section on equal suffrage which had passed its third reading by a majority vote was brought up for reconsideration, as had been previously decided and the debate was limited to fifteen minutes, so that the question was soon disposed of without much argument on either side. When the vote was taken it stood sixty-nine to thirty-two, and the section as originally formulated by the majority committee on Elections and Suffrage goes into the Constitution of the New State giving women equal political privileges with men. On the same day the amendment for woman suffrage passed in the state of New Jersey, so that it really does seem to have been an auspicious day for the cause.

Miss Susan B. Anthony in a letter received since the news reached her says, "Hurrah for Utah No. 3, State—that establishes a genuine "Republican form of Government." I got the telegram just in time Thursday evening to read it at our city P. E. Club meeting,[25] and there was a big clapping of hands over it, then our New Jersey State senate passed the amendment bill the same afternoon, so we surely may feel that the morning dawn streaks our sky."

There will be great rejoicing over the victory gained in Utah and it will certainly be an encouragement to all those who are working for the enfranchisement of womankind and the betterment of all mankind. Certainly we as women are as deeply grateful as it is possible to express without ostentation or display, but we appreciate in the highest degree the efforts of the friends of equal suffrage who so nobly stood by the cause when so severely attacked by the opposition. Some acknowledgement on behalf of the women of this Territory is eminently proper, and will assuredly be made in good time, for the present, one feels like being silently grateful to the Giver of all good and hoping and praying that the women of the new state may be wise, prudent and cautious in the exercise of their political rights. . . .

25. "Political Equality Clubs were the basic organizational unit of New York State's woman suffragists." "From the Diary of SBA," in *In an Awful Hush, 1895 to 1906,* vol. 6 of The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, ed. Ann D. Gordon (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2018), 1 n. 1.

WOMAN'S EXPONENT.

The Rights of the Women of Zion, and the Rights of the Women of all Nations.

VOL. 23. SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, MAY 1, 1895. No. 19.

CONTENTS:

THE BEST.

You ask me when I loved the best
After twenty or before.
I'll take a moment for retrospect
And view my Life's Loves o'er.
My child-hood's loves, the first for mother.
The loves for sister and for brother—
Then the maiden's love,
For the lover that came to woo,
And the wife's love, when I left
The old life for a new.

They were all true loves,
That will live forever and aye,
That will not perish as earthly things
That fade and pass away;
The best of loves, true and sincere,
Came to me ere my twentieth year
But after twenty the crown of all
Came to my life at my baby's call.

E. T.

MY GARDEN.

It is time now to plant my garden.
This morning I stepped outside,
And a warm wind gently blowing
From the south-land far and wide,
Came whispering softly 'round me,
"The blue birds and robins are here,
The sparrows are building their nests, and
There's nothing whatever to fear."

Then I went where my last year's flowers
Had scattered their seeds around,
And already the eager leaflets
Were pushing above the ground;
And on vines late bowed with snow drifts
The leaf buds with warmth were swelling
And high in the tree tops joyous birds
Their riotous joy were telling.

And everything seemed to say, "Come out
Leave your window's Easter lilies,
Come out in the hills and see what waits
Where each crystal, rippling rill is,
Come take us cowslips out of the damp
And the ferns from out the shadows,
We violets and sweet buttercups
From out the spreading meadows.

Come take us blue bells from the side
Of mountain slopes so lonely,
We'll bloom for you and bless your care
With odors for you only.
And if you will, the birds you love
Will surely, singing follow
From out the deep and rocky glades,
And every grassy hollow.

E'en while you sleep, we, all awake
While hours of might are going,
Like fairy tale, will softly work
Some charm for morning's showing.
Ingratitude for care bestowed
Is not in floral natures,
Nor murmurs of dull discontent,
As come from human creatures.

Come, set us by your city plants
And e'en we simple daisies,
Their glowing colors will offset
By our own modest graces;
And o'er your roses vivid bloom
And glowing beds of pansies,
Our feathered soloists shall sing
Your praise in sweetest stanzas.

Come, bring the wild clematis home
Down from the Weber river,
'Twill match Virginia creeper's green
And fairy white wreaths give her;
Bring rushes from the Jordan's side
Where once you went a-riding,
And columbines from City Creek
In rocky fastness hiding.

And down among your hot house plants
Find place for beds of mosses,
The pampas grass will shield them well,
The while her plumes she tosses;
And stately lilacs pink and white
Will make no proud complaining,
For humming birds coquetting 'round
Will soothe the least disdaining.

Then when you've planted these and more;
(Nor mignonette forgetting,)
Come when the weary day is done
And moonlight's softly setting
Your Garden's picture framed in dusk
And birds are hushed in slumbers;
Come, sit with those you love, and list
To music's gentle numbers.

Come, and thy soul led gently on
To rest and poet's dreaming,
The sense of bliss thy toil hath wrought
Shall real be—not seeming,
And they who gather 'round thee then
Shall learn the worth of beauty,
And by their presence at its shrine
Praise love made fair through duty.

AUGUSTA JOYCE CROCHERON.

April 2nd, 1895.

REVOLUTIONARY TYPES OF WOMEN OF THE REPUBLIC.

[*Read at the National Council of Women, Washington, D. C.*]

THE women of the Republic are the direct heritors of the women of the Revolution. All talk of a new woman is a mere fable. There is no new woman.

Ever and always it is the same woman; the woman who went forth from Eden with never a flimsy excuse upon her lips; the woman who sang the pæons of the Exodus; the woman who spins among her maidens while Ulysses roams the seas; the woman who proves to her Roman neighbors the redeeming power of Christianity upon a husband by showing the healed wound upon her arm; the woman who launched the bark of Columbus; the woman kneeling on the bleak shores of Plymouth; the woman who made the homespun suit for the inaugural of her husband as first President of the Republic; the woman who taught that President, when yet a little lad, that it is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in princes.

Blessed womanhood of the world! Without it earth would be a howling wilderness, such as Dante saw and was afraid.

Behold the women of the Revolution! They roll the logs beside their husbands to build their rude cabins; they sow, they reap, they card and spin and make the garments of the household; they rear rosy sons and daughters; they teach them the Sermon on the Mount—reverence for holy things, respect for authority; courage, reliance, self-control; but, above all, that it is the right of every soul to be free to follow the dictates of conscience, and that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.

When the great conflict comes they are ready, and when the husband and father and the older sons join the patriot army they gather their little ones around them, and their faith and fortitude hold them true, fleeing now from the hostile savages on the wild frontier, now from the the harrying Hessians scouring through farms and hamlets, but oftener with busy wheel and loom and kneading-board hoarding their resources, their struggling country's needs.

Martha Washington kept thirteen spinning-wheels running at Mount Vernon, to make clothing for men, women, and children. Women in the towns banded themselves together to wear homespun, to give up laces and frills of foreign make—just as men gave up their ruffled shirts and their broadcloth and their silken hose. And let it stand forever to the credit of the women of the Revolution that, in the darkest hours of the struggle for independence, when plottings and conspiracies were undermining the influence of Washington and tying the hands of the Continental Congress, they never lost their confidence and courage, but fed, clothed, and inspired with never-failing hope the barefoot patriots of Trenton and Valley Forg .

John Quincy Adams, in a speech before the United States Congress, asserting the rights of women to petition on political subjects, said, "The voice of history speaks, trumpet-tongued, of the daring and intrepid spirit of patriotism burning in the bosom of the woman of that day." Yet when we search for facts concerning woman's part in the history of the Revolution, it is like culling flowers by the flashes of midnight lightning. Washington Irving, the beloved, has not so much as a word even for Martha Washington's work at Mount Vernon.

As in all times and nations, the women of the Revolution must be studied chiefly through the deeds of their husbands and fathers, in the reflected light of their sons and daughters. They were the supporting columns of the Revolution, investing the patriot army as the gods of Olympus did the contending hosts of Troy.

A page from the *Woman's Exponent,* May 1, 1895. Courtesy Church History Library.

Utah WSA Meetings with Susan B. Anthony and Anna Shaw as National Visitors

"*The Coming of Miss Anthony. The National Conference,*" Woman's Exponent *23 (May 1, 1895): 260.*

The visit of Susan B. Anthony to Salt Lake City will be an event of great importance, and one which those who know her personally, will hail with joy, and certainly those who have never had the pleasure of hearing her before, will come eagerly to listen to her grandly simple eloquence. Miss Anthony is a rare personality, distinctively original in style, and charming in her quaker simplicity of dress and demeanor. She has not only grown old gracefully, but intellectually, she shows in every line of her face and every curve of her straight and slender figure, that attainment of wisdom and strength of mind and character which denotes unusual development of the soul. Miss Anthony's powers of endurance are something wonderful; if weary she recuperates quickly, and never excuses herself from duty. Of her it may truly be said, "she is one of the most heroic figures in American history." But Miss Anthony will very soon be here now; on the 12th of May she is expected to arrive, and we hope the public will turn out *enmasse,* to see and hear her, and those of her party who will make the trip with her, and who will be expected to take part in the Conference, to be held in this city on the 13th and 14th of May. . . .

May 8, 1895 • Wednesday

Today Miss Jannette Smith called on me and I took her to the News Office & the President's office and had quite an interesting conversation with her. also went to see Captain [Samuel] Paul in reference to the Utah Drag[26]– and succeeded in getting it– to the City & County Building and secured Convention Hall for our coming National Conference– wrote to the Governor & Secretary asking them to introduce our guests– and to Mrs. Stansbury of Denver received word from Miss Anthony from Kansas City through Miss Shaw {p. 157}

May 9, 1895 • Thursday

<Letter from Gov. West consenting to introduce Miss Anthony> This morning went to the President's office and had an interview with

26. The Utah Drag and the "big Utah" mentioned in the May 12, 1895, entry below refer to a large horse-drawn conveyance that held nearly thirty occupants. EBW Diary, May 12, 1894.

Portrait of Susan B. Anthony with leaders from intermountain states, including Emmeline B. Wells, Zina D. H. Young, Sarah M. Kimball, and others, 1895. Courtesy Church History Library.

Presidents Woodruff and Cannon, Miss Smith made herself very agreeable– we called at Mrs. Frank [Marjorie Dwyer] Jennings & saw Mrs. P. P. [Priscilla Paul] Jennings and saw Bishop [Orson F.] Whitney and Judge [Calvin] Reason[e]r[27] both called on me and talked of their new venture in newspaper work. Rec'd a letter from Mrs. Catt saying Miss Reel would perhaps not be able to come– . . . {p. 158}

27. "The 1890s saw Calvin [Reasoner] move to Utah, where he served as a probate judge in Ogden and wrote influential political articles urging less state government control by the Mormon Church. In 1896 his self-published book, *Church and State: The Issue of Civil and Religious Liberty in Utah,* influenced many Utah legislators in writing that state's constitution." "Calvin Reasoner—1996 Inductee," *The Osborne County Hall of Fame,* last edited September 12, 2012, accessed December 31, 2018, https://ochf.wordpress.com/2012/09/12/calvin-reasoner-1996-inductee/.

May 12, 1895 • Sunday
<Dined at Mrs. Hyde's[28] at 6. p.m.> Was up town in good time and at the U.P. Depot at half-past seven with the big Utah and several carriages– met the ladies we expected Miss Anthony and Miss Shaw– then we breakfasted at the Templeton forty of us the rest went home or sat in the parlors– We rode about the City and then went home to lunch– Afterwards to the Tabernacle and sat in the Stand with the speakers and Aunt Zina S. M. [Sarah M. Granger] Kimball & B. W. [Bathsheba Wilcox Bigler] Smith Miss Shaw Miss Anthony & Bishop Whitney each spoke a short time the singing was extra fine Mr. [Evan] Stephens selected especially. At the theater in the evening Miss Shaw gave her sermon The Heavenly Vision[29] {p. 161}

May 13, 1895 • Monday
Went up early and to the Constitutional Convention Hall and had everything arranged properly. opened about ½ past ten, Gov. West introduced Miss Anthony who spoke first then Miss Shaw who carried the audience by storm. Afterwards Mrs. Mary Craig Carrol Bradford & Mrs. Lyle Meredith Stansbury each talking a few minutes then S. M. Kimball, M. I. [Mary Isabella Hales] Horne, Mrs. Wm. Ferry[,] Joanna Melton[,] E. [Elias] H. Parsons[.] Aunt Zina made a sweet winning address of welcome After the meeting came the reception, hundreds of people at F. S. [Franklin S.] Richards. dined there afterwards went to the Hall which was densely crowded. Miss Shaw & Mrs. Bradford were the speakers. {p. 162}

May 14, 1895 • Tuesday
<dined at Phebe [Young] Beatie's six p.m.> This morning met in the Tabernacle (small one) A very fine assembly– had many representatives besides the principal speakers which rather detracted from the effect– however we made pretty good collections and in the afternoon went out to Saltair had over a hundred guests. the visitors seemed to enjoy it. In the evening we had a meeting in the Assembly Hall– Mrs. Stansbury &

28. Probably Anna Taylor Hyde.

29. Events and personalities are described in "The National Conference: National American W.S.A.," *Woman's Exponent* 23 (May 15, 1895): 268. Anna H. Shaw's sermon was transcribed by a stenographer and published in "Sermon by Rev. Anna H. Shaw in the Large Tabernacle in Salt Lake City," *Woman's Exponent* 24 (June 1, 1895): 1–2, followed by remarks from "Miss Susan B. Anthony," 2.

Miss Shaw with a few words from Miss Anthony We closed the Conference much to my disappointment– however I had been pretty well wrought up all the time and felt it would be better so. I came home thoroughly exhausted & worn to a thread– {p. 163}

May 15, 1895 • Wednesday
This morning went up to have our pictures taken in a group– we have had so many in groups– it is a sort of fad. About thirty or more of us. Later on I succeeded after great difficulty in getting Miss Anthony & Miss Shaw down to my house. Mrs. [Margaret Walker] Salisbury was there with us. Belle & Lucile we called at Annie's on our way– and at Belle's after. We had kind of a pleasant lunch I paid Miss Anthony 25 dollars out of the collections and we drove to the depot so she could go on to Ogden and Miss Shaw to McVicker's then to the W.C.T.U.[30] reception. Counted out 35 dollars for her. Several ladies went to Ogden with them Mrs. Caine among the number– {p. 164}

May 17, 1895 • Friday
I am trying to make up for lost time or time occupied by the National Conference as well as the Constitutional Convention I have worked very steadily and much harder than any one is aware of– weary & in pain I have still kept on– I have enjoyed the change to be sure but do not know how the means will hold out to pay all expenses. . . . {p. 166}

Utah Statehood Approved and NAWSA Response, 1895–1896

November 7, 1895 • Thursday
Today I wrote to Susan B. Anthony and to Mrs. Catt also and sent off the three letters mentioning the carrying of the Constitution by a large majority. It seems almost too good to be true that we have equal suffrage. . . . {p. 340}

December 27, 1895 • Friday
. . . Had a letter from Susan B. Anthony in response to the Presidents announcement of Statehood for Utah. . . . {p. 390}

30. Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

December 30, 1895 • Monday
. . . Wrote a long letter to Miss S. B. Anthony and one to Mrs. C. C. Catt enclosing a dollar yesterday and mailed them today. . . . {p. 393}

January 4, 1896 • Saturday
while I was making ready to go to the office, the guns fired a salute the whistles began to blow and I knew the President of the United States had signed the Proclamation. I flew as it were over to Belle's and gave them the news; they had not noticed the whistles until then, bells were pealing out vigorously and all was joyous noise, I took the first car and found the city streaming with flags and banners. All was gaiety and I was soon joined by other women anxious to participate in the demonstration of joy and gladness. Mrs. Salisbury invited me to lunch with her at the Exchange– I went and had a pleasant time sent a telegram to Miss Anthony– Rec'd one from Miss Shaw Philadelphia– . . . {p. 40}

January 5, 1896 • Sunday
. . . had dispatch from Susan B. Anthony, Rochester N.Y. Had dinner at Lydia Ann [Alley Wells]'s & Susan [Alley Wells]'s Went to see Aunt Zina and Mrs. Zina Y. Card. had a pleasant time came home very late to read and think. How strange it all seems, and how wonderful that one of our boys[31] should have had the honor of being the first Governor of Utah as a State– I have so many letters to write and am so worried by certain people who think they know so much more than I do, how things should be done– that it makes my head fairly swim. . . .

January 11, 1896 • Saturday
. . . I have had a very wearisome day, Suffrage meeting at one p.m. and then after that was over the ladies of the three Central Boards met to arrange for Aunt Zina's banquet– the Meeting commenced at 4. and lasted until after 8. I came home and did some writing– had a letter from Miss Anthony and one from Mrs. [Rachel Foster] Avery– had a very lonely night and not feeling well either. Had a message from Jos. F. [Smith] about going to Washington {p. 47}

31. Heber M. Wells, son of Daniel H. Wells and Martha Harris Wells, was elected as the first governor of the state of Utah; he was a member of the Wells family and stepson of Emmeline B. Wells.

January 21, 1896 • Tuesday
I was invited to the Senate Chamber but was very late on account of going to the President's office to talk over Washington Convention affairs– The Presidency wished Zina and myself to go, but I had no money and Zina would not go without me– We went down to the Legislature and heard part of Frank J. Cannon's speech and then to the Senate and listened to the discussion in regard to women sitting on juries. [John F.] Chidester had introduced it, yet he was one who did most towards equal suffrage. Some smart lawyer I suppose had put him up to it. Well they killed it in the Senate the House had rejected it previously. Mrs. [Clara Bewick] Colby said some brave words for us and three of us sent her a dispatch thanking her– Zina & Margaret Caine, with me, I also asked Miss Anthony to postpone the Celebration to Monday {p. 57}

January 23, 1896 • Thursday
This morning could scarcely believe my eyes when I saw there was no notice of a telegram Letters from no notables, but of consequence to me– congratulations from Mrs. Upton and from others. This morning I finished the verse for Aunt Zina's card President A. M. [Angus M.] Cannon came in. and regretted as all the brethren have that I was not in Washington. . . . {p. 59}

January 28, 1896 • Tuesday
Went off as early as possible and had a telegram from Rachel Foster Avery on my arrival. Very cheering– last night in Washington Utah was celebrated and created much enthusiasm. I shall be glad to learn particulars– . . . {p. 64}

February 15, 1896 • Tuesday
. . . Today Susan B. Anthony is 76 years old– I presume she has had many gifts and messages I should love to send her some sweet token from here but really feel I cannot. I love her very much and my heart goes out to her, but when one has not means they cannot bestow upon even those they love. . . . {p. 82}

Always interested in the social advancement of women, Emmeline B. Wells made connections with leaders of national organizations that built understanding around shared values and goals. By achieving woman

suffrage in 1870 and again in 1895, the women of Utah set a desirable example for other parts of the nation. Utah women raised money and gathered thousands of names on petitions to support national suffrage efforts. They organized local Woman Suffrage Associations in the state and its counties. The hard work of local leaders like Emmeline earned the respect of Susan B. Anthony and her colleagues. Anthony, in turn, supported and honored their efforts. The two episodes documented here—the 1879 visit to Washington, D.C., and the 1895 winning of woman suffrage in the Utah Constitution—are highlights of this mutually advantageous relationship made possible by the pen and personality of Emmeline B. Wells.

Cherry Bushman Silver is coeditor of the Emmeline B. Wells diaries project and has enjoyed researching and annotating the diaries with Sheree Bench over the last eighteen years.

Sheree Maxwell Bench is coeditor of the Emmeline B. Wells diaries project. She teaches courses in women's studies and Latter-day Saint women's history at Brigham Young University and academic writing at Utah Valley University. She previously worked as a researcher at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute. She was a founding member of the Mormon Women's History Initiative Team and currently serves as its cochair.

Belva Lockwood

The "Nerviest Woman in the United States," Who Became the Latter-day Saints' Irrepressible Advocate and Friend

Melinda Evans

In August 1889, a number of newspapers ran an article that began with this sentence: "Belva Lockwood has long been considered the nerviest woman in the United States."[1] At the time, Belva Lockwood had been a household name in the U.S. for many years. By 1889, she had also established herself as an outspoken advocate who unabashedly defended the legal rights of members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

A well-known Washington, D.C., lawyer and activist for various causes (such as women's suffrage, gender and racial equality, Native American rights, temperance, and international peace) and the first woman ever admitted to the U.S. Supreme Court bar, Belva described herself as having a mind of "extreme practicality."[2] Belva's biographer describes her as a woman who "exuded ego," who "reveled in public notice, and offered herself as a model of female accomplishment and independence."[3] And Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg describes Belva as "principal among way pavers," a person whose life and work reveals that "resilience, wit, and good humor . . . can turn put-downs and slights into opportunities."[4]

Certainly, members of the Church in nineteenth-century Utah could benefit from a friend who knew how to turn disparagement into political opportunity and who was familiar with the political workings of Washington, D.C. Between the close of the Civil War and the beginning of the twentieth century, Utah became a political football as national

1. "The W. C. T. U. in Paris," *Olean Weekly Democrat,* August 8, 1889; *Wichita Eagle,* August 25, 1889, 12.

Belva Lockwood. Courtesy Library of Congress.

attention was drawn to the remote Utah Territory and the political ramifications of polygamy. George Q. Cannon, Utah's territorial delegate to Congress, said in 1879, "Mormonism has become famous, because of the practicing, by a portion of the people, of this doctrine [of plural marriage], until the whole earth resounds with the talk of 'the Polygamy of the Mormons,' as though the Mormons were half the people of the United States."[5] Congress debated whether Utah's unusual, tight weave of religion, politics, and economics was threatening to the nation, and every presidential election demanded that candidates at least decry the practice of polygamy if not the Latter-day Saint faith altogether.

Women's suffrage was a subject of national attention during the same years that Congress aimed to obliterate the Latter-day Saint faith. The two contentious national debates—women's suffrage and polygamy—became entwined when Utah women received the right to vote in 1870. National women's suffrage groups were then faced with the conflict of whether or not to endorse the voting rights of Utah women even though some of those women were in polygamous marriages. Certainly, not all Utah women were Latter-day Saints, and not all Latter-day Saint women were involved in polygamy. However, "the Mormon Question" was so publicly controversial that any alignment of the suffrage organizations with Latter-day Saint women could damage the progress of the national women's suffrage movement. To complicate things, congressional attacks on Utah women's suffrage were sometimes part of larger attempts to disfranchise all polygamists or all Latter-day Saints, making

5. George Q. Cannon, in *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 20:275–76 (July 20, 1879).

it difficult for women's suffrage activists to oppose the legislation without appearing to defend the Latter-day Saints' practice of polygamy.

Amid this debate, Belva Lockwood unabashedly supported Utah women's right to vote and vigorously condemned legislative attacks on Latter-day Saints' constitutional rights.

"The Nerviest Woman in the United States"

So who was Belva Ann Bennett McNall Lockwood, "the nerviest woman in the United States"? She was a rural school teacher at age fifteen, then a farmer's wife at eighteen, a mother at nineteen, and a widow at twenty-two.[6] She then earned a degree from Genesee College, where she was baptized a Methodist, attended law lectures by a local attorney, became devoted to missionary work and the temperance movement, and graduated with honors in 1857.[7] From her mid-twenties until her mid-thirties, Belva taught school as a single mother in western New York, ruffling feathers when she insisted on including calisthenics, nature walks, ice skating, and public speaking in girls' curricula, becoming friends with fellow teacher Susan B. Anthony in the process.[8]

When the Civil War ended, Belva moved to Washington, D.C., where she started a school but already had ambitions beyond teaching, as shown by her unsuccessful application to be a U.S. consular officer (in preparation for which she studied German, memorized the Consular Manual, and spent a summer studying international law in the basement library of the United States Supreme Court).[9] Belva soon met and married Ezekiel Lockwood, and with him she had a second daughter, her adored "little blossom," whom she cared for while studying legal treatises such as Blackstone's commentaries.[10] In October 1869, just days before Belva turned thirty-nine, she and Ezekiel attended a law lecture at Columbian Law School, and Belva—then the mother of two daughters, one a teenager and the other a nine-month-old baby—became determined to become a lawyer.[11]

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6. Julia Hull Winner and Belva Lockwood, "Belva A. Lockwood—That Extraordinary Woman," *New York History* 39, no. 4 (October 1958): 325–26.

7. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 7, 9.

8. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 11–13.

9. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 17–18.

10. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 23–26; Jill Norgren, *Belva Lockwood: Equal Rights Pioneer* (Minneapolis: Twenty-First Century Books, 2009), 44.

11. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 40–41.

Unfortunately, studying law was not an easy thing for a woman to do in 1869. Columbian Law School rejected her request for admission, saying that she would distract the male students—a rejection that Belva eagerly publicized by talking with the local press.[12] Eventually, National University allowed Belva and a few other women to study there, but after Belva completed the two-year course, National University refused to award her a diploma.[13] Without a diploma, she was denied admission to the D.C. bar in 1872, even after she passed an oral examination by local practitioners as well as an additional three-day oral exam rigged up after anonymous bar members opposed admitting her.[14] Refusing to give up, Belva unsuccessfully attempted to take law classes at Georgetown College (which rejected her because of her sex), but she did take a few law courses at Howard University.[15] The following year, Belva finally received her diploma from National University after writing twice to the newly elected President Ulysses S. Grant (the ultimate head of the school), and she was finally able to join the D.C. bar and develop her law practice.[16]

Then two things happened that propelled Belva's national fame. First, between 1874 and 1879, Belva fought to become the first woman admitted to the bar of the United States Supreme Court. In 1874, after being denied admission to the bar of the U.S. Court of Claims because she was a woman, Belva wrote a petition and legal brief that Congressman Benjamin Butler worked into a bill, with language providing that no woman otherwise qualified could be barred from practicing before any U.S. court on account of sex.[17] That bill failed, and in 1876, the Supreme Court ruled that it would not admit her to its bar unless such legislation were passed requiring the court to admit women.[18] Accordingly, Belva (while still running a busy legal practice) returned to lobbying Congress

12. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 41–42.

13. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 43.

14. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 44.

15. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 49.

16. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 50–51. In Belva's typical fashion, she preferred to bury the hatchet rather than carry a grudge, and when the speaker fell ill for the 1874 commencement at Columbian Law School (the first school to reject her as a student), Belva took the opportunity to fill in and was reported as one of the "lights of the law" to "grace the occasion." See "Local Items," *The Capital,* June 7, 1874, 1.

17. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 72.

18. Supreme Court of the United States, "Minutes," November 6, 1876, quoted in Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 73.

in 1877 and 1878, during which time she also faced significant personal heartbreak when her husband and father died weeks apart.[19]

As Belva lobbied Congress, one senator emerged as her nemesis opposing the bill: Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont. Belva reportedly said, "I know I shall 'pass' if I can win his support," consistent with the newspaper report that "not a solitary measure passes the Senate that is not licked into shape by the insinuating tongue and all-prevailing mind of vigilant Senator Edmunds."[20] Senator Edmunds led the debate against the bill in the Senate, but he also made things personal by speaking out against Belva herself in the press, construing his opposition as a vote "against Mrs. Lockwood" and saying that he would oppose the bill not because Belva was a woman but because "I think her a very poor lawyer!"[21] Despite Senator Edmunds's opposition, the bill passed and was signed into law on February 15, 1879.[22] On the first day that the Supreme Court reconvened, Belva appeared to again be recommended for admission. The press covered the event as front-page news, waiting with Belva for hours as the court read legal opinions ("the almost endless grind of decisions") and then accepted ten male applicants to the bar before finally indicating to Belva to stand.[23] As she stood before the court, there was "a bating of breath and craning of necks" until Belva was presented by her sponsoring attorney, took the oath, kissed the Bible, and became the first woman to sign her name as a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States.[24] Immediate cheers erupted, prompting the marshal of the court to call for order.[25]

The second event that solidified Belva's fame came in 1884, when she became the presidential nominee of the Equal Rights Party in the 1884 election. Her candidacy was instantly front-page news; in Belva's words, "The secret was out and next morning I was famous."[26] The *Evening*

19. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 75.

20. "Edmunds in the Senate," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern,* April 23, 1880, 2.

21. "Edmunds in the Senate," 2.

22. 20 U.S. Stat. 292 (1897).

23. "Mrs. Lockwood's Victory," *Washington Post,* March 5, 1879, 1.

24. "Mrs. Lockwood's Victory," 1.

25. "Mrs. Lockwood's Victory," 1. Within the year, Belva returned to the Supreme Court to sponsor the admission of Samuel Lowry of Alabama, the first Southern Black man (and only the fourth Black man ever) to be admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court. See Winner and Lockwood, "Belva A. Lockwood—That Extraordinary Woman," 334; "The Equality of To-Da," *Decatur Daily Republican,* February 6, 1880, 1.

26. Belva A. Lockwood, "How I Ran for the Presidency," *National Magazine* 17, no. 6 (March 1903): 732.

Star in Washington, D.C., reprinted her letter accepting the nomination, which discussed some of her views on the return of land and payment of debts to Native Americans, the reformation of the federal pension office, expansion of international trade, women's suffrage, and the appointment of women as district attorneys, judges, and marshals.[27] Her image quickly appeared on the covers and in the pages of mass-circulation magazines such as *Puck, Harper's Weekly,* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated.*[28] Belva traveled across the country giving stump speeches and interviews, the first woman to pursue a full-fledged presidential campaign, and while she (like the male presidential candidates) experienced some degree of mockery, she was for the most part treated with respect in person and in the press and was able to promote the platform of her party.[29] Although she lacked a war chest comparable to those that financed the main candidates for the Republicans and Democrats, she was able to finance her campaign by charging admission to her public lectures.[30] Belva's candidacy threw a light on the fact that even though women could not vote, they did have diverse political opinions and a desire to participate in government. As Belva herself put it, "I cannot vote, but I can be voted for."[31]

Belva's Early Support of Utah Women at the NWSA

When Utah women were the first in the United States to use their elective franchise on February 14, 1870, many Easterners—including activist groups to which Belva Lockwood belonged—expected Utah women to use their newly gained voting rights to extinguish The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or at least the practice of plural marriage. For instance, just one month earlier, in January 1870, the NWSA had resolved that securing the vote for Utah women was the most reliable

27. "A Women's Candidate for President," *Evening Star*, September 4, 1884, 1. From the start of her candidacy, Belva emphasized that she aimed to represent all Americans and that she had been nominated not by a women's suffrage association but by the Equal Rights Party, which represented men as well as women. See "For Belva and Reform," *Evening Star,* September 17, 1884, 1.

28. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 134.

29. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 135–40.

30. "Mrs. Lockwood's Campaign Closed," *Evening Star,* Nov. 5, 1884, 4. When the campaign ended, Belva boasted to reporters that she had made enough money to pay her expenses and still had $125 left over. She also continued to make money by giving lectures about her campaign experience. See "The World in Brief," *Daily Nevada State Journal,* October 16, 1885, 1. "Belva Lockwood was not elected President, but she has made $2,000 lecturing on her failure."

31. "For Belva and Reform," 1.

means of ending polygamy.[32] Similarly, the Universal Peace Union stated that if woman were made equal to man, "then much of the evils that are now practiced—such as free love, Mormonism, war, intemperance, and prostitution, will be in a great measure done away with, through her mighty influence."[33] When instead Utah women did not use their franchise to immediately end plural marriage, Congress responded with various bills to "promote the purity of elections" in Utah by disfranchising Utah women and to bar the subsequent granting of women's suffrage in any U.S. territory.[34]

Because Belva was involved with both the NWSA and the Universal Peace Union, two groups that had promoted women's franchise as a means of extinguishing polygamy and the Church, it was somewhat surprising when Belva signaled support for Utah women at the NWSA convention in January 1876. On the second day of the conference, Belva remarked in her annual report that "in the territories of Wyoming and Utah, woman suffrage still continues after five years' experiment, and we have not learned that households have been broken up or that babies have ceased to be rocked."[35] At the evening session later that day, Belva immediately took the floor to draw attention to events reported by the local press in that day's papers—specifically, reports that a delegation from Utah consisting of army and federal officers had met that morning with President Ulysses S. Grant to discuss problems with prosecuting polygamy. The reports stated that President Grant had expressed support for recommendations "that the Mormon women be not allowed to vote" and that women's suffrage in the Utah territory "be set aside."[36] After reading to the convention from the newspaper, Belva stressed the need to protect women's suffrage in Utah. She proposed a formal resolution by the NWSA to denounce congressional assaults on the "vested" right of Utah women to vote and to form a special three-woman committee tasked with lobbying Congress and protecting the fledgling suffrage rights of Utah

32. Beverly Beeton, *Women Vote in the West: The Woman Suffrage Movement, 1869–1896* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), 27.

33. Universal Peace Union, *Bond of Peace* (July 1870).

34. Kathryn L. MacKay, comp., "Chronology of Woman Suffrage in Utah," in *Battle for the Ballot: Essays on Woman Suffrage in Utah, 1870–1896,* ed. Carol Cornwall Madsen (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997), 313; Beeton, *Women Vote,* 50.

35. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage,* vol. 3, 1876–1885 (Rochester: self-pub., 1886), 6, accessed May 21, 2020, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/28556/28556-h/28556-h.htm.

36. "A Delegation from Utah," *Evening Star,* January 28, 1876, 1.

women.[37] The resolution was carried, and the NWSA appointed Belva to serve with Sara Spencer and Ellen Sargent on the special committee with a mandate to protect Utah women's suffrage.[38] Belva and the other committee members lived up to this responsibility over the next several years, testifying before Congress and meeting with the president while working cooperatively with Utah's congressional representative, George Q. Cannon, and Utah women's leaders.[39]

It was Sara Spencer from Belva's special committee who proposed, with Belva's support, that the NWSA invite certain Utah women—Emmeline B. Wells and Zina Young Williams—to openly participate in the 1879 NWSA convention even if those women were in polygamous marriages.[40] In January 1879, the NWSA executive committee decided in a meeting at Belva's home that they would give the two Utah representatives key assignments on NWSA committees—Emmeline Wells on the resolutions committee with Belva and Zina Williams on the finance committee with Ellen Sargent.[41] The committee assignments were approved at the convention the next day, where Emmeline and Zina were honored guests seated on the platform with Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Stanton.[42]

Increasing Hostility and Passage of the Edmunds Act

The NWSA's support of Latter-day Saint women in 1879 was timely because antipolygamy political forces were mobilizing among the "gentile" Utahns, who argued that women's suffrage needed to end because it was sustaining the practice of polygamy. Public opinion was growing increasingly strident against Latter-day Saints, creating tensions in national suffrage movements over whether Latter-day Saint women should still be welcome as delegates. In September 1880, Emmeline lost

37. "The Suffrage Movement," *National Republican,* January 29, 1876, 1.

38. "The Suffrage Movement," 1.

39. "From Washington," *Women's Words: An Original Review of What the Sex Is Doing* 2 (February 1878): 170; "Latest News," *Chester Daily Times,* January 21, 1879, 1; "American," *Deseret News [weekly],* January 22, 1879, 810; Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 117; Emmeline B. Wells Diary, January 10–12, 1879, 5:26, Digital Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

40. Norgren, *Woman Who Would Be President,* 117; Carol Cornwall Madsen, *An Advocate for Women: The Public Life of Emmeline B. Wells, 1870–1920* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2006), 157.

41. "National Woman Suffrage Association," *Evening Star,* January 9, 1879, 4.

42. Madsen, *Advocate for Women,* 163.

the guidance of Sara Spencer (the member of Belva's special NWSA committee who had helped Emmeline prepare her presentation to President Hayes) when Sara left the NWSA to form her own women's suffrage group.[43] At the same time, the territorial supreme court in Utah was asked to decide the constitutionality of granting the vote to Utah women in 1870. Emmeline Wells sent a telegram requesting help from Belva. There was little Belva could do in Washington to influence the pending decision of a territorial court, but Belva still sent Emmeline a telegram of friendly encouragement: "Stand by your guns. Allow no encroachment upon your liberties. No mandamus here."[44] When Emmeline contacted Belva, her goal may have been to confirm that Latter-day Saint women still had a friend in the NWSA.

The unpopularity of the Utah cause grew over the next two years as public opinion of Utah women concentrated more and more on outrageous folklore and cartoonish depictions of Latter-day Saint women as stupid, impoverished, subjugated, or immoral. At the 1882 NWSA convention, Susan B. Anthony told the Utah delegates that while she felt "no schism on the suffrage question," she disagreed with them about polygamy. And rather than let them speak at the convention, Anthony wanted them to help her hear an "Anti-Mormon account" from Utah women, and she asserted that the suffrage movement must "guard the cause by shunning even the appearance of evil" in light of the "present feverish state of society."[45]

The feverish state of public opinion put pressure on politicians as well as on the suffrage movement. President Rutherford B. Hayes asked Congress to remove the rights of citizenship from Utahns, and the result was the Edmunds bill, anti-Mormon legislation put forward by Belva's recent nemesis, Senator George F. Edmunds, that would deny polygamist men the right to vote, hold office, or serve as jurors.[46] Alarmed by

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43. Lola Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists" (PhD diss., New York University, 1996), 314; published as Lola Van Wagenen, *Sister Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and the Politics of Woman Suffrage, 1870–1896* (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies, 2003).

44. "History of the Mormon Church," *Americana,* vol. 10 (National Americana Society, 1915), 227 n 37½. See "The Mormon Question," *Deseret Evening News,* March 29, 1884, 3.

45. Romania B. Pratt, "Woman's Suffrage Convention," *Women's Exponent* 10, no. 19 (March 1, 1882): 146.

46. Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 227; United States Utah Commission, *Report of the*

the Edmunds bill, George Q. Cannon approached Belva and Susan B. Anthony for help. In a letter to Church President John Taylor, Cannon reported, "Miss Anthony, who is here, and Mrs. Lockwood are ready to render all the aid in their power to fight this proposition."[47] Petitions were assembled and delivered to Congress from Latter-day Saint men, women, and young women, all asking for a congressional delegation to visit Utah and investigate the actual circumstances there before passing the Edmunds bill.[48] Congress, however, was determined to satiate the president's and the public's fervor, and in 1882, Congress passed the Edmunds Act.

Belva's Opposition to Anti-Mormon Legislation: 1883

Belva Lockwood was one of the few legal figures to openly challenge the constitutionality of the Edmunds Act and of other legislation aimed at destroying The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. When the NWSA held its convention in January 1883, Latter-day Saint women from Utah did not attend, but even in their absence Belva chose to speak boldly in their defense, delivering a speech that aggressively denounced the Edmunds Act and defended the religious rights of the absent Latter-day Saints. Belva also ensured that a resolution was passed by the NWSA at its January 1883 convention to firmly oppose congressional bills intended to "deprive the women of Utah of the ballot."[49]

When it was Belva's turn to speak at the platform, Belva focused on Utah and started with arguments that would not be controversial to the NWSA, saying for instance that suffrage reform concerned fundamental rights such as "the right to say who shall rule over us, and how we shall be taxed; the right to put down the whisky traffic with the ballot; the right to a voice in the control of our public schools."[50] She then went on to counter arguments that giving women the vote meant that "colored women, ignorant women, and women in brothels will vote,"

Utah Commission to the Secretary of the Interior (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), 25–27.

47. George Q. Cannon, Utah Delegate, to John Taylor, President, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, January 14, 1882. John Taylor Presidential Papers, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City..

48. Beeton, *Women Vote,* 68.

49. "Mr. Cassidy and the Women," *Ogden Daily Herald,* January 8, 1883, 2.

50. Belva A. Lockwood, "The Disfranchisement of the Women of Utah," *Ogden Daily Herald,* June 9, 1883, 1; also in *Women's Exponent* 12, no. 2 (June 15, 1883): 12.

arguing that "colored men, ignorant men, foreign men, and men who hang around whisky saloons and brothels" could already vote.[51]

However, the next section of her speech proceeded to denounce governmental offenses far beyond the narrow scope of refusing to let women vote. Belva condemned the Edmunds Act for using controversial religious beliefs as a pretext for disenfranchising both men and women, a political tactic she disdained as "trickery and chicanery to compass an end."[52] Under the Edmunds Act as implemented, even nonpolygamist women and men were deprived of their right to vote, because a five-man commission established by the Edmunds Act chose to implement an oath test at polling houses. The Edmunds Act had vacated Utah's election offices and replaced them with five commissioners handpicked by President Chester Arthur.[53] Delegates from Utah had pressed for Belva Lockwood to be one of the five commissioners,[54] and Belva filed a written application, but this request went unheeded, and President Arthur filled the commission with five of his male lawyer friends.[55] The Edmunds Act commission decided, without authority, to impose an oath test prohibiting Utahns (including women) from voting if they had ever participated in polygamy or agreed with polygamy. In her speech before the 1883 NWSA convention, Belva ardently opposed the practices of the Edmunds Act commission: "The law was signed and promulgated, and the commissioners duly appointed and set to work to ferret out every unfortunate man or woman who had ever espoused that principle of the Mormon faith and to place upon each the ban of disfranchisement and disqualification for office."[56] Specifically, she was outraged that by implementing the oath test, the Edmunds Act commissioners "did more than confine themselves to the strict letter of the law, which was in itself severe," and instead chose to enforce their own idea of "what they believed the law ought to be."[57] Indeed, the enforcement of the Edmunds Act was unnecessarily expansive, reaching far beyond the intended impact of the law. According to the Congressional Record of debates on

51. Lockwood, "Disfranchisement," 1.

52. Lockwood, "Disfranchisement," 1.

53. "The Utah Commission Nominated" and "The Utah Commission," *Weekly Nevada State Journal,* June 24, 1882, 1.

54. Beeton, *Women Vote,* 68.

55. "After Fat Places," *Weekly Nevada State Journal,* June 17, 1882, 1.

56. Lockwood, "Disfranchisement," 1.

57. Lockwood, "Disfranchisement," 1.

the Edmunds bill, there were an estimated 2,500 polygamists in Utah.[58] However, during the first year alone of the Utah Commission's appointment, more than 12,000 Saints were denied the right to vote.[59]

Belva also criticized the Edmunds Act commission's practices because they "made the law retroactive, contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Constitution," in that the oath test disfranchised persons who had entered polygamous marriages only prior to the passage of the Edmunds Act.[60] Belva further railed against the Edmunds Act's vilification of first wives, who had done nothing illegal, and those who verified by written affidavit their repudiation of a prior polygamous marriage.[61]

In broad strokes, Belva's 1883 speech to the NWSA argued that the Edmunds Act was founded on a "spirit in tyranny and oppression," which always stood ready to "inflict some further torture."[62] Her speech also made personal attacks against Senator Edmunds, her old foe, as a vengeful misogynist:

> Did ever a politician—I cannot say statesman—get up so flimsy a pretext for so unjust an act? Punish innocent women for the crimes of men! Does any one of this intelligent audience believe that that was the honorable gentleman's motive? . . . In its effort to punish men, who alone had committed the offense, for the crime of bigamy and polygamy, [the Edmunds Act] wreaked its vengeance on the women. . . . [It] disfranchises the first wife of a Mormon, who of all other persons should have been considered guiltless of offence.[63]

At other times, Belva ridiculed Edmunds by implying he was unfamiliar with basic legal precedent (echoing his prior criticisms of her proposed legislation on grounds that she was "a very poor lawyer"), arguing that he apparently threw the landmark legal treatise "'Starkie, on Evidence,' and the laws for the Pension Office quite in the shade." She further accused him of burying "Blackstonian ideas" while also proposing to "override the Old Common Law and statute law respected from time immemorial."[64]

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58. Congressional Record 13:1211 (1882), cited in Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts,* 163.

59. Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts,* 231.

60. Lockwood, "Disfranchisement," 1.

61. Lockwood, "Disfranchisement," 1.

62. Lockwood, "Disfranchisement," 1.

63. Lockwood, "Disfranchisement," 1.

64. Lockwood, "Disfranchisement," 1.

Belva struck her strongest personal blow against Senator Edmunds when she said in her 1883 NWSA speech that the Edmunds Act was not actually concerned with prohibiting plural marriage at all. Instead, it was a politically motivated campaign strategy designed to make sure that Utah, when admitted as a state, would send Republican senators to Washington, knowing that with the women of the state voting, the senators would almost certainly be Democratic:

> But do any of my hearers suppose that the gist of this affair is to do away with bigamy and polygamy, and that this is a virtuous uprising of the United States Congress? The Territory of Utah was organized in 1850, with all these peculiarities of a portion of her citizens known to the Government, and not only tolerated, but winked at, and allowed to attain gigantic proportions. This present strife is a party one, and raised for political effect, and political ends. The real question at issue is, whether Utah as a State will be Democratic or Republican, and the honorable Senator [Edmunds] from Vermont is anxious to cut off Democratic votes enough to secure to this State, when ushered in, two Republican Senators for his party. He proposes to do this by cutting off the votes of the women, and at the same time indulging a narrow prejudice against the so-called Woman's Rights movement.[65]

When news of the speech made it to Utah, Belva received extensive praise and gratitude from the Latter-day Saints. George Q. Cannon, who heard Belva repeat her 1883 NWSA speech in congressional hearings, wrote to Church President John Taylor that Belva "displayed considerable courage" before members of Congress, and that her courage distinguished her from other suffragists "afraid to say anything favorable" for fear of impairing their fragile cause.[66] The entirety of Belva's speech was printed in Utah newspapers.[67] In Ogden, Utah, Belva's 1883 NWSA speech was also read at a large conference of area Relief Societies where special guests included local judges, the mayor, and an Apostle.[68] After the speech was read by Emily S. Richards with additional praise and thanks for Belva, Apostle Franklin D. Richards praised Belva for her "sound and strictly constitutional, eminently patriotic" arguments and proposed a unanimously carried vote of "thanks and appreciation to

65. Lockwood, "Disfranchisement," 1.

66. Cannon to Taylor, January 30, 1883, John Taylor Presidential Papers, Church History Library.

67. Lockwood, "Disfranchisement," 1.

68. "Quarterly Conference," *Woman's Exponent* 12, no. 2 (June 15, 1883): 12–14.

Mrs. Lockwood for her able argument in behalf of the women of Utah."[69] Next to speak was Franklin S. Richards, general counsel for the Church, who shared his personal knowledge of Belva's character and accomplishments in Washington and praised her for her "benevolence and heroism" as well as her "courage in speaking on so unpopular a subject before the Convention and Members of the Senate as 'our question.'"[70]

A few months after Belva's speech at the 1883 NWSA convention, George Q. Cannon met with Belva and a group of Utah women who had traveled to Washington to oppose new Edmunds legislation that would disfranchise all Utah women.[71] According to Belva, she recommended that a delegation of Latter-day Saint women accompany her while she addressed the Committee on Territories, but this plan changed when Belva took the group to confer with Susan B. Anthony, who said, "Don't send women, but send us money."[72]

There was thereafter a transfer of money from the Latter-day Saints to Belva, though the facts are not fully known, and it is unclear whether the Church ever retained Belva as its counsel or paid her for any specific legal services (an accusation sometimes made to discredit the sincerity of Belva's defense of or respect for the Latter-day Saints).[73] The journal of the secretary to the President notes that on February 9, 1884, Emmeline Wells and others met with President John Taylor to discuss whether five hundred dollars might be raised "to aid in maintaining the cause of Woman's Suffrage."[74] About a week later, there are notes of several bishops delivering twenty-five- or fifteen-dollar donations "to be used by the sisters to aid in maintaining the Woman's rights in Washington."[75] By the end of the month, four hundred dollars had been sent to Congressman John T. Caine "for Mrs. Belva Lockwood to aid her to work for Utah's interest," as recorded in the journal of Apostle Franklin D. Richards.[76] When asked in an interview, Belva strongly denied being employed by the Church: "I will say right here that I have never been employed by the Mormons. . . . I am not a paid attorney for these

69. "Quarterly Conference," 14.

70. "Quarterly Conference," 14.

71. "The Mormon Question," *Deseret Evening News,* March 29, 1884, 3.

72. "Mormon Question," 3.

73. Joan Smyth Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy in U.S. Women's Movements, 1880–1925: A Debate on the American Home* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 166.

74. Franklin D. Richards, Journal, February 9, 1884, Church History Library.

75. Richards, Journal, February 18, 1884.

76. Richards, Journal, February 27, 1884.

people."[77] Rather, she said that she was personally compelled to oppose legislation which could lead to disfranchisement in other territories beyond Utah: "I appeared before the committee . . . only for the purpose of opposing the disfranchisement of the women of Utah, but the bill was so sweeping that it makes no mention of the women, but proposes to wipe out the whole territorial legislature of Utah and disfranchise men and women, bigamists and monogamists, Mormons and Gentiles, taking away 75,000 votes of persons who have never been convicted of any crime."[78]

Outside of Utah, Belva and the NWSA were criticized for acting "not unfriendly to polygamy," based on Belva's unambiguous defense of the Latter-day Saints in her 1883 NWSA speech.[79] Some contended that Utah women voted as instructed, not with their own minds, and criticized the NWSA for supporting this kind of puppet franchise for women.[80] Despite the ongoing controversy surrounding her advocacy for the rights of Utahns, Belva was undeterred and continued to advocate for the rights of the Latter-day Saints.

Belva's Opposition to Anti-Mormon Legislation: 1884

Even though Belva and the NWSA were criticized for her pro-Utah speech at the 1883 convention, Belva again used the NWSA speaking platform to defend Utah at the 1884 convention, this time in defiance of Susan B. Anthony's instructions to talk about specifically women's suffrage in Utah and Wyoming.

As Belva recollected in one interview, she had in 1884 prepared to speak on women in trades and professions, but the day before the convention, Susan B. Anthony reportedly asked Belva to change her subject and urged her to instead speak about the disfranchisement of Utah and Wyoming women. This is Belva's account, related with her usual self-confidence: "The day before the Convention met, Miss Anthony saw me and said that my subject entrenched upon the subjects of some of the other ladies, and that as I could more readily change than any of them, she desired me to take up the subject of disfranchisement of the women of Utah and Wyoming, remarking, 'If you do not treat that subject, no one else will, as they have neither the

77. "Mormon Question," 3.
78. "Mormon Question," 3.
79. Beeton, *Women Vote,* 70.
80. Beeton, *Women Vote,* 70.

knowledge nor the courage.'"[81] All in all, however, Belva's 1884 speech to the NWSA did not follow Susan B. Anthony's instructions, and she touched little on the subject of disfranchisement of Utah and Wyoming women. Instead, her speech condemned harms to Latter-day Saints' due-process rights, causing instant commotion among those who felt that the role of the NWSA was not to publicly defend the controversial religious practices of the Latter-day Saints.

In her disruptive speech, Belva made legal arguments against various proposed amendments to the Edmunds Act (which included clauses to disfranchise all women in the Utah Territory or to dissolve the Church) and warned that the proposed legislation would further trample on Utahns' rights, comparing the workings of the Edmunds Act to the days of the Inquisition and witch hunts.[82]

Belva again complained that the commissioners under the Edmunds Act disfranchised any person who was at the time or who ever had been involved in a plural marriage. According to Belva, some of the women who were denied the right to vote had been widowed more than twenty years.[83] Because the act operated as an ex post facto law, there was nothing these widows could do to change the fact that decades earlier they had once been married to a man who had more than one wife.

One of Belva's most significant complaints was that the anti-Mormon legislation clashed with the Constitution by permitting illegal searches and seizures, in that federal marshals were given authority to enforce the Edmunds Act by hunting down polygamists, usually arriving at night and rarely using the front door. Commonly remembered as "the Raids," these illegal searches and arrests became so widespread and disruptive that by 1886, nearly every Utah settlement had been raided by federal marshals.[84] Belva also complained that Utah courts often compelled women to testify against their husbands and that the proposed legislative amendments would condone this violation of established common law: "The Edmund's amendment . . . invades the domestic relations of the people of the Territory—disrupts families, overturns the old English Common Law and all of the statute law, State or National, hitherto known to the people of this Union, in its provisions to compel

81. Belva A. Lockwood, "Mrs. Lockwood's Speeches," *Woman's Exponent* 12, no. 21 (April 1, 1884): 164.

82. "The Cullom, Hoar and Cassidy Bills," *Deseret News,* March 26, 1884, 11.

83. "Cullom, Hoar and Cassidy Bills," 11.

84. Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts,* 169.

a wife to testify against her husband."[85] Belva also criticized the practical effect of the Edmunds Act because by imprisoning men with multiple wives, it "wreaked its vengeance on defenceless [sic] wives and mothers; took from them their sustenance and in effect bastardized their children."[86] Under the Edmunds Act, "cohabitation" was enough to qualify for indictment, and evidence of an actual marriage was not required. Valid evidence of "cohabitation" included taking provisions to the woman, being seen watering horses at her well, or even inviting her children to their father's birthday party.[87] Any contact that implied support for a woman and her children could merit a criminal trial, if not a conviction. In order to reduce the threat of prosecution, a man would have to abandon completely his support of and his relationship with his wife and children.

Belva then defended the Latter-day Saints generally as a "much abused and over governed people"; the bulk of her 1884 speech delves into fundamental issues of religious freedom.[88] Belva emphasized the patriotic loyalty of the Saints and their peaceful objections to the usurpation of their rights. She defended the elected territorial legislature's sovereignty and the people's own right to decide "how they shall marry" and "what God they shall worship, and how they shall worship Him."[89] Belva also pointed out that the District of Columbia, like Utah, had a territorial statute outlawing polygamy, but that law was not oppressively enforced despite the "scores of men" cohabiting with two or three women even "without the sanction of that canon of the church here [in Utah]—a marriage."[90] Directly criticizing the motives behind anti-Mormon legislation, she blatantly denounced the bills as products of "a morbid public sentiment without foundation in morality, justice or humanity, intended to oppress a peaceful, quiet, frugal people."[91] Furthermore, she aggressively asserted that "the General Government has no more right to attack the Mormon faith or to legislate with reference to it than it has to attack the Methodists or Catholics."[92]

85. "Cullom, Hoar and Cassidy Bills," 11.
86. "Cullom, Hoar and Cassidy Bills," 11.
87. Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts,* 189.
88. "Cullom, Hoar and Cassidy Bills," 11.
89. "Cullom, Hoar and Cassidy Bills," 11.
90. "Cullom, Hoar and Cassidy Bills," 11.
91. "Cullom, Hoar and Cassidy Bills," 11.
92. "Cullom, Hoar and Cassidy Bills," 11.

Belva then went on to compare major religions of the world, indicating that even the greatest religions have grown out of initial persecution. According to Belva's statements in a later interview, this was the portion of her speech that "specially caused the commotion."[93] After comparing the growth of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints with that of the early days of the Methodists, the Baptists, the Quakers, and even the Muslims, she recounted the continual persecutions against the Saints, such as the mob violence that forced them to move from New York to Ohio, to Missouri, and then to Illinois, where Joseph Smith—whom Belva referred to as a "Prophet"—was murdered. Finally, they fled to the Rocky Mountains where they could live unmolested and build a holy temple to God. "Like our Pilgrim Fathers of old," she said, the Latter-day Saints endured hardship and privation "for the purpose of enjoying religious liberty."[94] In closing, she hoped that Congress would "turn its attention to its legitimate business and let Utah alone."[95] Certainly, this was not the kind of speech typically heard at the NWSA convention, and Belva had strayed far from her assignment to discuss women's franchise in Utah and Wyoming.

When Belva closed her NWSA speech, Susan B. Anthony jumped to the platform and adamantly stated that legislation restricting religious practices was no concern for the NWSA, which would protest only legislation designed to disfranchise women exclusively, without affecting men.[96] This was met with loud applause from the audience members, who apparently saw Belva's defense of the Mormon religion as inappropriate.[97] Belva abruptly retorted with catty sarcasm that she regrettably lacked "sufficient discrimination to see the difference between injustice to men and injustice to women."[98]

Belva never again spoke from the NWSA platform about "the Mormon Question." She did, however, deliver her 1884 NWSA speech in Congress, where she continued to argue against the Edmunds Act and its amendments.[99]

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93. Lockwood, "Mrs. Lockwood's Speeches," 164.

94. "Cullom, Hoar and Cassidy Bills," 11.

95. "Cullom, Hoar and Cassidy Bills," 11.

96. Van Wagenen, *Sister-Wives,* 381.

97. See Iversen, *Antipolygamy Controversy,* 166–68.

98. "Washington Convention: N.W.S.A.," *Woman's Exponent* 12, no. 20 (March 15, 1884): 156.

99. "Cullom, Hoar and Cassidy Bills," 11.

Belva's Superstar Visit to the Utah Territory: 1885

In July 1885, Belva spent ten days in Utah after her presidential campaign, speaking in three different cities and staying in the homes of prominent local leaders, including suffragists, congressmen, and Apostles. All her hosts were faithful Latter-day Saints, and by staying in their homes, she received a firsthand view of family life among the Saints.

Utah women's rights activists and political leaders unabashedly treated Belva as a superstar. Emily Richards, a prominent Utah suffragist who had met Belva in Washington, hosted "an informal reception, hurriedly arranged," in her home for the honored guest on the afternoon of her arrival.[100] A lengthy poem of welcome and praise was read by Lula Greene Richards (founding editor of *Woman's Exponent*), and then to heighten the spirit of adoration, Hannah T. King added an "impromptu" poem, "On meeting Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood":

> Hail lady! friend of human kind,
> We greet you, heart and soul and mind!
> We lay bright tributes at your feet—
> Your advent here we warmly greet.
>
> Lady, accept our hand and heart,
> Your name to us doth love impart;
> Friend of the oppress'd—we deem you one—
> Then welcome to our mountain home.[101]

Belva responded to the poems by politely stating that she had "simply done her duty in speaking in defense of the women of Utah."[102] Four more "brief speeches of welcome" were made before the reception relaxed into mingling.[103]

The praise showered on Belva at this reception (dramatic even by Victorian standards) was echoed in *Woman's Exponent* articles. In its initial announcement of Belva's visit, the paper had given an accurate account of her accomplishments and manner without tumbling into excessive adoration: "Mrs. Lockwood is brave, frank and generous, and deserves all the praise bestowed on her. . . . She is exceedingly sharp and clear-sighted, and abounds with interesting facts and pithy paragraphs. Her logic is plain and conclusive, and she cares very little

100. "Mrs. Lockwood's Visit," *Woman's Exponent* 14, no. 4 (July 15, 1885): 29.
101. "Mrs. Lockwood's Visit," 29.
102. "Mrs. Lockwood's Visit," 29.
103. "Mrs. Lockwood's Visit," 29.

about popular ideas or opinions, but is quite original and independent in expressing her views. . . . She has been a firm and consistent advocate for the rights of the women of Utah, and is fairly well acquainted with our question."[104] In contrast, the article following Belva's speaking engagements in Salt Lake City lavishly extended superlatives, claiming that her speech on "Social and Political Life in Washington" was without exception "the finest lecture we have ever heard given by a woman."[105]

Other newspaper accounts discuss in more detail the content of Belva's lecture on Washington life, verifying that the speech was lighthearted and uncontroversial, festooned with humor and satire. For instance, she pointed out the sudden religious fervor that sprouted up in congregations where U.S. presidents rented pews.[106] Even better, she reported that President Cleveland had discharged President Arthur's French cook, "and Washington society was all agog to know who would cook the President's dinner, but it was thought by a great many that he would cook his own goose."[107] With this same style of humor, she surprisingly suggested that postal efficiency would be increased if half the post offices were given to women, for then news would travel rapidly.[108] Despite such jabs at women, one review commented that the lecture contained many references to women's rights and that Belva made many of her best points in reference to the political subjugation of women.[109]

Belva's other lecture, "Women of To-Day," was described as a more pointed plea for women's rights. In it, Belva recounted stories of women who had emerged as leaders in history and urged the woman of today to actively "put forth her hand and grapple the forbidden fruit of the poet and it was hers."[110] She further insisted that girls must be educated and trained for useful professions just as boys were. This speech, more controversial than humorous jabs at Washington society, attracted smaller audiences even with reduced ticket prices, and the audience members were mostly women.[111] The *Woman's Exponent* article in fact chided its readers openly, criticizing especially the absence of young women

104. "Mrs. Lockwood Is Coming," *Woman's Exponent* 14, no. 3 (July 1, 1885): 21.
105. "Mrs. Lockwood's Visit," 29.
106. "Mrs. Lockwood's Lecture," *Salt Lake Herald–Republican,* July 7, 1885, 8.
107. "Belva Lockwood," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 7, 1885, 4.
108. "Belva Lockwood," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 7, 1885, 4.
109. "Mrs. Lockwood's Lecture," *Salt Lake Herald,* July 7, 1885, 8.
110. "Belva Lockwood's Lecture," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 11, 1885, 4.
111. "Belva Lockwood's Lecture," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 11, 1885, 4.

in Belva's audiences: "Mrs. Lockwood is famous enough to have drawn a much larger audience, and certainly the young ladies should have come out to see and hear her. It is not only a mistake on their part, but they have missed hearing a very distinguished woman speak. Should Mrs. Lockwood ever visit Salt Lake again, we hope she may have the house well filled with young people. They are the ones who ought certainly to have heard her."[112]

Belva's Appeal to President Cleveland: 1885

After leaving Utah, Belva took a day off from speaking engagements to relax at a Lake Tahoe resort. There she saw reports in San Francisco and Chicago papers that military troops had been ordered to Salt Lake City to quash brewing religious violence. Having been so recently in Salt Lake City, Belva knew that no such hostility existed, nor were the Saints inclined to spark a confrontation, despite Eastern stereotypes. Federal troops had already invaded the territory once before in 1857, when President Buchanan found that vigorous anti-Mormon actions created widespread political popularity.[113] To prevent a repetition of the military invasion, Belva quickly wrote to President Grover Cleveland.

In her large, rushed handwriting, Belva adamantly attested to President Cleveland that no outbreak was imminent, and she assured the president that an outbreak was "not even dreamed of by this peaceable, quiet, and rural people."[114] Emphasizing her recent personal experience, she stressed that she was personally acquainted with the heads of the Church, that she had talked with hundreds of Latter-day Saints while in Utah, and that she had stayed in their homes. Belva testified that they were "sober, honest, industrious citizens" and further hinted that drastic military measures might bring tension rather than peace: "If they have at any time manifested any dislike to the Government under which they have been born and educated, it has been only when they have felt that the hands of the Government has [*sic*] been laid heavily upon them, and in a spirit of persecution rather than that of prosecution."[115]

112. "Mrs. Lockwood's Visit," 29.

113. Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (Knopf, 1979), 164–70.

114. Belva A. Lockwood to Pres. Grover Cleveland, July 23, 1885, 2, Department of the Interior, Territorial Papers of Utah, partial rough draft in John T. Caine Papers, Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

115. Lockwood to Cleveland, July 23, 1885, 3.

Evidently, the notion that the Mormons were somehow rebelling grew out of a minor occurrence on the Fourth of July 1885, when some of the Saints, mourning the loss of their civil liberties under anti-Mormon legislation, flew the United States flag at half-mast. To put things in perspective, Belva reminded the president first that the choice to fly the flag at half-mast was a choice made by individuals and did not represent the Church or all Latter-day Saints. Second, she asserted that it was no more than a traditional sign of mourning, not a scheme of action.[116]

More elaborately, Belva took the opportunity to remind the president of the many reasons the Latter-day Saints had to mourn the loss of their civil rights, as the President of the Church was under police surveillance, and many of the Apostles were under indictment or imprisoned.[117] Furthermore, Belva drew the president's attention to a blatant *San Francisco Chronicle* statement that the Edmunds Act existed for the suppression of the Church, and a judge hearing a criminal Edmunds Act case had recently stated from the bench that the purpose of the prosecution was not to increase morality but to "blot out the Mormon Religion." Belva emphatically argued with sharp, underlined words that "*the suppression of a religion is opposed not only to the spirit but to the express wording of the Constitution.*"[118]

Belva emphasized that she was writing without the knowledge of or approval from any church but was prompted by her own feelings, saying, "[I] write from my own personal knowledge of their feelings and condition; and with a firm impression not only that manifest injustice has been done them in many instances, but that a deep rooted prejudice is being fomented against them that bodes no good either to the Government or to them."[119] Fortunately, President Cleveland was persuaded, whether by Belva or by others, and there was not a second military invasion of Utah Territory.

When Belva mailed the letter, she forwarded the rough draft to Congressman John T. Caine, who had hosted her during part of her stay in Utah, and closed the letter with friendly regards to Caine, his family, and "all inquiring friends," documenting the friendships Belva had formed with male and female leaders in Utah.[120]

116. Lockwood to Cleveland, July 23, 1885, 4.
117. Lockwood to Cleveland, July 23, 1885, 6.
118. Lockwood to Cleveland, July 23, 1885, 6–7.
119. Lockwood to Cleveland, July 23, 1885, 8.
120. Belva A. Lockwood to John T. Caine, July 23, 1885, John T. Caine Papers.

Belva's Advice to and Thanks from Utah: 1886

In February 1886, Belva again wrote to her friend John T. Caine, saying, "I am perpetually haunted by this Mormon question, and like Banquo's ghost it will not down."[121] She urged Congressman Caine to push once more for Utah statehood, which could secure women's suffrage by creating an opportunity to write it into the state constitution. Belva emphatically assured Caine that the day was prime to make a bold move and urged him, "Demand for the people of Utah their rights as citizens of the Republic and do not allow yourself, or the people of that Territory to be cowed or browbeaten."[122]

Belva could see that if Utah did not soon become a state, Congress would further erode the civil rights of Utahns and attack the Church. Public opinion increasingly supported revoking civil rights as punishment for polygamy. Even the NWSA approved a resolution at its 1886 convention supporting disfranchisement as a penalty for the crime of polygamy.[123] If Utah wanted to achieve statehood, Belva warned Congressman Caine, the Church would have to abandon the practice of plural marriage: "The polygamy part must be relinquished, and it is better that that portion should be conceded before your people, men and women, are disfranchised, and the Church despoiled."[124] Curiously, Belva ended her letter to John T. Caine with the words, "Burn this," a reminder of the intense unpopularity of her assistance to the abused Mormons.[125]

Weeks later, a "Mass Meeting" of Latter-day Saint women in Salt Lake City singled out Belva and a handful of U.S. senators for public thanks because they, "in the face of almost overwhelming prejudice," had "defended the constitutional rights of the people of Utah."[126] The

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121. Belva A. Lockwood to John T. Caine, February 14, 1886, John T. Caine Papers.

122. Lockwood to Caine, February 14, 1886.

123. Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the Forty-ninth Congress, First Session (Government Printing Office, 1886), 17:3260; "Report of Executive Sessions of the National Convention," *Woman's Tribune* 3, no. 6 (Apr 1886): 2.

124. Lockwood to Caine, February 14, 1886.

125. Lockwood to Caine, February 14, 1886.

126. *"Mormon" Women's Protest: An Appeal for Freedom, Justice And Equal Rights; the Ladies of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Protest against the Tyranny and Indecency of Federal Officials in Utah, and against Their Own Disfranchisement without Cause; Full Account of Proceedings at the Great Mass Meeting, Held in the Theatre; Salt Lake City Utah; Saturday, March 6, 1886* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1886), 19. See also Jill Mulvay Derr and others, eds., *The First Fifty Years Of Relief Society: Key Documents in Latter-day Saint Women's History* (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2016), 524.

huge gathering, complete with orchestra and Tabernacle Choir, was a "protest against the indignities and insults heaped upon the wives and daughters of 'Mormons' in the District Courts, and also against the proposed disfranchisement of those of their sex who are innocent of breaking any law."[127] Belva was also specifically praised in a speech by Dr. Romania Pratt, who said, "All honor be given by the Latter-day Saints . . . to Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, who has had the moral courage to speak the truth as she found it when with us, and in a most able manner has raised her voice to stay the flood of prejudice which is surging over our people."[128]

Belva Attempts to Enforce the Edmunds Act in Washington: 1887

In the summer of 1887, Belva began an interesting cooperation with Church leaders to try to turn public opinion against the Edmunds Act by instigating prosecutions under the act in Washington, D.C., against citizens who were not Latter-day Saints. Belva's goal was to arouse in Washington the same indignation felt in Utah when the unfair law was applied, and also to point out that the polygamist Mormons prosecuted for cohabitation actually lived a higher morality than men in other territories who abandoned their families to live with another woman.

To implement the plan, Belva sought out potential cases and then petitioned the district attorney to pursue the prosecution. Belva worked directly with New York lawyer John W. Young, a counsel to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. In August 1887, the plan looked promising. John Young wrote to the First Presidency, saying, "I think she will be able to make things rather interesting for some people there, as she is fearless and capable."[129]

The plan proved to be more difficult than anticipated. On September 6, 1887, Belva wrote to John Young saying that the work was moving ahead but that she had not yet found as many cases as she had hoped. Belva was ruthless about finding cases, recommending prosecutions in which she knew the wife did not wish to testify against the husband and asking for compulsory process under the Edmunds Act to compel the

127. *"Mormon" Women's Protest,* iii.

128. *"Mormon" Women's Protest,* 29.

129. John W. Young to Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph Fielding Smith, August 20, 1887, John W. Young Papers, Church History Library.

wife to testify.[130] She also scouted potential defendants by asking female physicians and prison matrons to disclose information they might be privy to about questionable family arrangements.[131] On September 9, 1887, Belva wrote to Young again, promising that when the application of the law eventually struck the most sensitive places, they would hear an uproar.[132]

The uproar never happened. The cases Belva found did not involve prominent figures and failed to excite local interest. After a brief series of letters between Belva and John Young in August and September 1887, there was no further sign of efforts to gain public support by applying the Edmunds Act in other territories.

Belva's Speech on the Mormon Question: 1888

After trying to see the Edmunds Act enforced in Washington, Belva assisted the Latter-day Saints in 1888 with a highly favorable lecture titled "The Mormon Question" aimed at correcting public misconceptions and bolstering Utah's bid for statehood. Belva asserted that no more than two percent of Mormons ever practiced polygamy, and she implied (incorrectly) that "vigorous execution of the Edmunds law" had entirely suppressed polygamy.[133] She also spoke directly against ridiculous stereotypes, clarifying that Mormons were chaste, industrious, intelligent, and progressive, providing education for all children and employment for all workers. Reciting many of the arguments she raised before the NWSA, Belva criticized the disfranchisement of Utah women and the unfair application of the Edmunds Act, including Congress's unconstitutional intent to apply the act against only Latter-day Saints. She additionally criticized the government for confiscating Church property, forcing the Saints to pay rent for the privilege of worshiping in the buildings they had themselves constructed.[134] Finally, Belva contended that Utah's proposed state constitution would forbid entry into polygamous marriages.

130. Belva A. Lockwood to John W. Young, September 6, 1887, John W. Young Papers.

131. Belva A. Lockwood to John W. Young, September 26, 1887. John W. Young Papers.

132. Belva A. Lockwood to John W. Young, September 9, 1887. John W. Young Papers.

133. "Belva A. Lockwood Has a Good Word for the 'Mormons,'" *Deseret Evening News,* February 21, 1888, 2.

134. "Lockwood Has a Good Word for the 'Mormons,'" 2.

Overall, the speech gave the impression that complaints about those "polygamous Mormons" were out of date and that there was no reason to deny Utah statehood—or *almost* no reason. True to her fundamental interest in women's rights, Belva ended by arguing that the only reason to deny Utah admission into the Union as a state was that it had not explicitly granted women the franchise in the proposed constitution.[135]

In February 1888, she delivered the "Mormon Question" speech in Washington, and the speech was also reproduced in approximately fifty leading newspapers.[136] Franklin S. Richards shared a copy of Belva's speech with Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon, noting that the speech apparently ran without any negative editorial commentary, even from newspapers usually bitter toward the Mormons.[137] There were, however, a few newspapers that ran a short, two-sentence criticism of Lockwood's speech: "Belva Lockwood expects to make a small fortune from her lectures in defense of Mormonism. She certainly has the field to herself."[138] Apparently, those news editors had not learned that the unpopularity of a cause could not deter Belva Lockwood's enthusiasm, nor was she afraid of following a course that was uniquely her own.

Conclusion

In an 1888 letter to Wilford Woodruff, president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Franklin S. Richards wrote that Belva Lockwood repeated the "Mormon Question" speech whenever an opportunity arose. Her visit to Utah had significantly reinforced and energized her willingness to speak out in favor of the abused pioneers because she had seen for herself that they led honorable lives.

Brother Richards also conveyed to Elder Woodruff Belva's story of a chance meeting she had had in the Catskill Mountains in New York with an old couple who had once been neighbors of Joseph Smith. She heard their report that Joseph was of excellent character, known for his "honesty, industry, sobriety, [and] truthfulness." Their testimony

135. "Lockwood Has a Good Word for the 'Mormons,'" 2.

136. Franklin S. Richards to Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon, February 28, 1888, Franklin S. Richards Correspondence, Utah State Historical Society.

137. Richards to Woodruff and Cannon, February 28, 1888.

138. *Atchison Daily Globe*, February 4, 1888, 5; *Cherryvale Globe and Torch,* February 10, 1888, 1; *Brenham Weekly Banner,* February 16, 1888, 1.

of his moral goodness "strengthened and emboldened" Belva in her determination to help the faithful Latter-day Saints retain their right to the blessings of fair government, and she often repeated the story of their favorable report.[139]

Ultimately, Belva's recommendation that Mormons relinquish polygamy to earn Utah statehood became the course the territory followed. In 1890, the Church issued a public manifesto that officially instructed against any new plural marriages. Congress debated for years about the sincerity of the manifesto, and in 1896, Utah finally became a state. Further according with Belva's wisdom, the new state's constitution specifically gave women the right to vote, hold office, and enjoy all political and civil rights enjoyed by male citizens.

Melinda Evans holds a JD from Stanford Law School, where she first researched Belva Lockwood's Utah connections for Stanford's Women's Legal History Biography Project. Melinda now works as a civil litigation attorney at the law firm Call & Jensen in Newport Beach, California. She has a BA and MA in English from BYU.

139. Richards to Woodruff and Cannon, February 28, 1888.

Learning to Touch

I was relieved when my daughter arrived at the dying,
when she got to work
saturating a hospital sponge,
pressing it inside her grandmother's cheek,
allowing her to drink. I marveled

when she moved to the bottom of the bed,
lifted the sheet and, one at a time, her feet,
bloated now, and ghost white,
and with lotion and unambiguous care
hydrated the dying flesh.

When she was in medical school, Alisa told me
how she and the other students had to learn to touch.
They practiced on one another,
and then on practice patients,

touching an arm, a leg, Gradually,
they touched the stomach, the chest,
easing their way to the consecrated place
where they would deliver babies. They practiced

until they could touch without revulsion or shame,
until it was as natural to spread the petal folds
as it was to deliver a new life
to the mother to put to her breast.

—Marilyn Bushman-Carlton

Making the Acquaintance of Eliza R. Snow

An Interview with Her Biographer, Jill Mulvay Derr

Cherry Bushman Silver

This is half of an interview conducted by Cherry B. Silver on August 8, 2019, in the BYU Studies offices. The other half will be published in a later issue. Many thanks to Laurel Barlow for transcribing the recording.

When, as a young woman living in the Boston area, Jill Mulvay Derr heard a lecture by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher about Eliza R. Snow, she immediately felt a great desire to become involved in researching historical Latter-day Saint women. She got her first job as a researcher in the Church History Department at Church headquarters, locating and compiling the poetry of Eliza R. Snow; four decades later she retired from the department as a senior research historian. In her long and prolific career, Derr has also pursued research, writing, and teaching at Brigham Young University in the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, where she eventually served as associate director and then director, and also as an associate professor of Church history. She was president of the Mormon History Association and helped organize the Mormon Women's History Initiative Team. Derr has published a number of landmark books, including Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints *(with Kenneth W. Godfrey and Audrey M. Godfrey);* Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society *(with Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Janath Russell Cannon);* Eliza R. Snow: The Complete Poetry *(with Karen Lynn Davidson);* The First Fifty Years of Relief Society: Key Documents in Latter-day Saint Women's History *(with Carol Cornwall Madsen, Kate Holbrook, and Matthew J. Grow); and* The Life and Faith of Eliza R. Snow *(with Karen Lynn Davidson). Throughout her career, she has studied the life and contributions of Eliza R. Snow and is writing a*

Jill Mulvay Derr. Photo by Melese Spaulding Miller.

scholarly biography on this important figure in Church history.

Silver: We all admire Eliza R. Snow as we consider her life and contributions. You have spent years and years with her. What do you find compelling about her?

Derr: First, she had a remarkable intellect. Uncovering the layers of her thinking and the development of her theology is an exciting challenge. I think her poems reveal much of that development, as do her discourses to women. It's been rewarding to look at those works to discover what she is trying to say because she can speak in a pretty sophisticated way. Even if her forms are sometimes less sophisticated, her thinking is bright, clear, and intriguing.

Second, she was a woman of faith who looked to God and who, from her early years, had a firm commitment to Jesus Christ. She treasured the sacrament—you see her devotion in her sacrament hymns. They weren't written out of obligation but out of love for that ordinance. She looked to God for direction and comfort and power. Following her baptism as a Latter-day Saint, she learned to exercise spiritual gifts as part of her Kirtland Temple experience. Those gifts became a significant way for her to bless others. She learned and taught, as Joseph Smith had, that women can access the powers of heaven.

Silver: And that women can access those powers directly, not just through spouses or fathers.

Derr: Exactly. She became a great proponent of women using their spiritual gifts and abilities. Of interest to me—and this was true from her youth—is that she was committed to being useful. She often employs that phrase—"to be useful." For her, making a contribution equaled greatness. Intentionally making a difference was part of her life from the time she was a young poet. She had the capacity to seize and enlarge upon opportunities. It followed

that she taught Latter-day Saint women to step forward, seize opportunities, and contribute to the building of the Kingdom of God. She celebrated their contributions as much as her own, if not more.

Eliza Roxcy Snow. Photo taken in 1875 by Charles William Carter in a studio. Two photograph albums sit on the table; the chain is a fob connected to the watch Joseph Smith gave her. Courtesy Church History Library, PH 3754.

And finally, I have to say, she was loyal, doggedly loyal. In her youth, she expressed her patriotism and loyalty to the new American nation. When she became a Latter-day Saint, she was loyal to the Church and its purposes, doctrines, and leaders. She believed that the restored priesthood was the power to transform the world and its inhabitants—to redeem and exalt humankind—and she was totally loyal to the doctrines and the order of that priesthood. To be part of that worldwide transformation was her cause. She remained loyal to her family and to her friends. Love and loyalty shine through in her poetry, especially in her poetry to individual people.

Silver: I know she had the capacity to make her cohorts feel that she wanted them with her. Zina D. H. Young often stood at her side; Eliza mentored Emmeline B. Wells and taught her how to be an organizer. These women helped Eliza as well, but she certainly kept them strong in the fold. She was called four things: poetess, presidentess, priestess, and prophetess. How did her life lead her to these titles?

Derr: I think these titles fit her well. She ultimately composed more than five hundred poems. Her spiritual gifts made her a

prophetess in many ways. Her long-term involvement in temple ordinances in the Salt Lake Endowment House led her contemporaries to call her a priestess; she presided over women's work there and blessed many women. And the term "presidentess" covers her many administrative duties: organizing and presiding over the Relief Society once it was reestablished as well as facilitating the launch of new organizations for youth, including those now named the Young Women and the Primary; she was known ultimately as presidentess of all of those organizations.

Her identity as a poet came from the time she was twenty-one years old and published her first poem. Even before that, she had been practicing by experimenting with forms that imitated popular poets. She published poems even before she joined the Church.

Silver: In the newspapers of the community in which she lived?

Derr: Yes, she was living in Mantua, Ohio, and published in two Portage County newspapers—the *Western Courier* and the *Ohio Star*—a total of about thirty poems, quite a significant number. When she joined the Church, the first thing she did was to write a hymn that was soon published at Kirtland in the *Messenger and Advocate* and then was included in Emma Smith's 1835 hymnal. Actually, she composed two texts that found their way into the first hymnal.[1] Then she was silent through most of the Kirtland era and a large portion of her time in Missouri, but the extreme violence she saw there from militia groups that became mobs outraged her. In her youth, she had written poems concerned with social justice, and after the months she spent in Missouri, she really took up that theme, both to chronicle what had happened to the Saints in Missouri and to express her disdain for the contempt Missourians had shown for the rule of law.

At the close of 1838 and in the early months of 1839, she began to take on the mantle of poet for the Saints, declaring that she would no longer write for the "Gentile ear." However, that was not entirely the case. She published a significant number of

1. "Great Is the Lord: 'Tis Good to Praise" and "The Glorious Day Is Rolling On," in *A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints,* comp. Emma Smith (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams and Co., 1835), 92 and 93; Jill Mulvay Derr and Karen Lynn Davidson, eds., *Eliza R. Snow: The Complete Poetry* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 67–70.

poems in the *Quincy (Ill.) Whig,* mostly about the persecution of the Latter-day Saints but also other poems that were, in fact, for the "Gentile ear." A beautiful poem titled "My First View of a Western Prairie" is exceptionally well crafted in blank verse.[2] She had the capacity to write poetry with great skill, but she wanted to be useful, so most of her poetry communicates in the meter of songs or other poetic forms that would be accessible to the average person. She was at times less inclined to be an artist, more inclined to be a communicator and a rallier.

Silver: And she was; her political satires could be sung with vigor.

Derr: Yes. She went on to expand her role as poetess in Nauvoo and in Utah, where she came to be known as "Zion's Poetess." Her poetry first made her a public figure. Subsequently we see, in a sense, a layering of her various other roles onto her identity as a poet.

Silver: It also associates her very closely with Joseph Smith. In Nauvoo, she came into his house as a schoolteacher to his children. When did she marry Joseph Smith? What was her commitment to him?

Derr: Eliza was not initially impressed with Joseph Smith. I do not have the sense that he personally played a role in her joining the Church. She had her own spiritual experiences. Her initial acquaintance with the Latter-day Saints was not with Joseph; she was much closer to Sidney and Phebe Rigdon. Eliza eventually followed her mother and sister into the Church. They were both baptized by Joseph Smith, but she joined four years later and was not baptized by Joseph Smith, or I am sure she would have recorded that. Yet he became a critically important figure in her life, probably beginning with her relocation to Kirtland, where she moved into his household and taught school. She would also teach the Smith children later in Nauvoo.

I have the sense that she became friends with Emma because of their proximity. Eliza was an important part of their household at certain moments in time, both in Kirtland and Nauvoo. She was sealed to Joseph Smith as a plural wife on June 29, 1842. She begins her diary on that day, "June 29, 1842. This is a day of much interest to my feelings."

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2. "My First View of the Western Prairie," *Quincy Whig,* June 29, 1839; Derr and Davidson, *Complete Poetry,* 91–94.

Silver: Rather an understatement.

Derr: Eliza, as you know, was a reserved woman. She often kept her emotions to herself. We get peeks at them in her poetry, in her letters, and in her diary, but in this diary entry, we certainly see understatement and the deliberate cloaking of her plural marriage. She was sealed to Joseph confidentially. This was private, secret, as was all plural marriage in Nauvoo. Eliza developed a very close relationship to Joseph. She was intrigued by his mind. She felt that he had glimpsed eternity in ways that no mortal man could know. She was excited about his thought and doctrine, and she saw his humility and kindness as well as his capacity for anger when Saints were going astray. I have a sense that the two of them became devoted friends with shared hopes for establishing Zion. Eliza felt deep affection for Joseph. Wilford Woodruff later paid tribute to the closeness of their relationship. Eliza would later take on Joseph's name; in the 1880s she became known as Eliza R. Snow Smith and preferred to be addressed that way. Instead of the initials ERS, she became ERSS. Eliza R. Snow Smith is the name on her grave marker in Brigham Young's family cemetery in Salt Lake City.

Silver: People are always interested in knowing about Eliza and Emma Smith. What do you see as the ties between these two women? How did strains arise?

Derr: Eliza grew close to Emma first in Kirtland. Eliza had written these two hymn texts. I don't know if Emma solicited one or both because of Eliza's reputation as a poet; Eliza's hymns, so far as I know, are the only two by a Latter-day Saint woman in Emma's 1835 hymnal. Of course, there are many Protestant hymns in that hymnal, but among the hymns Saints initially contributed to the *Messenger and Advocate,* the Kirtland periodical, Eliza's were the only female contributions. Likewise, there is something unique about Emma being a compiler of hymns; that was not a common thing for women to do, and it gave Emma a unique distinction in the Kirtland community. Music may have drawn the women together. We know that Emma had a beautiful singing voice. I don't know much about Eliza's voice, but I know she loved singing and she loved music. That's clear because many of her poems were written to popular tunes of the day.

I imagine that in Kirtland, with Eliza living in the Smith household, she and Emma developed a solid friendship. Eliza

later wrote a fine poem in honor of Emma that sympathetically describes her friend and the kind of sufferings and hurt she must have felt in the wake of the Missouri persecutions. Eliza then becomes Emma's secretary in the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo, taking down Emma's words in the minutes. She accompanies Emma and Amanda Barnes Smith to Governor Carlin to present the Relief Society petition,[3] so I think there is every indication that they were close. Eliza wrote in the 1880s, "I once dearly loved Sister Emma." But the strains that you mentioned definitively separated the two friends. Of course, the heaviest strain on the relationship was Eliza's sealing as a plural wife to Joseph Smith, a contract that Emma likely was not aware of until later. I can't say for certain what Emma knew, but I think there's every likelihood she was not initially informed of the sealing and was devastated when she discovered it. That is a long and complicated story. Emma's decision to not go west with the Saints was probably another factor. Eliza was totally committed to the order and doctrines of the priesthood, and I think it was probably hard for her to understand why Emma hadn't embraced temple teachings or Brigham Young's leadership as Joseph's successor.

Silver: So, we see two bright women on two different trajectories. In terms of speculative questions, one researcher uncovered the story that Eliza was abused during the Missouri persecutions. Writers have also spoken of Emma pushing Eliza down the stairs. What is your viewpoint about these possibilities?

Derr: There has long been talk of Eliza and Emma and the stairs. As I recall, Maureen Beecher, along with Linda Newell and Val Avery, Emma's biographers, wrote an article with almost that title: "Emma and Eliza and the Stairs." Their article claims pretty convincingly that it is not likely that such an incident happened.[4] It was remembered long after the fact by people who were not close to Emma or Eliza. In more recent years, Brian Hales has done work on the same story to take a look

3. The July 1842 petition urged Illinois Governor Thomas Carlin to halt the extradition of Joseph Smith to Missouri on spurious charges. See "1.5 Nauvoo Female Relief Society, Petition to Thomas Carlin, ca. July 22, 1842," in *The First Fifty Years of Relief Society: Key Documents in Latter-day Saint Women's History,* ed. Jill Mulvay Derr and others (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2016), 136–41.

4. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, "Emma and Eliza and the Stairs," *BYU Studies* 22, no. 1 (1982), 87–96.

at the home where it was supposed to have happened, and he concluded that given realities of timing and space, it was not possible.[5] From my point of view, the incident, as it has come down to us in tradition, is not based on fact.

On the other hand, we have to say that these stories persist because there is some kernel of truth in them, and in this case that kernel of truth is almost certainly disagreement between the two women, hostility at some point, and perhaps a scene. It's hard to imagine that there was not a scene, however undramatic it might have been. Eliza lived with Emma and Joseph in Nauvoo from August 1842 until February 1843. She wrote diary entries and some poems about Emma, Joseph, and the household happenings. She tersely noted leaving the home in February. She abruptly left Nauvoo in July 1843 and moved to Lima [Illinois] to live with her sister for ten months. Her diary talks about an unpleasant encounter immediately prior to her departure from Nauvoo without naming the person, who almost certainly was Emma. There is circumstantial evidence for a substantial disagreement.

After Joseph's death, Eliza wrote a poem honoring the birth of Emma's son David, and the women may well have been able to reconcile before Eliza left Nauvoo. Thirty-five years later, the thing that provoked Eliza's statement "I once dearly loved Sister Emma" was "The Last Testimony of Sister Emma," published in the [Reorganized] *Saints' Advocate* in October 1879. In that final interview, Emma denied that Joseph had ever had other wives. There was so much national persecution against plural marriage at that point in time that Eliza really blew up at Emma's "last testimony" remarks because they refuted Joseph's revelation regarding plural marriage and negated Eliza's own legitimacy and that of some of her closest friends as plural wives of Joseph Smith. The letter Eliza wrote to the editor of the *Deseret News* in response is very angry and harsh.[6] So, yes, good times and times of sorrow and two great women.

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5. Brian C. Hales, "Emma Smith, Eliza R. Snow, and the Reported Incident on the Stairs," *Mormon Historical Studies* 10, no. 2 (2009): 63–75.

6. Eliza R. Snow to Editors Deseret News, October 17, 1879, as part of "Joseph the Seer's Plural Marriages," *Deseret News,* October 22, 1879, 12; reprinted in *Woman's Exponent* 8 (November 1, 1879): 84.

Silver: With commonalities and at times with differences.

Derr: As for Eliza suffering sexual assault during the Missouri period, that possibility has hung out there in a shadowed form for many years. It was brought to light more recently by Andrea Radke-Moss, who has been studying violence and sexual assault in Missouri.[7] The source that identifies Eliza as a victim is the autobiography of Alice Merrill Horne, which is still in the private hands of the family, although some copies have surfaced in recent years. Alice Merrill Horne was the granddaughter of George A. and Bathsheba Smith, who were very close friends of Eliza, as close as any friends, but Alice Merrill was fourteen when Eliza died, and her reminiscence was written in 1947–48, many, many years after the fact. Horne states that Eliza was attacked by eight ruffians, and this attack upon her innocence devastated her. She was a victim. Joseph Smith rescued her. This is the way that Alice Merrill Horne formed the story.

I don't see any way to prove that Eliza was attacked either by one man or by several ruffians. Eliza never said a word about it. Her other friends never said a word about it. Admittedly, such silence is not surprising in cases of sexual assault. Even though Eliza had a mentoring relationship with young Alice Merrill, she had close relationships with other young women as well. Given Eliza's reserve and the delicacy of the subject, I think it is highly unlikely she would have confided in Alice. Alice may have overheard something, but what she overheard we will never know. She might have overheard someone talking about another rape, some other violence that impacted Eliza. I don't think we can say for certain. I probably lean more against the possibility of assault than for it, even though I consider Alice Merrill Horne to be a credible person. But she certainly could not have been a witness.

Silver: The story has raised our consciousness of the suffering that women endured in those Missouri persecutions, even if the stories were not written down then or cannot be validated.

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7. Andrea R-M[oss], "Eliza R. Snow as a Victim of Sexual Violence in the 1838 Missouri War—the Author's Reflections on a Source," March 7, 2016, from https://juvenileinstructor.org/eliza-r-snow-as-a-victim-of-sexual-violence-in-the-1838-missouri-war-the-authors-reflections-on-a-source/.

Derr: Absolutely, I agree with that. The evidence is clear that an unspecified number of women were raped in Missouri. Naming victims makes it all the more real. In particular, centering such a story on Eliza Snow, a heroine for so many women, affirms that any woman is vulnerable and gives hope that women can ultimately emerge from such horrific experiences with new strength. Radke-Moss's study underscores that. Alice Merrill Horne's framing of this story also indicates that the alleged assault is the reason Eliza never had children. It's interesting that the story of Emma pushing Eliza down the stairs also comes to that same conclusion—that this is the reason Eliza never had children. In a church that stresses motherhood, we see people seeking for some explanations about why this prominent woman, married to two men, did not have children. She married Joseph at the age of thirty-eight, Brigham at the age of forty, so that in and of itself may be a reason, but we see this additional need for people to explain her childlessness.

One other thing I wanted to say about Missouri is that whatever the nature of the violence Eliza experienced there, that violence did have a significant impact on her. It radicalized her in many ways. She became zealous for the Saints' holy nation, for the house of Israel. The Church drew her entire loyalty. She was certainly not alone in this; the experience left a lasting imprint on the life of every Latter-day Saint who was there. The injustices of Missouri—the violence, the property seized and never purchased, the lives not protected by legal authorities like the governor and militia—outraged her. She was painfully disillusioned when the country she loved fell so far short of its promised liberty and law. She was indignant, furious, and that rage showed up throughout her life. It surfaced in the poems she wrote for the Fourth of July almost every year and whenever laws were passed or officials sent that intruded upon the Saints' freedom to live their religion.

The other part of that persecution narrative was biblical. In the New Testament, Paul wrote that being persecuted is a sign of being God's chosen people. So Eliza's faith became stronger, and her commitment to Joseph Smith as a prophet became unbendable in the wake of the Missouri persecutions. The violence did not leave her unchanged.

Silver: Well-explained and very helpful insights. We think of Eliza mainly in connection with the wonderful hymn "O My Father"

and the teachings of a Mother in Heaven. Was she being a prophetess here or just a recorder of what she had heard? How do you account for the power of this hymn?

Derr: Let me preface what I say about that by indicating that in 1995 the Smith Institute offered a special seminar on "O My Father," celebrating the 150th anniversary of the writing of the hymn. *BYU Studies* followed up with a superb issue that featured my presentation about Eliza and her hymn as well as some surrounding discussions of Mother in Heaven, and also the beautiful John Hafen illustrations of "O My Father." I salute *BYU Studies* for having published that singularly beautiful issue.[8]

Silver: Yes.

Derr: Two important understandings that came out of that study for me are the tremendous displacement that Eliza experienced in Nauvoo as she moved from household to household and, most importantly, her total embrace of the teachings of Joseph Smith. We see so many of his Nauvoo teachings encapsulated in "O My Father": premortal existence, a key of knowledge, eternal increase, and Heavenly Parents. We don't have a record of Joseph Smith teaching about Mother in Heaven—I should say we don't have a contemporaneous record. Zina Diantha Huntington Young later talked about Joseph's teaching her about the Eternal Mother at the time her own mother died. David O. McKay's father, David McKay, wrote about discussing the concept with Eliza: Did she learn it from Joseph? According to his reminiscence, she said yes, yes she did. The closest contemporaneous reference we have to Joseph teaching the idea is a William W. Phelps hymn published in January 1845 that includes the line, "Here's our Father in heaven, and Mother, the Queen."

So, one has the sense that this concept of Heavenly Mother was certainly in the air when Eliza penned her hymn in fall 1845. I feel that she was a prophetess in the sense that she internalized this teaching, and the Spirit must have spoken to her in a particular way that confirmed its truth and gave her voice. Her poem including the reality of the Eternal Mother becomes the Church's expression of this doctrine across many years. The

8. Jill Mulvay Derr, "The Significance of 'O My Father' in the Personal Journey of Eliza R. Snow," *BYU Studies* 36, no. 1 (1997): 84–126, and other articles in *BYU Studies* 36, no. 1.

poem, sung as a hymn, brings the concept to us in the clearest and most enduring form, sweeping across past, present, and future. Its clarity has been a beautiful, blessed gift to Eliza, her sisters, and the Church. It may have been prompted in part by the death of her father in October 1845. She wrote the hymn within two weeks or so of his death, and one can sense her own searching in it. It is intriguing to consider how her thinking and theology developed as she composed the poem: from examining her own sorrow for her father, she looked to the Eternal Father and then to the eternal companionship of Heavenly Father and Heavenly Mother. Her later poems also talk about her Heavenly Parents and her desire to please them and return to them.

Silver: She certainly is a spokesperson here for many deep feelings. In the hard times in Winter Quarters, she seemed to be a spiritual light, a center for the women.

Derr: Yes. I think her intense involvement with exercising spiritual gifts at Winter Quarters was an outgrowth of meetings of the Female Relief Society in Nauvoo. In those meetings, Joseph Smith spoke to the sisters about the importance of cultivating spiritual gifts as described in the New Testament: prophesying, speaking in tongues, and healing. He set some limits on speaking in tongues—it was not to be for doctrine, but for uplift. The laying on of hands by sisters to heal the sick he unequivocally endorsed.[9] Women felt confirmed in their desire to exercise spiritual gifts. When the women were at Winter Quarters and death and sickness surrounded them, they ministered to one another through these gifts. They didn't have the Relief Society, which had been officially disbanded in March 1845, but they could gather together for prayer and for the exercise of these gifts. It brought them comfort, it was empowering, and it bonded them together. It built sisterhood. I have to say that while Eliza took a prominent role in such spiritual ministering, she certainly was not the only one.

Silver: We read Patty Sessions's diary.

Derr: Patty Sessions, yes, and Zina D. H. Young and many others. It was the collective exercise of these spiritual gifts that became so

9. "1.2 Nauvoo Relief Society Minute Book," in Derr and others, *First Fifty Years*, 54–55 (April 28, 1842).

important to these sisters, and they did not want to give that up. They did not give it up after they came to the Salt Lake Valley.

Silver: No. We read in Emmeline B. Wells's records of tours among the sisters in Relief Society that Zina Young often invited speaking in tongues and interpretations.

Derr: This bonding experience on the trail had particular importance for Eliza. She had left her family behind. Her parents, her two younger brothers, and her younger sister did not come west. Her older sister, Leonora, and her brother Lorenzo did remain with the Saints and joined the westward trek. Still, as Eliza traveled west, she was placed with other families, and these women became family to her; they became her sisters. Her experience on the trail connected her to women in ways that would never be forgotten, nor did that feeling of sisterly connection change in years to come.

Silver: Did she carry the minutes of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo with her as she came west? What was her role in preserving those documents?

Derr: Yes, Eliza personally preserved the record of the Nauvoo Relief Society and took it west with her. As secretary, she recorded minutes of society meetings through 1842 and I think through one meeting in '43. Then assistant secretary Phebe Wheeler and others took minutes while Eliza was living outside Nauvoo at Lima, Illinois. But sometime after her return in April 1844, the minute book came back to her, and she kept it. The Relief Society minutes were not packed with the other official Church minutes when the Saints left Nauvoo; they were not listed in the inventory of the crate of official Church records because they were in Eliza's possession. I think that says something about the way she felt about them. It is clear from her diary that when she came to the Valley, she had the minutes with her. In 1849, she met with a group of women on the fifth anniversary of Joseph's death and shared with the sisters excerpts from Joseph's addresses to Relief Society.

Silver: That must have been a powerful moment. But then weren't the minutes changed somewhat in the 1850s as the Church Historian began to compile a major history of Joseph Smith's time? Eliza's minutes were reviewed and revised. Changes were made to the original Joseph Smith statements, for example the notable shift from "I turn the key to you" to "I turn the key in your behalf." What was Eliza's role in these modifications?

Derr: We can see from the Historian's Office Journal that in spring 1855 Eliza was asked by Church Historian George A. Smith to bring the minutes to his office. As I have already said, they were close friends. George A. and others were gathering various records to compile Joseph Smith's history. They were drawing from Wilford Woodruff's diaries and from other diaries and minutes, so Eliza gave the book of Relief Society minutes to the Church Historian. I have no indication that these compilers consulted with her as they made their redactions. We have contemporaneous minutes that record, however, that the changes were made, and Heber C. Kimball and Brigham Young were very pleased with the new wording.

The changes approved by Brigham Young and the Twelve emphasized that men held priesthood authority in a way that women did not and that the women's organization did not operate independently of male priesthood leaders' counsel and direction. Joseph's words, as recorded by Eliza, seemed to suggest greater authority and autonomy for women. That's the way I would interpret it. Others might see it differently. Church leaders felt that the edits were a clarification of something that might be misunderstood. Of course, these changes were made in the wake of disputes with Emma Smith: Emma's conflicts with Brigham Young, Emma's conflicts over plural marriage, and Emma's assertion of authority as somehow independent of the First Presidency and the Twelve. The original minutes might be read to affirm her authority, so I think the redactions were seen as correcting what might be misinterpreted. This is why the redacted versions of Joseph's March 31 and April 28 sermons to Relief Society were included in Joseph Smith's history, later published by B. H. Roberts as *History of the Church*.[10]

I don't know what the women's response was because we have yet to discover records that convey it. Eliza wrote a poem[11] about the same time the minutes were submitted that suggests to me that the altering of her record was painful for her. That is speculation on my part, but the edits would have been difficult

10. "2.2 Joseph Smith, Discourses to Nauvoo Female Relief Society, March 31 and April 28, 1842, as Revised for 'History of Joseph Smith,' September 5 and 19, 1855," in Derr and others, *First Fifty Years,* 198–208.

11. "The Will," Eliza R. Snow, Journal, 1842–1882, holograph, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (dated: March 1855). This is poem 253 in Derr and Davidson, *Complete Poetry,* 500–502.

for her to accept because she was so careful in seeking to capture every word of Joseph's and because she fervently believed in the possibilities for women conveyed in his words. She probably took minutes while Joseph delivered those six important sermons and later transcribed them in the minute book. I think she felt confident in her accuracy, but she doesn't say.

Silver: We contemporary sisters feel confidence in Eliza's record, too, and it is a grand thing to have the original wording restored. You said earlier that Eliza was very loyal. At that point she was married to Brigham Young, which meant she had to balance her support and respect for him with the expression of her own ideas and talents. Tell us about Brigham Young and Eliza.

Derr: Eliza was sealed to Brigham Young in October 1844, about three months after Joseph's death. It would have been a marriage or sealing for time. I have a sense that the plural wives of Joseph Smith—many or most, though not all—were sealed to members of the Quorum of the Twelve. The women probably had some choice in that matter, so it is likely that Eliza chose Brigham Young. The two of them were very, very different. Brigham Young was less reserved and far rougher around the edges than Eliza; nevertheless, they were married for thirty-three years, and she was part of his household for most of that time.

Silver: Reminiscences speak of her being by his side at family dinners and so forth, and that Brigham often relied on her.

Derr: Yes; she served as a counselor to him with regard to women's expanding responsibilities. There aren't a lot of glimpses of their personal relationship. We have some wonderful letters that she wrote to Brigham that are supportive, humorous. Some are about the economic enterprises that the Relief Society had become involved in, specifically the Women's Commission Store, a cooperative venture that sold women's homemade goods on commission. Such letters provide a peek at their private relationship. Eliza wrote a number of poems sustaining Brigham Young as president or praising or saluting him. Eliza's public voice reflects her continuing loyalty and efforts to rally the community in loyalty and faith.

In terms of theology, I have not discovered too much tension. Eliza embraced Brigham Young's Adam-God teachings as a way of supporting him or framing her own theological ideas within that context. What I see Eliza considering in her encounter with

this controversial theology is a way of bringing women into the story, a way of affirming women's place in the doctrine of exaltation. Eve was elevated to the status of a goddess, her stature a pattern of progression that all women could follow. In the 1850s, Eliza began to place a lot of emphasis on Mother Eve. This doctrinal emphasis became a way for her to express the reality and importance of the divine female. She found that the idea of the exalted Mother Eve gave her hope in her own eternal destiny and could likewise lift other women, so she used it frequently in her poems and later in her discourses. Within that context, this particular approach to theology makes sense, even if it no longer makes sense to us. I think that through this Adam-God teaching, Eliza furthered respect for the divine feminine.

Eliza did have a run-in with Brigham over her ideas about resurrection, which had been fine when she incorporated them into various poems she published. But when she published her article on "Mortal and Immortal Elements of the Human Body," Brigham objected. Poetry is not scrutinized in the same way that prose is. Eliza's article appeared twice in the *Woman's Exponent,* first in 1873 and then in 1875, at which point Brigham issued corrections in various forms, all of which pronounced her theory "untrue." He did not believe, as she did, that there is some eternal kernel of a person that enables resurrection. She could not understand how all the original physical elements of a body could be brought back together since our bodies disintegrate and go into grass, which goes into cows, etc. It's not our very molecules laid in the grave that are resurrected, she wrote, but some core she does not exactly identify. Brigham opposes that idea as unscriptural, believing in only one class of matter, and he makes sure that the theories of this highly respected woman leader are discredited.

Silver: As I remember, Emmeline B. Wells received word from her husband, Daniel Wells, counselor to Brigham Young, that Brigham was not pleased with that article—would she please retract it? Emmeline published Brigham's objection and then John Taylor's clarification. Finally, Eliza wrote a statement of retraction that was published both in the *Woman's Exponent* and in the *Deseret News.*[12]

12. Eliza R. Snow, "Mortal and Immortal Elements of the Human Body: A Philosophical Objection to the Resurrection Removed," appeared in the *Woman's Exponent* 2

Derr: After six months.

Silver: The length of time says something, doesn't it?

Derr: It may tell you something about their relationship. I don't know what happened at home during those six months, but yes, Eliza relented. That is an interesting conflict, and some of Eliza's letters to Brigham likewise reveal minor disagreements. She tells him that his clerk will not dictate the terms of commission for women's goods in the Women's Commission House.[13] She is very clear about that, but it is a husband/wife letter. "Don't you remember when you were sitting in the green chair, and I told you such and such?" We get a little sense of that.

Silver: She did support his economic desire to make the West independent of those nefarious merchants coming from the East.

Derr: Absolutely, and we can see how well they worked together as organizational partners. He might suggest something like midwifery or physician training for women in the East, and she took that and ran with it. But she was not alone in such efforts. A whole group of women—including Sarah Kimball, Bathsheba Smith, Mary Isabella Horne, Marinda Hyde, and Emmeline Wells—were eager to promote women's professional achievement. Eliza would convey Brigham's suggestions, and off the women went with their own cooperative commission stores, midwifery training, tailoring establishments, and other mercantile enterprises. It was such an exciting time in the history of Latter-day Saint women, and Eliza was one of several leading women at the center of it.

(December 1, 1873): 99, and *Woman's Exponent* 4 (September 1, 1875): 54. Snow's retraction reads in part, "Permit me to say that I fully concur in the views expressed by Pres. Young, and withdraw everything contained in my article at variance therewith, and trust that no Latter-day Saint may be led into erroneous doctrine through anything written by me." Eliza R. Snow, "To Whom It May Concern," March 19, 1876, in *Woman's Exponent* 4 (April 1, 1876): 164, and *Deseret News Weekly,* April 5, 1876, 152. For a more detailed discussion of the incident see Jill Mulvay Derr, "The Lion and the Lioness: Brigham Young and Eliza R. Snow," *BYU Studies* 40, no. 2 (2001): 55–100.

13. "In the fall of 1876 she [Eliza R. Snow] became superintendent of the Woman's Store, a commission house for Utah-made goods, opened in the Constitution Building, Salt Lake City." Orson F. Whitney, "Eliza Roxy Snow Smith," *History of Utah,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1892–1904), 4:575. Origins of the store are discussed in Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 83–84.

Silver: She herself wielded the needle, as I recall, and made men's suits, among other things.

Derr: Yes, she made her living as a seamstress. She sewed caps, suits, coats, pantaloons, and other items, both simple and complicated. Sometimes she traded her labor for provisions, and sometimes, like other women, she employed her sewing skills to outfit missionaries.

Silver: She was also called priestess. How did she fulfill this role? There was no temple in Salt Lake until several years after her death.

Derr: In 1852, Eliza was called to assist with ordinance work in the Council House in Salt Lake City. Presendia Huntington Buell Kimball initially presided over women's work there. Eliza went there in 1852, as she documented at the back of that famous Nauvoo minute book where she scratched little notes of having helped with ordinances in the "C.H." The Council House was a civic building, but its "upper room" was set apart for the performance of temple ordinances. Then, in 1855, the Endowment House was constructed and dedicated, and Eliza began presiding over and officiating in women's ordinance work there. No work for the dead was performed in the Endowment House. These were ordinances for living women, especially endowments and sealings. In helping to administer these sacred rites, Eliza had very close contact with hundreds of women.

Of course, many Saints who came west had been endowed in the Nauvoo Temple, but by the 1850s, immigrants who had not had that temple experience began arriving in the Salt Lake Valley by the thousands. Women who came to receive their endowments and be sealed to their husbands not only experienced these ordinances but often also received from Eliza R. Snow healing blessings or prophecies about their lives to come. Within the context of the Endowment House, her roles as priestess and prophetess were not separated. She became well known as a priestess, a title that is not often used now but was used in her day.

Silver: Then Brigham Young turned to her to say it was time to organize women again. In connection with Eliza's work in Relief Society, we think of her as a presidentess. Let's talk about the things she did.

Derr: This is one aspect of Eliza's life that comes alive in the documents published in *The First Fifty Years of Relief Society*, where

we see the beginnings of her ministry and its burgeoning. From 1868, when she was first called to reorganize long-defunct Relief Societies, until her death in 1887, she was always active organizing and teaching. First, she helped reorganize each local Relief Society, taking her Nauvoo minutes and going from ward to ward. She shared with those sisters and their bishops the form, structure, and constitution of Relief Society and how it was meant to function. And then Brigham Young gave her an additional calling, which was to instruct the sisters. Upon receiving that new mission, she said, "My heart went 'pit a pat,'"[14] because she could see new possibilities in extending Relief Society work to include preaching and teaching.

We should note that at first she was neither called nor set apart to be president, but she was called to do this organizing and teaching work, and so the sisters called her president. That tells us something about the lack women felt, their need for a female leader.

Eliza was brilliant in the way she leveraged the retrenchment movement to reinforce Relief Society and expand its reach to include the nurturing of younger women. Retrenchment was a response to Brigham Young's counsel to women to simplify their dress and food preparation and free up their time for other important personal and collective developments. He aimed his counsel first at older women, then at younger women. As you know, Brigham Young assigned different women to do different things: Eliza to organize the Relief Society, Emmeline Wells to oversee grain storage, and Mary Isabella Horne to head retrenchment. But the women united, brought these diverse assignments together, and approached them collectively.[15]

Brigham Young told Mary Isabella Horne, "Bring the local Relief Society presidents together and get them to commit to retrenchment." As they began to meet together with Eliza, this

14. "3.5 Eliza R. Snow, Account of 1868 Commission, as Recorded in 'Sketch of My Life,' April 13, 1885 (Excerpt)," in Derr and others, *First Fifty Years,* 268.

15. Beginnings of retrenchment for older and younger women are featured in Derr and others, *First Fifty Years*: "3.15 Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Meeting, Minutes, February 10, 1870," "3.16 Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Meeting, Minutes, February 19, 1870," and "3.18 Young Ladies' Department of the Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Association, Resolutions, May 27, 1870," pp. 338–42, 343–49, and 353–57, respectively.

group of a dozen or so presidents from different Salt Lake City wards became both prototype and pro tempore for a general board. Suddenly these local Relief Society presidents came together across ward boundaries to talk about and coordinate their economic programs, their financing, their building of halls and granaries. Their meetings became the forum where what Brigham suggested to Eliza was talked about and implemented. General Retrenchment was the name of this semi-weekly meeting, and it gradually grew to include a larger contingent of women. It continued on even after a general board was organized in the 1880s. It had become the foundation for women communicating about and between their local Relief Societies. This was a brilliant move on the women's part, because Brigham Young had only authorized ward Relief Societies, not one big general Relief Society as had existed under Emma Smith's direction.

It's exciting to me to see how Eliza and the sisters with whom she worked leveraged their assignments to build their own structure for their organization. As Eliza helped extend Relief Society work to different stakes and different counties, she designated a president to preside over ward presidents even before Brigham Young instituted stake Relief Society presidents in 1877. So Eliza operated without an official calling, but the authority she exercised made her work official in many respects.

Silver: She had a mandate, and she knew how to structure, how to bind people together so they would be effective.

Derr: Exactly. She likewise became instrumental in establishing what is now known as the Young Women organization. At Brigham Young's direction, she rallied his teenaged daughters and helped them come up with retrenchment resolutions. As the young women's movement spread, Eliza tied it right away to the senior women's retrenchment. For a while there was this Cooperative Senior and Junior Retrenchment, the older women working with the younger women. Of course, they eventually broke away to be known as Young Ladies' Retrenchment and then the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association, but Eliza still regularly visited, organized, and taught those groups. Then, in 1878, after Brigham's death, she worked with Aurelia Spencer Rogers, who had a particular concern about teaching good principles to rambunctious boys and also girls. Thus, the idea of the Primary Association came along. It was Eliza who

facilitated getting John Taylor's approval and spreading this movement churchwide.[16] In all these cases, Eliza visited wards and stakes throughout the Church and spoke about women's potential, young women's potential, and children's potential. She was so committed to the Primary that she developed its first curriculum. For a while she was known as the presidentess of all the women-led organizations.

Silver: As Jenny Reeder has pointed out, Eliza would show groups Joseph Smith's pocket watch, one that he had given her, as a link to him and as a testimony of her faith in him and his principles.[17]

Let's talk a little about politics. Much has been written recently about the Great Indignation Meeting of January 1870 in gaining the vote for women. What was Eliza's vision for women in the public world?

Derr: We see in local Relief Society minutes that Eliza talked repeatedly about the importance of women taking on public duties. She saw that as critically important. I probably did a great disservice to her in my early article "Eliza and the Woman Question" because, being a total novice as a historian, I looked for significant quotations while paying little attention to chronology. That article featured many statements Eliza made in the 1850s about women not moving into the public sphere, women not taking on the same responsibilities as men. But the article did not consider the development of her ideas over time. Like other women of her era, her thinking changed. Certainly by the 1870s she was pressing for a larger public role for women.[18]

Silver: Women were afraid of being thought of as strong-minded.

Derr: Exactly. In terms of the women's movement nationally, there were women's suffrage conventions, not just at Seneca Falls in 1848 but up to the Civil War, where pretty radical things were expressed against religion and against men. Eliza took quite a stand against such ideas, saying that Latter-day Saint women didn't oppose their church leaders and didn't need those kinds

16. See "3.30 Aurelia Spencer Rogers, Reminiscences of August 1878, as Published in 'History of Primary Work,' 1898," in Derr and others, *First Fifty Years,* 428–34.

17. Jennifer Reeder, "Eliza R. Snow and the Prophet's Gold Watch: Time Keeper as Relic," *Journal of Mormon History* 31, no. 1 (2005): 119–41.

18. Jill C. Mulvay, "Eliza R. Snow and the Woman Question," *BYU Studies* 16, no. 2 (1976): 250–64.

of rights. But she was also open to the ideas that came forward in the world, and by the late 1860s, there was a lot more talk about suffrage among some Latter-day Saint women. Sarah Kimball, for example, totally espoused the cause, took the suffrage periodical *The Revolution,* and shared it with her sisters. These women educated Eliza, and she was responsive to their ideas.

The Indignation Meeting of 1870 started as a demonstration of women's united opposition to the Cullom Bill, proposed antipolygamy legislation then before the U.S. Congress. Other earlier bills had come up through Congress, I think in '68 or '69. Eliza's signature was there with those of other women who published their opposition to those early bills as being unfair to plural wives and mothers. In January 1870, Eliza joined the contingent of sisters in the Fifteenth Ward (Sarah Kimball's ward) who gathered to compose resolutions opposing the Cullom Bill and then determined to move the effort from a ward indignation meeting to a much larger, more inclusive indignation meeting. Eliza and others succeeded in getting notices in the paper calling women to gather in the Old Tabernacle in Salt Lake City. Similar meetings were held in other communities.

Eliza, taking a prominent role, was one of many powerful speakers at the Great Indignation Meeting. Some of the speakers pressed for women to be enfranchised so their opinions could be registered at the ballot box. Still, there was not a general demand for the vote, as Lola Van Wagenen's fine work has shown.[19] Nevertheless, women had impressively represented themselves and their ideas, and the possibility of enfranchising women was soon before Utah's Territorial Legislature. There was only a month between the January 1870 indignation meeting and the legislature's February 1870 bill granting the franchise to Utah women. Many scholars have been fascinated by that and have done great work on the granting of the franchise. We have also tried to lay out the sequence of events in *The First Fifty Years of Relief Society.*[20]

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19. Lola Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and the Politics of Woman Suffrage, 1870–1896" (PhD diss., New York University, 1994; Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2003).

20. See "3.13 Minutes of 'Great Indignation Meeting,' January 13, 1870," in Derr and others, *First Fifty Years,* 311–32; as well as "3.12 Minutes of 'Ladies Mass Meeting,' January 6, 1870," pp. 305–10; "3.14 'Female Suffrage in Utah,' February 8, 1870," pp. 333–37;

Some people feel that Eliza opposed the enfranchisement of women. If she had expressed reluctance earlier, she didn't oppose it in 1870. By then, she was very supportive of women voting and wanted to see them given the opportunity to hold public office. I think these later attitudes are sometimes eclipsed by her earlier statements. That said, she wasn't the outspoken kind of suffragist that Emmeline Wells was or that Zina Young would be after the 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Act disenfranchised Utah women. Eliza died in 1887 and wasn't alive to react to the disenfranchisement or to the 1895 debates about including women's suffrage in the Utah Constitution. Those critical developments were after her time.

Silver: Yes, but she was among the women who spoke well in that 1870 indignation meeting covered by national reporters, one of whom paid tribute to their logic and rhetoric.[21] That praise sounds as if it could have been in response to Eliza's contribution to the meeting.

Derr: She was all for women's rights, but to her, the real engine for change in the world was the Church, and she did not ever give that belief up. As I said earlier, she was totally committed to the priesthood and its authority, order, power, and ordinances being the real means to transform the world.

Silver: It sounds to me, Jill, as if you enjoy becoming better acquainted with Eliza as you write her biography.

Derr: Definitely. The more I learn about her, the more I appreciate her complexity. I remember Leonard Arrington saying as he was working on his biography of Brigham Young, "Great men have great strengths and great weaknesses," and I think becoming acquainted with both of those aspects of Eliza and being honest about them has been important to me. She treasured relationships, one of her qualities that is often underestimated. She was an intellectual, but she was a social one. Salvation for her was social. She loved her family. She loved the Smith family, the Young family, and she loved and appreciated the generation

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and "3.17 Eliza R. Snow and Others, Letter to Stephen A. Mann, and Stephan A. Mann Reply, February 19, 1870," pp. 350–52.

21. Derr and others, *First Fifty Years,* 243, quoting "Mormon Women in Council," *New York Herald,* January 23, 1870, 6.

of women and men around her. She seized the opportunity to lead women, and as she did so, she enlarged her voice, her influence—her usefulness, we might say—and she encouraged other women to step forward and enlarge their influence. They could make a difference, and they did, as we have talked about, in all these activities they undertook.

At the heart of Joseph Smith's temple theology was the eternal family, eternal increase, husband and wife, and the Eternal Father and Mother in Heaven. Priesthood quorums and Relief Society reflected this gender balance in ecclesiastical structure, and that may have been one reason that Eliza took to the Relief Society with such a passion. The Latter-day Saints had a prophet and president, a visible Quorum of the Twelve. Not only was the Relief Society organization missing for a time, but with Emma gone, a significant female figure was missing. In her era, Eliza became that central figure. You can feel her magnetism. Women need visible women leaders, and during her era Eliza's great gifts came together with that need and made her a legend.[22]

Silver: A powerful tribute to her. In concluding our conversation, I invite you to reflect more generally on the writing of Latter-day Saint women's history during your career. What have been the trends in examining the lives and contributions of women in the nineteenth century? What approaches have been fruitful in these studies?

Derr: Initially—as a team at the Church History Division under the direction of Leonard Arrington—Maureen Beecher, Carol Madsen, and I focused on the "women worthies," the most famous women and their lives, to begin to include a few of the women who were missing from history at that time. We looked to the women who had had a significant public presence, to women who made a difference in politics or economics. At that time, the world prized politics and economics, and we saw achievement in these fields as success. Things have changed over the years, and social history has taken on greater significance. One important shift was the turn toward exploring the

22. The complete discourses of Eliza R. Snow are being published online. The documents are posted on the website "The Discourses of Eliza R. Snow," https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/eliza-r-snow?lang=eng.

personal writings of women. Another has been the attention to the collective work of women, beginning to unpack their institutional minutes, or looking at women's discourse as it appears in those minutes, or particularly in their *Exponent* articles or their poetry. Susanna Morrill did beautiful work by looking at the poetry of Latter-day Saint women as it appeared in the *Exponent* as their means of expressing theology.[23]

Our horizons have expanded over the years. We're more interested in lesser-known women and their writings and experiences. As we have moved forward, different approaches have greatly expanded the field. You mentioned Jenny Reeder's work on Eliza Snow's watch. This is material culture. Work on quilts is also material culture, as is the study of the ways that women express themselves in their cooking. Kate Holbrook has started to look at food as a way of revealing women's lives and even their religious experiences or expressions. Of course, we see now lots of fresh approaches and new topics. Taunalyn Rutherford's wonderful work on women in India and other innovative work on women in Europe and in Asia have shown us the experiences of Latter-day Saint women from other parts of the globe. These will tell us something about what our faith means to women as it is expressed through a different culture.

Theological inquiry, once so suspect, is now being embraced more readily, especially since scholars have begun to compare the Latter-day Saint experience with that of women in other faiths—with Jewish women or Muslim women or evangelical women. In the world generally, many such comparative topics are being addressed. Scholars from outside the Church, such as Catherine Brekus, are bringing this broader perspective to their study of Latter-day Saint women.[24] Gender studies have become very important, and a closer examination of women's documents. I think it is exciting that minute books for Relief Society, Young Women, and Primary are being digitized, because so many more women will be able to explore the history they reveal.

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23. Susanna Morrill, *White Roses on the Floor of Heaven: Mormon Women's Popular Theology, 1880–1920* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

24. Catherine A. Brekus, "Mormon Women and the Problem of Historical Agency," *Journal of Mormon History* 37, no. 2 (Spring 2011): 59–87.

Silver: I was surprised when Janiece Johnson was told by a dissertation advisor, "You have a pretty good topic, but where are you going to find writings by women, enough to be able to write a major study?" No problem now in finding sources. We have only to open our eyes and accept what is there. This has been a fascinating discussion. Do you have any final comments?

Derr: My final comment would be to echo something Carol Cornwall Madsen said years ago in her memorable address to the Mormon History Association. She talked about lots of different approaches to Mormon women's history and about the women who have been hidden and become visible. She said that uncovering these women helped her to discover herself.[25] I think that for any Latter-day Saint woman who studies the history of women, that growing self-discovery is probably the greatest blessing. In many ways I feel that my life has unfolded as it has because of these dear and wonderful women of the past. I will be eternally grateful.

Silver: Thank you so much. You have helped us see that Latter-day Saint women's history is not only a work of paying tribute but of finding joy and companionship in the present and through the past. Heartfelt thanks for your decades of work with women's history and the views you have set forth today.

Cherry Bushman Silver is coeditor of the Emmeline B. Wells diaries project. She was a research historian at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History at Brigham Young University under Jill Mulvay Derr and worked on the executive committee of the Mormon Women's History Initiative Team.

25. Carol Cornwall Madsen, "'Feme Covert': Journey of a Metaphor," *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 43–61.

A Treasure Trove of Research Resources about Historical Latter-day Saint Women

Connie Lamb

Even considering the fine books and articles on the history of Latter-day Saint women that have been written in the last fifty years, there are still innumerable questions about early Utah women to be explored. For example, how did the votes of women in territorial Utah from 1870 on affect local and territorial elections? Who were the first female politicians in Utah, and what did they accomplish? In what ways were Latter-day Saint women involved in the national suffrage movement in the United States? How did Kanab, Utah, come to have an entire slate of female city officials, and what did they achieve during their service? In addition, there are questions specifically related to the Relief Society: What did the sisters achieve in their work of saving wheat, raising silkworms and spinning silk, and training midwives? Furthermore, beyond a purely academic or historical interest, individuals yearn to know more about the lives and experiences of their own foremothers, actual and spiritual.

There are many resources that can provide insights into these and other questions about historical Latter-day Saint women. Some materials are focused on Mormon studies, but others are much broader. All the resources described in this article are open access, which means they can be searched for free anytime from anywhere. Some resources provide just references, while others include the full text of various documents. This article will be a journey through the world of libraries, archives, and publications of all types.

History

As soon as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was established, texts about the Church and its members began to appear, written from both inside and outside the fold, and many have been preserved in the ensuing 190 years. A tool used by librarians prior to the World Wide Web was the published bibliography—a compiled list of materials on a specific topic. This was the only way researchers knew where books and archives were housed.

In 1960, William V. Nash wrote a thesis titled "Library Resources for the Study of Mormons and Mormonism."[1] He searched out libraries with large collections about The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, then he traveled to the institutions or talked to the directors on the telephone to identify specific holdings. He found these repositories mainly where Latter-day Saints had historically settled—New York, Missouri, Illinois, Utah, Arizona, California, and more. Research libraries that collect Americana were on his list, including public libraries, university libraries, and historical societies. Major repositories include the Library of Congress, the New York City Public Library, Harvard, Yale, Brigham Young University, the Utah Historical Society, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Library, the Huntington Library, and the University of California, Berkeley. At that time, seventy years ago, patrons had to visit the libraries in person to use the collections, especially manuscripts and archival material. How things have changed!

Today, much of this material has been digitized so it is available online, and there are online catalogs, finding aids, and other guides that show what is located where. Many items have been digitized but certainly not all, so for some things the researcher must still travel to a physical location to use them. However, technology has had a tremendous impact on Mormon studies by making research materials more easily available.

Research Tools

Doing research requires posing an actual question that provides a reasonable topic, then determining the terminology to use. One way to think about a research strategy is by using these three steps: I am researching [topic] because I want to find out [issue or question] in order

1. William V. Nash, "Library Resources for the Study of Mormons and Mormonism" (MLS thesis, University of Illinois, 1960).

to [application or purpose]. For example, I am researching women's suffrage because I want to find out about Utah's activities in that realm in order to learn if any of my female ancestors were involved. Alternatively, a simpler way may just be asking "what" and "why" questions followed by "where" (to look). Answering either set of three prompts helps narrow the topic and decide keywords. Thinking of which concepts you want to bring together and what terms to use for searching are basic elements of research. Most online resources can be searched by keyword, but each resource varies as to what fields are searchable—it might be just the title or the title and the abstract or maybe the full text, so it is important to think about the terms an author may use. Always consider synonyms. Examples for "woman suffrage" might be "female voting rights" or "woman's enfranchisement." Note that in the nineteenth century, it was common to use the singular "woman" rather than "women," which is the current practice. After searching a few places, the researcher may need to narrow or broaden the search depending on the number of hits and how much information is needed.

The rest of this article will identify and describe research tools valuable to both amateur and professional researchers of Mormon studies. These resources include books, newspapers, websites, and archives. Most of them can be accessed through the BYU library catalog at http://lib.byu.edu. The researcher types the name of the resource in the search box, and a list of "hits" will appear. When the results appear, note the call number or click on the link for online items. Be sure to scroll down to find all options, including print and electronic, as there may be more than one record for an item. Several of these resources have "Mormon" in the title, which is the long-established term used among scholars and which libraries use for cataloging.

Books

Books are excellent sources to examine in the early stages of a research project because they can provide background information about a subject and show a researcher what questions have already been answered by earlier studies. Also, books usually have bibliographies that may direct the researcher to sources she or he was not previously familiar with.

For information about historic Latter-day Saint women, several books have been digitized, including Edward W. Tullidge's *Women of Mormondom* (1877),[2] the *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* (about 1900),

2. Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (1877; repr., Salt Lake City: n.p., 1975).

and the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (1992). Books that are not digitized but are useful include *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude*—the seven series published by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers that cover both individuals and topics—and county histories for many states, including Utah. In recent years, a plethora of books and articles have been written about Latter-day Saint women, including individual biographies, historical studies, collections of stories, and narratives about a variety of subjects related to women. Three histories of the Relief Society contain information on how that organization was involved in suffrage, as part of the greater story of Relief Society: *A Centenary of Relief Society, 1842–1942,* published by the General Board of Relief Society; *History of Relief Society, 1842–1966,* also published by the General Board; and *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society,* published by Deseret Book in 1992 for the Relief Society's sesquicentennial anniversary.[3]

Books can be located through searching a library's main catalog by title or author; however, it is not necessary to have a specific identifier because many books can be found in the catalog by using subject terms or keywords. For women's suffrage and women's history in Utah, several important libraries to search include the BYU Harold B. Lee Library (https://lib.byu.edu), the University of Utah J. Willard Marriott Library (https://lib.utah.edu), and the LDS Church History Library (https://history.churchofjesuschrist.org/section/library?lang=eng). Other universities and colleges in Utah also have books about the Church of Jesus Christ, family and local histories, and other such material. The libraries mentioned by Nash now have online catalogs that can be searched for Mormon studies material, including books and some archival items. If a specific book (or article) is unavailable in a local library, it can be ordered through the Interlibrary Loan (ILL) system. Persons affiliated with an institution of higher education can request a copy of a book through their library ILL department, usually at no cost. Material can also be requested through public libraries, but there may be a charge for the service. Books are sent from one library to another through the regular mail, and articles via email.

Newspapers

Newspapers are a wonderful source of local and national history. The Utah Digital Newspapers project, hosted at the University of Utah

3. Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenback Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992).

library, is a freely available database that is being added to regularly and includes over 150 papers, both statewide and local, published as early as 1850. It can be accessed through the University of Utah library website at https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/search or through the BYU library catalog. One of the papers it includes is the *Woman's Exponent,* the twice-monthly newspaper published 1872–1914 in Salt Lake City by and for Latter-day Saint women. It is an extremely valuable research source. All of the newspapers included in the Utah Digital Newspapers database are easy to search. For example, entering a woman's name will result in a list of all the individual pages of the paper on which that name appears; when one opens the page, the name is highlighted to be easily located.

A second specialized database is the 19th Century Mormon Article Newspaper Index (https://lib.byu.edu/collections/19th-century-mormon-article-newspaper-index/), created at BYU, which includes 5,800 newspaper articles dealing with Latter-day Saints or with the territory or state of Utah between 1831 and 1900 and can be searched for free through BYU. Additionally, the Daughters of Utah Pioneers website (http://isdup.org/dyn_page.php?pageID=5) provides links to newspapers and other resources for researching historic Latter-day Saint women. Other newspaper databases can be found by searching the internet, some free and others subscription based.

Databases and Websites

Like the databases described above, several other open-access databases and websites are particularly useful for doing research about The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, suffrage, the history of Utah and Utah women, and other related topics. An important resource is "Studies in Mormon History" (https://smh.lib.byu.edu/), a database that can be accessed and searched through the BYU library catalog free of charge. This database includes bibliographic citations to articles, books, theses, and PhD dissertations dealing with the history of the Church, ranging from the time of its inception in 1830 to the present. Since it is intended as a guide to responsible historical scholarship, it does not, for the most part, include highly pejorative works, though it does include controversial works that still have historical substance or interest. The print version of the database is one volume divided into two sections: the first an alphabetical listing of the last names of authors, and the second an alphabetical listing by subject. In the online database, these two lists are merged, so a search can be made by author's name or by subject. Searching for "suffrage" in this database, for example, results in 120 hits.

In addition to "Studies in Mormon History," there is another online bibliography titled "A Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930" (https://lib.byu.edu/collections/mormon-bibliography/about/). As the title indicates, this resource covers the first one hundred years of the Church of Jesus Christ and includes items about women's suffrage and voting. This site is an electronic version of the printed volume *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930*.[4] This resource overlaps some with "Studies in Mormon History," but it includes more ephemeral items. It provides citation information for the material with only a few hyperlinks to actual items. The database contains over 14,500 bibliographic records for entries found in the printed bibliography. These records itemize print publications of many varieties, all of which relate in some way to the restored Church during its first century.

The "Mormons and Their Neighbors" database is an index to over 100,000 biographical sketches published in 236 individual books.[5] This is only an index, however, so the original sources must be consulted to discover what information is given about the person. A sampling of the sources indexed includes volumes by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *Marriages in the Nauvoo Region, 1839–1845* (a searchable database hosted by Ancestry.com), various county and town histories, and Davis Bitton's *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies.* These sketches' subjects include persons living between 1820 and 1981 in northern Mexico, New Mexico, Arizona, Southern California, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and southwestern Canada. A database specific to Mormon women is the "Mormon Women's Studies Resource" (https://mormonwomen.lib.byu.edu/) that is a portal to information and research about women in Mormon culture and in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It contains lists and links to organizations, institutions, databases, websites and other resources. It also contains a bibliography that is updated periodically. This resource can be accessed through the internet.

Another portal to all things Mormon is the "Mormon Studies Resources" website (https://lib.byu.edu/collections/mormon-studies-resources/). This guide can be used to search for material about Latter-day Saint theology, history, culture, and people. It is organized mainly by subject categories such as art, music, doctrine, nationality, and women,

4. Chad J. Flake and Larry W. Draper, *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930: Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals, and Broadsides Relating to the First Century of Mormonism,* 2 vols., 2d ed, rev. ed. (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2004).

5. This database can be accessed at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/mormons-and-their-neighbors/.

but it also includes categories for genres like diaries, manuscripts, dissertations, photographs, and so forth. The links connect to databases, websites, and individual works that can be text-searched for relevant material.

The database "Theses on Mormonism" includes references to more than 650 theses written at Brigham Young University from 1932 to 2005. This database is not indexed by subject; a researcher would need to browse the titles for items relevant to a particular research project. Another resource for this type of material is Electronic Theses and Dissertations (ETD), which can be accessed from the home page of the BYU library website. It covers all subjects from the 1950s to the present. Searching the term "Mormon" results in over 3,000 hits, and "women's suffrage" provides about 390 hits. BYU also maintains an institutional repository called ScholarsArchive that houses faculty publications, student works, journals, and data sets on all subjects. Searching "Mormon" in this database provides 6,770 hits, and "women's suffrage" gives 166 hits.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints sponsors two websites that include considerable material on women. One is the Church Historian's Press website (http://www.churchhistorianspress.org), which includes the books *The First Fifty Years of Relief Society: Key Documents in Latter-day Saint Women's History* and *At the Pulpit: 185 Years of Discourses by Latter-day Saint Women* in addition to some of the diaries of Emmeline B. Wells. The other is the Joseph Smith Papers website (https://www.josephsmithpapers.org), which contains relevant material under the heading "Joseph Smith and the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo." The Relief Society minute books for 1842 are available online along with other Relief Society–related documents.

One additional resource is the Digital Public Library of America, which is not sponsored by the Church or BYU but includes many items related to the Church and women. The Digital Public Library of America brings together the riches of America's libraries, archives, and museums and makes them freely available to the world; it can be accessed by entering its name in Google or any other robust search engine. This website includes almost 37 million items and gives researchers access to photographs, books, maps, news footage, oral histories, personal letters, museum objects, artwork, government documents, and more, in the original format. Searching is straightforward. A search of "suffrage Utah" results in 100 hits, including a *New York Tribune* announcement of the February 12, 1870, passage of the bill that granted suffrage to the women of Utah, and a booklet of Orson F. Whitney's 1895 speeches in support of women's suffrage before the Utah Constitutional Convention.

Archives and Manuscripts

Large research libraries hold extensive collections of manuscripts (unpublished documents such as diaries, journals, letters, scrapbooks, biographies, autobiographies, and other rare original documents). These materials are stored in the special collections section of a library and are listed in the main library catalog. Some collections have been digitized, but most are available only at the particular library that holds them. Often a finding aid is digitized so researchers can see what is in the collection before traveling to the library. At BYU, a researcher does not need an appointment but can use special collections anytime it is open. Photographs are stored in a cold vault, and it takes twenty-four hours after the request is submitted to view them, but most material can be pulled very quickly. Other libraries have their own guidelines for usage, so it is essential to check ahead of time whether an appointment is required. The BYU library has collected many women's life stories and other materials that document the lives, roles, and accomplishments of women in Utah, Mormonism, and the West.

The Guide to Women's Manuscript Collections (https://guides.lib.byu.edu/womensmanuscripts) facilitates access to over six hundred women's manuscript collections, all of which are housed in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections section on the first level of the BYU library. The collections range from small to extensive and include such items as biographies, autobiographies, diaries, letters, papers, and more. The Guide provides a short biographical sketch of each woman and an abstract that gives a description and content summary of her collection. It can be browsed by name or searched by name or topic. New entries are added on a regular basis. Searching "suffrage" and "vote" results in twenty hits, including entries on the Beaver County Woman Suffrage Association. Most of this material is not digitized, so it must be viewed in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections reading room.

LDS Women's Publications

BYU has digitized three of the early Latter-day Saint women's periodicals: *Woman's Exponent* (1872–1914) (also digitized in the Utah Digital Newspapers collection, described above), *Young Woman's Journal* (1889–1929), and the *Relief Society Magazine* (1914–1970), each of which can be searched for free with the full text available. As noted above, during the 1800s, the singular form "woman" was commonly employed, so using that term in searching will produce more results for material published

in that era than "women" will. An example is the *Woman's Exponent*, which has considerable content about suffrage (597 hits) and Utah's involvement in women's right to vote. There are also 240 references to politics. From 1879 to 1896, the masthead of the *Woman's Exponent* read "The Rights of the Women of Zion and the Rights of the Women of all Nations," showing its support for voting and other rights for women. The *Relief Society Magazine* is a great source for the history, activities, and interests of Relief Society members during the early to mid-twentieth century. It also includes information about individuals and Relief Societies around the world. It describes the life, culture, and faith of LDS women during the time of its publication. The BYU library has created an index to the *Relief Society Magazine* that includes the major standard categories of material: lessons, articles, fiction, poetry, plays, editorials, recipes, notes from the field (ward and stake Relief Society information), happenings (about individuals), images, and advertisements. Searching the word "suffrage" results in 45 hits. The index includes links to the full text of the magazine; it can also be browsed by year.

Conclusion

Now more than ever before, it is possible for any individual with an interest in the history of women in the Church or of a particular woman to find research material regarding whatever she or he seeks to learn. Anyone who sits down at a computer with this article in hand can locate a treasure trove of material. You may be surprised at the gems you find. However, there is so much that hasn't yet been written—stories of the lives of ancestors, the work of particular Relief Societies or other groups of historic Latter-day Saint women, and the achievements of women in so many fields. This gap creates real opportunities for future contributions to our understanding of our sisters from previous generations. We have only to begin.

Connie Lamb is a senior librarian at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, with specialties in anthropology, Middle East studies, African studies, and women's studies. She is also the adjunct curator for women's manuscript collections in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections at the BYU Library. She has master's degrees in library science, Middle East studies, and cultural anthropology, and an MPhil in anthropology. Connie is co-editor of two book-length bibliographies, has published several book reviews and articles on a variety of topics, and has developed four databases for library research. Connie is active in both library and subject-oriented professional organizations and has given presentations and papers at numerous association meetings.

Our Lady of the Unicorn Blanket-Cape

O, Mythical Daughter, Story-Seeker, Herald
of Imagination and Reverie— May your frayed
and faded mantle burden you with comfort
and abundance— May it swaddle your dreams,
nuzzling their shadows into pastures of promise
and grace, boldness and prophecy— May you
ride your fledgling magic through faith's raucous
halls, through life's ribbing, sneering *we-all-fall-down*—
May the pebbles you've pocketed on your
promenade to school light your saga like
talismans, like oracles— May you throw them
at Sophia's vaulted windows and may those windows
wing themselves toward the sound of your seeking,
of your cape's insistent pawing in the wind—

—Tyler Chadwick

Hope in a Time of Fracture

Turning the Tide

Anne Snyder

This article is a lightly edited version of an address delivered at Brigham Young University on October 22, 2019, and sponsored by the Wheatley Institution. It was previously published in Comment *magazine on October 10, 2019, as* "Turning the Tide: A New Page in Christian Influence."

"[The] first shall be last; and the last shall be first" (Matt. 19:30).

In the spring of 2015, I encountered two worlds within twenty-four hours—worlds yoked by creed but divided by demographic and disposition. On a crisp Wednesday evening in May, I was invited to attend a cocktail reception at the New York Yacht Club for a celebration among Jews, Catholics, and Evangelicals honoring the legacy of a man named Dietrich von Hildebrand, a philosopher and anti-Nazi hero during World War II. The room was filled with intellectuals, politicos, bankers, and think-tankers, and they were largely male and all Caucasian. These were true believers, and yet they felt isolated in their faith amid a secular elite, beleaguered as well by a mainstream culture that seemed increasingly hostile to some fundamental principles.

"New York is so secular," one panelist lamented. "We need the moral courage of von Hildebrand to stand against the corrosive culture of our day."

It was just weeks before the Supreme Court decision on gay marriage, and there was an air of embattled weariness in the room. The panelists sounded fearful, even defensive, though our surroundings were plush, and many of us held resumés sparkling with names like Harvard and Yale, *New York Times* and Google.

Not twenty-four hours later I was sitting in the front row of Bethel Gospel Assembly Church in Harlem, waiting for graduates of Nyack College to walk down the aisle and receive their hoods. Nyack is a Christian university whose campus in Battery Park draws from the hundreds of storefront churches that line the boroughs beyond Manhattan. The pews were overflowing with immigrant families, Asians, Latins, and African Americans hailing from Queens, Brooklyn, the Bronx, and beyond, with the bulk of the international students coming from the Majority World. I watched a seventy-nine-year-old grandmother ascend the stage and collect her diploma for the first time, followed by a Chinese woman in a wheelchair, followed by a single mother, followed by an ex-offender.

Joy and expectation filled the air[1] as one by one these graduates walked, danced, and bowed their way to the stole that would confer the students' official readiness for ministry and as community-builders. According to the commencement bulletin, most graduates were planning to return to their home neighborhoods to serve in churches, social agencies, schools, and counseling centers. Instead of expressing fear that a great Judeo-Christian heritage was losing ground, there was compassion in their testimonies, the scent of hope anchored in humility and fervent faith. There wasn't a dry eye in the room when one Nyack professor addressed the graduates: "You don't have to wait in line behind other people who are more important than you to receive God's love." Said another, "If the world will not listen to your words, make them listen to your lives."

I was sitting there caught up in the gorgeous triumph of it all, and I couldn't help but let my mind wander back to the reception the night before. The contrast was striking. One room had held a concentration of the elite faithful, largely homogenous in educational and racial makeup, nostalgic and worried. Yet not one subway stop away was this room full of Christians of every tribe and tongue, radiating hope and purpose. I found my own soul singing, moved by the sight of faith without fear or guile. Where was this world in the Yacht Club's more foreboding diagnosis? Why the demographic blind spot among the "influencers" anxious for the future of Christendom?

It has now been four years since that encounter, and we in the U.S. have since had an election that has exposed the cultural fences between coast and heartland, between the "creative class" and everyone else. Elites

1. See Nyack College, "Nyack College Class of 2015 Graduation Highlight Video HD," June 26, 2015, YouTube video, 4:23, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mNaSZ5LifGg.

are wringing their hands about a country they thought they understood but don't. Racial tensions are up, accompanied by a renewed, hot reckoning with our mottled history as a nation founded on ideals of human dignity and equality that time and again it has failed to embody. A crisis of solidarity has cracked open, running first along lines of social class, now layered with—if not eclipsed by—race and ideological worldview. Some of the more prominent Christian voices, instead of serving as repairers of the breach, as is always the call for the people of God, have capitulated to the pressures of a divided land, baptizing their belligerence in the name of the common good while manifesting few of the virtues this good requires.

A subtle yet important question embedded here is one of influence: How are people of faith called to influence the larger culture? As long as I've been an adult swimming in and out of Christian waters, talk of "witness" and "Christ redeeming culture" has seemed to hinge more on creating strategies leveraging temporal power than on nurturing contexts for demonstrations of God's power. From messianic hopes placed in the White House every four years to theories of cultural change overly dependent upon our elites and the institutions they represent maintaining the public trust, there seems to be a glaring forgetfulness about who Jesus Christ said he was and the Beatitudinal kingdom he came to bring. Many white believers in particular, if I may, are expressing crisis-level concern that Christianity is threatened in the West, a fear that has driven them to make certain political choices and appear like an aggrieved minority hungry for lost power. I believe deeply in the leavening role the sacred sector plays in our society and will march to preserve the freedoms of the faithful as indispensable to our democracy's survival. However, the rhetoric from today's more conservative spokespersons makes them look amazingly ignorant of what their faith community actually *is* in their own nation, of Christianity's growth and vitality among the burgeoning sectors of our society. In short, those who get to speak for "We, the Church" are too often found fighting their own oppression while not attending to the struggles, the energy, and the wisdom of their brothers and sisters from historically nondominant worlds.

I've long been an appreciative student of Western civilization: I've been shaped by its ideals and worked for several institutions that seek to protect and advance them. But at Nyack, in all its grittiness and with its prismatic perspective, the future felt closer, the Christian difference more palpable. Here were souls whose stories were rooted in exile, and yet they were living in this exile with hope and hospitality. And I wondered, sitting there, tears coming down my face, if the more visible

ambassadors of American Christianity—be they Catholic, evangelical, members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—concerned for the future of Western civilization and the freedoms of the faithful, could learn something from their posture and build an alliance.

Here is the opportunity: at a time when the loudest Christians often seem to be operating from a place of defensiveness, fear, and cultural bereavement, there is a growing source of vitality to pivot toward, learn from, and walk side by side with—one that will create a new Christian face, a new message, a new energy, and a more rooted and inspiring faith. As sincere people of faith navigate an era that once again scorns and misunderstands us, there is a need to look beyond each of our own cultural and ecclesial comfort zones for instruction, sustenance, and relationships with those whose lives are surrendered to the same Source of Life and Love yet are faced with different pains, equipped with different gifts, and established in trusted relationships with different communities. A compelling witness in embattled times is not going to come from legal prowess or from pedigreed intelligence or from capitulation to the latest moral consensus that the broader culture dictates or, in an opposite reaction, from a mass withdrawal from mainstream culture. Instead, a compelling witness will come through porousness and humility in our more dominant faith streams to question our own assumptions and listen to our indigenous, immigrant, Asian, Latino, and African American brothers and sisters. It will come as we begin to learn from their respective experiences as peoples of faith in the West; to understand their cultural and civic responses, their heroes, and their theological emphases; and to hear clearly, with humble hearts, what they're asking of us. We need a gloriously unruly, Nyack-like movement of doers and thinkers across city, suburb, and agrarian community.

Some Personal Autobiography

So, zooming down a little from this call to build a table for a larger circle of souls, I thought I'd risk a little personalism and share some of my own autobiography, just to lend some context to my own coordinates in this vision. I was born in Boston and shortly thereafter moved to Hong Kong and then Australia with my sister and parents, my father's job as a foreign exchange currency trader introducing us to worlds both global and cosmopolitan. Our actual apartment, however, was filled with a contrasting mix of indigenous artwork and Quechua flutes from Latin America, my mother having grown up in the Amazon jungle in Peru as the daughter of linguists who had given decades of their lives to translating the Old and New Testament into the native tongue, or

heart language, of one Quechua tribe. Her childhood stories—and the witness of her parents, whom I would know as amazingly loving grandparents—shaped my girlhood perception of Christianity as a faith that had the unique capacity to intricately incarnate in cultures both new and ancient, powerful and marginalized. And with grandparents whose particular charism as linguists was intrinsically one of bridge-building, I knew this faith as something bracing yet life-giving, transcendent yet culturally adaptive.

Fast-forward a decade to the United States, and I had a very real encounter my sophomore year of high school with what I can only describe as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit wooing me to surrender my life to God and to the part of the Lord's prayer that says "thy kingdom come" (Luke 11:2). Not really knowing what this would mean but hungering to gain further experience and learn how to share this love that was so unlike any other kind of love I knew in the world I was in—at the time I was attending an aggressively secular prep school called Andover—I started a Bible study in an almost desperate attempt to see if there was anyone else out there who shared this strange faith in a Savior who'd walked this earth so long ago. There *were* others, as it turned out. The Bible study became a weekly scene of me strumming four chords tentatively on my mother's guitar, surrounded by thirty Korean and Korean American students at Andover, singing, praying, and discussing different passages of scripture together.

Fast-forward still further, and I wound up at Wheaton College in Illinois, where I was granted the foundation to ask the big questions, the Christian questions, even if there weren't always—or even often—neat and tidy Christian answers. And alongside the delicious breadth of the liberal arts, I was also exposed to the range of theological traditions and their champions, writers like Thomas Merton and Charles Spurgeon, Peter Kreeft and Edith Stein, Kierkegaard and Saint Augustine. At age twenty, I had a vocation-cementing experience helping build a water system in rural Honduras, where I developed a friendship with a member of our team, César Gomez, a Paraguayan who had become a custodial staffer at Wheaton's physical plant. I also had a spirit-altering conversation in a water ditch along a hillside with a local Honduran man, my work partner. These experiences deepened my faith from one of sincere belief and intellectual integration to one that hinged on compassion and the ability to suffer with others and humble oneself before wisdom from unexpected quarters of society, to one that found its most joyful expression in building bridges between groups that have trouble understanding each other. I was given a conviction that for my life to have integrity, it had to integrate head,

heart, and helping hand; it had to be a host for others to bloom; it had to bridge uncommon worlds; and it had to be faithful to this gospel of grace. Since then I've made a million mistakes and failed many times, but this compass has been the lodestar for life decisions and my work.

The Demographic Future

The world today is witnessing a non-Western explosion of Christianity. By 2050, Christians living in the global South and East will number 2.18 billion, roughly three times as many as the 741 million projected for the global North.[2] At the same time, migration patterns from the South to the North are leavening the spiritual tenor of a secularized West. About 68 percent of immigrants who come to the United States today identify as Christians.[3] Latino Protestant congregations are growing while White Protestant (both evangelical and mainline) congregations are shrinking.[4] Seventy percent of Catholic growth since 1960 is due to migration from the Philippines, Vietnam, and Latin America,[5] with over half of the United States' Catholic young people identifying as Hispanic.[6]

These migration patterns yield a combustible set of dynamics—theological culture clash and new pathways for spiritual renaissance, both. As institutional Christianity continues to weaken and as the elite corridors double down on their secularist, individualistic preferences (and as the far wings of each political base definitely do the same)—it's worth saying that at the loudest top and the loudest base of our society we are officially paganized—newcomers bring expressions of faith that are full of vitality and without domestic baggage. The culture wars that have

2. Pew Research Center, "The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010–2050," Pew-Templeton Global Religious Futures Project, 142–65, https://assets.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/11/2015/03/PF_15.04.02_ProjectionsFullReport.pdf.

3. 2014 U.S. Religious Landscape Study, Pew Research Center, https://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/immigrant-status/immigrants/.

4. Daniel Cox and Robert P. Jones, "America's Changing Religious Identity," PRRI, September 6, 2017, https://www.prri.org/research/american-religious-landscape-christian-religiously-unaffiliated/.

5. Wes Granberg-Michaelson, "Think Christianity Is Dying? No, Christianity Is Shifting Dramatically," *Washington Post,* May 20, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2015/05/20/think-christianity-is-dying-no-christianity-is-shifting-dramatically/.

6. Cox and Jones, "America's Changing Religious Identity": "Fewer than four in ten (36%) Catholics under the age of 30 are white, non-Hispanic; 52% are Hispanic." Also Granberg-Michaelson, "Think Christianity Is Dying?"

pitted church against world in the whiter U.S. of past decades don't carry the same currency for Christians today whose heritage lies elsewhere. Instead, immigrant churches tend to emphasize the faith's more experiential dimension, as well as civic responsibilities that dwell not just on Supreme Court justice picks but also on serving as agents of compassion and hope within local communities.

And then there is the African American church. Born in suffering and sustained despite bearing the scars of the country's most egregious sin, the Black church, I'd argue, has been *the* leading agent of grace in American history—and the yeast in Christ's church at large. The Beatitudes certainly feel closer to the surface in Black congregations, their paradoxical power embodied in a heritage oppressed but not crushed, persecuted but not abandoned. Along measures of devotion and faith practice, the American Bible Society has found that African Americans are more than twice as likely as other groups to say Bible reading is crucial to their daily routine.[7] And while Black voices were rarely woven into the parachurch unfurling of evangelicalism in the mid-twentieth century, it is now more often African Americans who draw unapologetically from Christian wells in their public engagement today. It was no aberration that President Obama sang "Amazing Grace" in mourning the massacre in Charleston in 2015. It was no aberration that the families of the slaughtered chose to forgive the murderer who killed in the name of racial hate.

The gatekeepers of Christian thought have much to gain from expanding their circle and seeking perspective from those who may not look like them. For one thing, many Black and immigrant-dominated churches have maintained a respected civic role in a way many White evangelical churches have not. Where the latter may serve their individual members in the ways of encouragement, worship sessions, exegetical preaching, and small weekly groups, today's Black, Hispanic, Asian, and other bodies remain as much a civic pillar for their members as they are sanctuaries for prayer and worship—many of them doubling as job banks, legal agencies, homeless shelters, or information hubs. In short, my experience with Black and immigrant congregations is that they tend to be more like the field hospitals Pope Francis has spoken about[8]—

7. Kate Shellnutt, "Building on the Black Church's Bible Legacy," *Christianity Today,* December 28, 2018, https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2019/january-february/african-american-bible-reading-abs-pew.html.

8. See Antonio Spadaro, "A Big Heart Open to God: An Interview with Pope Francis," *America* 209, no. 8 (2013), https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2013/09/30/big-heart-open-god-interview-pope-francis.

welcoming everyone, regardless of sin or circumstance, and caring for the needs of the whole person, whole neighborhood, whole system, not just one's individual soul. This comprehensive realism grants these local churches moral authority—not only in their home community, but in the world at large. And they offer an important lesson: if you want entré to a hurting if skeptical world, care for it, don't try to rule it.

Lifting Up the Shepherds

Zoom out from the reality of this century's demographic unfurling, and you see something else. Theories of cultural change are shifting: from top-down to bottom-up, from national to local, from institutions to networks, from structured hierarchies to open ecosystems, from advice by outside expert to praxis by indigenous shepherd. There's a growing awareness that love can never be abstracted—we're touched by incarnational living and doing, less by prescription from on high. Macro content can paint a context within which we all think and make decisions, but that's not determinative. It's proximate *people*—and the broader moral norms and social fabric shaping how we relate to one another—that shift the terrain on which we live and make decisions.

Young people tend to understand this, and the New America tends to understand this. In many of the seminaries attracting predominantly immigrant and African American students, the education of the book is *peopled* by the education of relationship. The idea is that if you're going to train people to be healers, you must begin with personalism. "What a wise person teaches is the smallest part of what they give," said veterinarian Dave Jolly. "The totality of their life, of the way they go about it in the smallest details, is what gets transmitted. . . . The message is the person."[9] When every faculty member gets up at Nyack's commencement before the graduating students with a word of exhortation, you see an institution fueled by relational genius, operating from an understanding that great and consequential human journeys only advance by parking for a spell in the blessing of spiritual mothers and fathers, active service in the community of concern, and the one-on-one. It's *shepherds* we need to lift up, encourage, and equip, and who better to do so than a church founded by one?

I'd like to encourage the Wheatley Institution, BYU, and the broader Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—just as I'm encouraging my

9. Quoted in David Brooks, *The Road to Character* (New York: Random House, 2016), xv.

own magazine, *Comment,* which seeks to reflect on two thousand years of Christian social thought for the common good—to make a bet on this uncharted theory of influence, one that puts these shepherds in conversation with national thinkers, caregivers, and village-makers; with institutional stakeholders, musicians, and poets; with policy wonks and tech whizzes. I really don't believe in burning any one world down, be it the elite establishment or the populist extremes. Rather, I believe in taking courage to foster a space that's willing to hold the raw vulnerability and pain felt in all quarters these days, encouraging patience before the time it usually takes to understand the root of the other's pain and the arc of the other's hopes, and to sustain a conversation committed to showing our common capacity to care. And I *do* believe it's the sacred sector that has to lead the way in providing this space. This is in part because we, as Christians, are unusually anchored in a common story and ultimately oriented toward a common end, in part because our very existence is bound up in the power of grace, in part because we believe human beings are souls, carrying infinite weight and eternal direction, which changes how we see and engage others, all others. And finally, very much because the transcendent seems to be the only dimension we have left to both supercharge and protect our uniquely human capacity to love, to confess, to forgive and receive forgiveness.

Where to from Here?

"The leaders of the future will be those who dare to claim their irrelevance in the contemporary world as a divine vocation that allows them to enter into a deep solidarity with the anguish underlying all the glitter of success, and to bring the light of Jesus there."[10]

So said Henri Nouwen. It's a bracing charge for the Church today. How do we become more a healer than a wager of war, a witness to a strange if compelling beauty rather than a fortress built to preserve controlled perfection? How might we dig into our baptized imaginations to reframe some of our most fraught debates as a society and model the possibility that grace is possible amidst deep disagreement? How do we become more of a people that remains alien to the world, yet reconciling? An alien reconciler. What could that look like?

10. Henri J. M. Nouwen, *In the Name of Jesus: Reflections on Christian Leadership* (New York: Crossroad, 1989).

The Apostle Paul may have given us a roadmap:

> For the message of the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the power of God. For it is written: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise; the intelligence of the intelligent I will frustrate." Where is the wise person? Where is the teacher of the law? Where is the philosopher of this age? Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world? For since in the wisdom of God the world through its wisdom did not know him, God was pleased through the foolishness of what was preached to save those who believe. . . . Christ [is] the power of God and the wisdom of God. For the foolishness of God is wiser than human wisdom, and the weakness of God is stronger than human strength.
>
> Brothers and sisters, think of what you were when you were called. Not many of you were wise by human standards; not many were influential; not many were of noble birth. But God chose the foolish things of the world to shame the wise; God chose the weak things of the world to shame the strong. God chose the lowly things of this world and the despised things—and the things that are not—to nullify the things that are, so that no one may boast before him. It is because of him that you are in Christ Jesus, who has become for us wisdom from God—that is, our righteousness, holiness, and redemption. Therefore, as it is written: "Let the one who boasts boast in the Lord."[11]

If Christianity is going to reclaim its collective witness in the West, an alliance must be built between elite and commoner, scholar and practitioner, Black and White, able-bodied and handicapped, immigrant and indigenous, young and old. If the Church is to draw closer to God's heart and revive her force in history, she will be one of sacrifice, atonement, private and public honesty, and hope without rival. She will love despite fear, count the cost and consider it joy. She will be bridging, Beatitudinal, broken, and bottom-up.

This is the future. This has to be the future.

Anne Snyder is the editor in chief of *Comment Magazine* and the host of *Breaking Ground,* a collaborative web commons created in 2020 to try to inspire a dynamic cross-section of thinkers and practitioners to respond to the various crises of this year with wisdom, hope, and courage. Anne is also a 2020 Emerson Collective Fellow and the author of *The Fabric of Character: A Wise Giver's Guide to Renewing Our Social and Moral Landscape.*

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11. 1 Corinthians 1:18–31 (New International Version).

Why Well-Behaved Women Seldom Make History

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich

Although it is a bit disconcerting to admit it, I am most widely known today not for my books, but for a single sentence. You've probably seen it: *Well-behaved women seldom make history.* I don't get royalties when somebody prints my words on mugs, T-shirts, bumper stickers, greeting cards, or any of the other paraphernalia sold in gift shops or on the internet, but I sometimes get thank-you notes or snapshots of fans carrying hand-lettered signs in marches. One of my favorite examples of the latter shows a bright pink poster in a crowd near Wellington Arch in London. On the right, a traffic light registers yellow for caution. Above the fray, the winged goddess of victory appears in silhouette, holding aloft a wreath of laurel.

I don't know why so many people find my words appealing. Perhaps it is the ambiguity of the term *well-behaved*. Without a fixed definition, it evokes whatever anxiety a woman might feel about behavioral codes that constrain her power to act. The slogan works because it simultaneously acknowledges and defends misbehavior as a necessary consequence of making history. Yes, well-behaved women can make history. But when they do, they often lose their reputation for being well-behaved. I am thinking of the words of Anne Bradstreet, colonial New England's first published poet. In *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America,* she wrote,

> I am obnoxious to each carping tongue
> Who says my hand a needle better fits, ...
> For such despite they cast on Female wits:

If what I do prove well, it won't advance,
They'l say it's stoln or else it was by chance.[1]

Sadly, some of those "carping tongues" belonged to other women. Bradstreet was fortunate in having male supporters who carried her poems to London and arranged for their publication in 1650.

Here, I am defining good behavior as playing by the rules, even the unspoken rules, in a person's own community. In most circumstances, that is a wise thing to do: children should be taught to obey "don't walk" signs; drivers should stay on the right side of the road, except in countries where the right side is on the left. Rules hold families and communities together. They keep us safe. But some rules hurt people; others lose their relevance. The first people to figure that out often make history. They refuse to move to the back of the bus. They stop wearing button-up shoes and corsets. They write new laws. Some of them become famous. Most are ordinary people, like us. They make small changes. They push forward into the dark not knowing quite where they are going. Intentionally or not, they make a difference.

As a historian, I am grateful for those who have been willing to share their journeys with others. Sometime in the early 1980s, I participated as an advisor to a wonderful oral history project created by a group of women in Warner, New Hampshire. A committee in their town had just published a history that pretty much ignored women. You may have seen town histories like that—they typically include lists of the earliest taxpayers, town officers, physicians, millowners and the like, with photographs of landmark buildings and rosters of men who served in various wars. The women in Warner were dismayed that anybody thought that kind of history was complete. Most had grown up in the town, and they knew that it had been held together by women: housewives and mothers, public school teachers, nurses, telephone operators, 4-H leaders, and generous souls who took in foster children or cooked the huge meals served at town fundraising events.

The oral history group decided to fill in the gap by interviewing some of these women. That was more difficult than they expected. Because they couldn't interview all of them, they had to make choices, and doing that meant figuring out which stories mattered. They knew that focusing

1. See Anne Bradstreet, *The Works of Anne Bradstreet in Prose and Verse,* ed. John Harvard Ellis (Charlestown, [Mass.]: Abram E. Cutter, 1867), 99, https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_Works_of_Anne_Bradstreet_in_Prose_an/25frNwTkO6gC.

on women who had some sort of public presence reinforced the very pattern they were trying to break. So, they decided to begin with the oldest women. That too created problems: Some resisted because they didn't think they had anything to say. Did keeping a house and raising children qualify as history? Others feared that the younger women who wanted to interview them might misinterpret their lives. In this conservative hill town, some people feared the influence of feminism, or "women's lib" as they called it. Combining hard work with deep respect for the concerns and values of their target group, the Warner Women's Oral History Project managed not only to create an irreplaceable cache of interviews now safely transcribed and deposited in archives but also to mount a prize-winning theatrical project based on those interviews that toured the region for more than twenty years.

I related to the women who created this project because at a crucial moment in my own life, I had been involved in a collaborative effort to fill in the gaps in my own people's history. As a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, I had heard plenty of faith-promoting stories about pioneer women, but I had difficulty connecting their challenges with my own. If anything, their apparent heroism made me feel diminished, unequal to the challenges of my own time and place. Working with other women to produce a more complete and less idealized history of early Mormon women reaffirmed my commitment to my faith and reduced my anxiety about combining my responsibilities as a wife and mother with my aspirations as a writer.

When I wrote my now-famous sentence, I was living with my husband and children in a small university town in New Hampshire and was enrolled in a research seminar on colonial American history. When the notoriously demanding professor who was conducting the seminar told us we should not think of ourselves as students but as historians and that we should not put pen to paper without thinking of publication, I took him seriously. At first, I had trouble finding a topic; I spent hours going through a list of early publications available on microcard, photo-reproductions that required a magnifying reader only available in the library. I finally found fifty or so documents that appeared to give some sort of attention to women. Some were funeral sermons with short biographies at the end; others were prescriptions for good behavior or celebrations of scriptural heroines.

To me, this material was pure gold. At the time, most historians who were interested in women were focused on the nineteenth century, and the few who cared about the colonial period concentrated on

witch-hunting or the trial of the Puritan dissenter Anne Hutchinson. Not surprisingly, their portrayal of early New England was pretty grim. By teasing out little-known details from those tedious sermons, I was able to offer an account of Puritan piety that was much more complex and at least potentially hospitable to women. By spring, I had completed a draft that my professor thought might be publishable. Over the next few months, I managed to finish a series of revisions that satisfied the editor of the scholarly journal *American Quarterly.*

My essay appeared in the spring 1976 issue with the title "'Vertuous Women Found': New England Ministerial Literature, 1668–1735." Here is the opening paragraph:

> Cotton Mather called them "the hidden ones." They never preached or sat in a deacon's bench. Nor did they vote or attend Harvard. Neither, because they were virtuous women, did they question God or the magistrates. They prayed secretly, read the Bible through at least once a year, and went to hear the minister preach even when it snowed. Hoping for an eternal crown, they never asked to be remembered on earth. And they haven't been. Well-behaved women seldom make history.[2]

My goal was neither to celebrate nor to lament their piety but to give them a history.

"Vertuous Women Found" was my first published scholarly essay. Writing it motivated me to frame a dissertation topic that would allow me to dig beneath the images promoted in sermon literature to understand more about the realities that shaped women's lives. I narrowed the geographic scope of my project in order to take advantage of archives no more than an hour's distance from my own home so that I could accomplish my research while my children were in school. That decision precluded my spending much time in major libraries in Boston or Cambridge, but it forced me to take full advantage of local records and little-known historical sites near where I lived. Although I found virtually nothing in women's own handwriting, I was able to use court records, captivity narratives, wills, household inventories, gravestones, embroideries, and the poetry of Anne Bradstreet, as well as scattered references to wives and children in men's letters and diaries, to tease out a surprising number of details about these women's lives.

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2. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "'Vertuous Women Found': New England Ministerial Literature, 1668–1735," *American Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1976): 20.

In 1982, I published a revised version of my dissertation as *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750.* By then I had a part-time job in an interdisciplinary humanities program at UNH. I was determined to continue my research. Tracking down a document that I thought might lead to a new project, I arranged to take an overnight trip to the Maine State Archives, two hours away from my home. When I failed to find anything useful there, I walked across the hall to the Maine State Library, where I was astonished to discover the twenty-seven-year-long, detailed daily diary of an eighteenth-century Maine midwife, Martha Moore Ballard. Some had valued it only for its genealogical information. The few scholars who had seen it relied on an expurgated transcription published in a local town history, and they pronounced it full of trivia and of little use. Because I had become a kind of expert on "trivia," I recognized its value.

Martha Ballard made history by performing a methodical and seemingly ordinary act—writing a few words in her diary every day. But nobody makes history alone; if her daughters, granddaughters, and great-granddaughters had not preserved her words, they would have been lost. Even then it took two feminist movements to give her words life. The first sent her great-granddaughter Mary Hobart to medical school in the 1870s. She was the one who eventually deposited the diaries in the Maine State Library. The second feminist movement took me to that library in 1981 looking for documents that might give early American women a history. History is often a game of toss between present and past: over time, documents easily dismissed as family relics acquire public significance in ways no one could have imagined, and, conversely, lives that seemed immensely powerful in one era may disappear in time.

The publication of *A Midwife's Tale* changed my life. It was not just the Pulitzer Prize. Months before the book received any awards, a young filmmaker, after reading a review in the *New York Times,* visited me about making a documentary film. To me, the public reception was astonishing. While writing it, I found it difficult to imagine anyone actually caring about my obsessive unpacking of the diary. I didn't understand that the success of the book wasn't really about me or even about her—it was a mark of a deeper concern in American society with issues of birth, death, and healthcare and of a growing interest in fundamental human relationships that shape all our lives. The success of the book also reflected the growing sophistication of women's studies as a field and a more widely shared commitment to equity in the awarding of

prizes, fellowships, and academic positions. If the book had appeared years earlier or later, it may not have had the same impact.

The awarding of the Pulitzer Prize in 1991 was indeed history-making. Only three prizes for history had been given to women in the Pulitzer's then seventy-five-year history, and none for a book by a woman about a woman. I think many people thought it was about time, but when the National Endowment for the Humanities gave a million-dollar grant to PBS for making the film, there was a fuss in Congress. There was even a bit of a flap at BYU in 1993 when the board of trustees rejected me as the keynote speaker for a women's conference, even though I had been royally welcomed when I gave a lecture on campus the year before. There was also celebration in some quarters and disdain in others when I accepted a professorship at Harvard University in 1995. One internet troll complained that the history department's famous course on the American Revolution was about to be replaced by a course on quilts!

Through all this, my now-famous sentence sat quietly in the folds of *American Quarterly.* Then, in 1996, it leapt onto the internet. That happened because an enterprising journalist who somehow stumbled upon my article decided to use its best sentence as the epigraph for her own short survey of women's history. She must have been working from memory because she changed the word "seldom" to "rarely." Shortly thereafter another writer dropped that version of the sentence into a book of quotations by women. I knew nothing about any of this until I got an email from a young woman living in Portland, Oregon, who wanted permission to print my sentence on T-shirts. For a few minutes, I couldn't even remember where I had written it. After shuffling through a few other works, I finally remembered my first scholarly article. There it was, just as I had written it twenty years before. I didn't see any harm in letting an earnest young woman use it for her project. All I asked was that she send me a T-shirt.

Nobody could have been more surprised than I when my throwaway sentence caught fire. It often went its own way, without any reference to me. But my name appeared often enough that I began to get fan mail; the Sweet Potato Queens of Jackson, Mississippi, invited me to join them in their annual parade.

Friends and former students passed on anecdotes and "sightings." A reporter for the *Chronicle of Higher Education* took pleasure in pointing out that I was a practicing Mormon and to all appearances pretty well behaved. At the time, I was busy navigating my life at Harvard while finishing *The Age of Homespun,* a book that built on years of work

based on museum collections. I was pretty exhausted by the time that was published, and I decided it would be a good respite do something lighter.

Well-Behaved Women Seldom Make History was published in 2007. It wasn't a best seller, but it did accomplish one thing: fewer people now attributed my sentence to Eleanor Roosevelt or Marilyn Monroe. In the introduction, I told the story much as I have told it here. My purpose wasn't to argue for the original meaning of the sentence. I admitted that while I liked some of the uses of the slogan more than others, I wouldn't call it back even if I could. I applauded the fact "that so many people—students, teachers, quilters, nurses, newspaper columnists, old ladies in nursing homes, and mayors of western towns—think they have the right to make history."[3] Today I would add to that list women astronauts, software engineers, and presidential candidates.

The book itself looped back and forth across the centuries, showing how people reused old stories in new ways as they attempted to come to terms with changes around them. I explored woman warrior stories from the ancient Amazons to Wonder Woman, linked Virginia Woolf's "Anon" with painted houses in Botswana, and connected the cow that kicked over Mrs. O'Leary's bucket to a red heifer in an illuminated manuscript. I ended with a brief survey of the emergence of women's history in the 1970s, when women like me looked to the past for a better understanding of the world they lived in.

I still get emails asking for permission to use the slogan. I appreciate it when people ask, but in truth, nobody actually needs permission. My runaway sentence has long since entered the public domain. So feel free to attach any meaning you want to its five words, recognizing that you, not I, are responsible for any trouble it may cause.

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's most recent book is *A House Full of Females: Plural Marriage and Women's Rights in Early Mormonism, 1835–1870* (New York: Knopf, 2017), which won the Evans Biography Award. After she retired from Harvard in 2018, she and her husband, Gael Ulrich, moved to Bala Cynwyd, Pennsylvania.

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3. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Well-Behaved Women Seldom Make History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007), xxxiii.

Courtship

Claudia L. Bushman

People ask from time to time how Richard and I met. I have told the story in various ways for different occasions. It all began in 1952, some sixty-eight years ago at this writing. I call the man I eventually married Dick in this account. He later, about 1992, became Richard.

After Dick Bushman had been at Harvard for two years, he was called on a Latter-day Saint mission to the New England states. At that time, the mission home was immediately adjacent to the Latter-day Saint chapel in Cambridge on Brattle Street, both located in old houses built by the Longfellow family. Dick was very active in that small church group and acquainted with the mission personnel who had offices next door. He knew the mission president, J. Howard Maughan, well. Sister Hattie Maughan always called him Dick, even as a missionary.

Missionaries were at a low ebb because of the Korean War and the draft for soldiers. Dick got a mission deferment because he lived in Portland, Oregon, where prospective missionaries were few. Many Utah boys were sent off to war instead of to proselyte. The New England Mission had only about fifty missionaries during that time, maybe a quarter of their usual complement, and Dick, known and trusted by the mission president, was frequently sent off alone to supervise the distant elders in all the New England states and Canada's Maritime Provinces. President Maughan did think that Dick's college friends might be bad influences, and he was instructed to stay away from them. He was not allowed to accept dinner engagements.

Dick was serving his second year in the mission when I came from San Francisco to Boston to attend Wellesley College. He had begun

college three years before me, and so after his two-year mission, he would be only a year ahead. I began to hear about him from young people at church as soon as I arrived. He was a fabled figure, spoken of with awe. The two most memorable stories were that in running for the student council as a freshman at Harvard, then an all-male university, he had knocked at the door of every classmate and asked for his support. Could I imagine such a driven person? The other story was that after election to the student council, he had been asked by another, older Mormon member to nominate him for the council's presidency. This Dick refused to do, telling his friend that he preferred to support the other candidate. I thought that Dick must be a hard man, a frightening person, one to avoid.

Our actual fateful meeting that year is a blur. A group of Latter-day Saint students gathered one Sunday evening in a Harvard room. Elder Bushman arrived, alone. Why, we can never remember or determine. He must have had a reason. He was not one to break rules. He turned up in this forbidden place, and we met. He says it was passionate love at first sight. I have suspected that he had heard about me, as I had heard about him, and that he knew that my father was a Latter-day Saint stake president and that I had a scholarship to Wellesley, suggesting that I was a more serious student of religion and academics than I actually was. The meeting was soon over. I don't remember any conversation on that occasion. Later, I wrote, "During the first month of school back in 1952 I met a young elder named Richard Bushman. The group I was with had spoken more than highly of him and I was not disappointed. He was both thoughtful and articulate. However, his reddish hair grew down over one eye in the manner of a romantic poet and my impression was, 'What a lovely boy; I wish he'd cut his hair.'"

I avoided him as much as possible, though, because he made me uncomfortable. He was generally very busy, but one Sunday in church, when I couldn't get out of the way fast enough, he forced me to reveal plans for a political science major and then proceeded to try to pry out my views. I blushed painfully and tried to get away, vowing not to get caught again.

After Dick returned to school the next year, our relationship began in deadly earnest. He was never very nice to me. He was stern in his invitations, as if this were an unpleasant duty that he had to fulfill. We usually had study dates at the old Wellesley Recreation Building. He seemed so much more mature and serious than I was that we could hardly carry on a conversation. I knew he disapproved of me. I was always surprised when he called and asked me out—or in, that is—to the rec hall.

He never took me out to any nice places. I, who had been used to going to every football game, every dance, and every concert, found my social life much straitened. There was certainly no romance. Sometimes we walked on the Wellesley campus. Sometimes we attempted a little dancing in the rec hall. Always our conversations were painful and awkward. We could hardly talk to each other at all. I had always felt that if I was not a gorgeous date, at least I was very good company. But not this time. After a while, each date would be followed by a letter in which he would bawl me out for something or lecture me on something else. I hardly knew what to think about this.

During Christmas vacation of my sophomore year, in 1953, he sent me a couple of letters and a book. I was very surprised that he should be so nice. I read his well-written letters to my father, who suggested, in the way of fathers with four daughters, that I should marry this man. I said that there wasn't a chance; he was the finest of young men but beyond my deserts.

Later, Dick passed through San Francisco with his family on the way to Los Angeles for a Church conference his father was involved in. I looked forward to having him come, but when he didn't call when he said he would, I went out with someone else.

Back at school, Dick invited me to a concert several weeks in advance. That turned out to be the weekend of the Dartmouth game and surrounding events. I usually did the three days of big football weekends solidly with another young man. We both thought Dick wouldn't mind not going out with me, but Dick insisted that the date go through. We went to the concert and had a nice time, but I could not be at all spontaneous. I was sure he considered me a nice, but very dull, girl.

I was having trouble defining my position. Dick must have been doing more than being nice to me to call me all the time and to take me out, but I was always miserable in his presence: tongue-tied, stilted, and stupid. I didn't see how I could be even decent company. He was stern and silent. He asked my opinions on things I knew nothing about. I decided that the whole thing must be a plot of the Cambridge church boys to play a trick on Claudia. And I determined to enjoy it but not to be taken in. And it was very flattering. I loved having Dick around. He was much sought after. I hoped that I would be none the worse for the experience and that I could survive with some dignity.

Then, on November 18, 1954, during my junior year, his senior year, Dick came out to Wellesley and suggested we take a walk. He brought a white carnation on a long stem. We walked, and I played with my flower.

Dick wore a long red scarf and carried an umbrella, which he later broke. It had been raining. We wandered to the lake's edge and sat in a spoon holder on Tupelo Point.

The Wellesley campus is built on the shores of beautiful Lake Waban. A path runs around the lake, and there are three or four rustic little nests with benches for conversation and for viewing the lake. These are called spoon holders; they hold the spooners. On our walks around the campus, we would often sit in one and sometimes talk. The campus legend was that after walking around the lake (about two and a half miles) three times, a couple would stop in a spoon holder, and there would be a proposal of marriage. If there was no proposal, the Wellesley girl would push her date into the lake. Richard did not understand the part about walking around the lake, thinking we had only to visit the spoon holders. I had no idea of any serious intent for our peregrinations.

On that fated evening, unseasonably warm, Richard sternly and seriously proposed marriage. I was astonished, completely surprised and undone. He said that he loved me and had for some time. I had already had a few proposals and could read the clues. But I never saw this one coming. Instead of leaping up in enthusiasm, as many other girls would have done, I wondered if he was serious, saying that he did not know me at all. And he certainly did not. I was interested in frivolous things: nonsense poetry, Gilbert and Sullivan, Broadway musicals, birds, frogs, fashion, good times. He was serious, ambitious, driven. I could not believe that he wanted to marry anyone like me or that he would have suggested it if he had any understanding of what I was really like. Other girls were much prettier and more religious than I was. Why was he proposing to me? I was shocked and unhappy that he could be so blind as to choose me but thrilled to be loved by such a man. I came home quite dazed but very happy. Marrying him was a new idea.

Of course, he tells a different story. His memory of the evening was that I had accepted him and that we were engaged. I thought we had moved into a new limbo. We continued our tortured relationship.

The last night of November, the day before he left for Christmas, Dick came out to Wellesley, and we walked and danced, and he quite insisted that I stop in Utah on the way home. My family was in favor of the visit, so I began negotiations for tickets. I dreaded going. I would have to impress the Bushmans, wasn't really presentable, was still uncomfortable with Dick, and I didn't try hard for tickets. Then I got sick and went into the infirmary. My mother made reservations in San Francisco, Dick made them in Salt Lake City, and I decided not to go. In

Chicago while en route home, I realized that I could change my flight and stop in Salt Lake, but I was five dollars short of the needed funds. I got back on the original plane, feeling sorry for myself, though really glad I didn't have to go.

I had a good time at home. The first two weeks, I had many dates with men to whom I could talk very well. I helped around the house. My sisters were good friends. I loved my family more than before. I dreaded going back to my dry cell at Wellesley.

Then came a letter from Dick inviting me to Salt Lake for New Year's. After a quick family conference, I dispatched a hasty consent. On New Year's Eve, I set off for Salt Lake City. Dick seemed happy to see me. I forgot to be apprehensive. When the clock struck the witching hour, he kissed me chastely on the forehead, and we went to his beautiful house to meet his family: his successful, good-looking father; his lovely young mother with a charming smile; Cherry, a stately, serious blonde, my age; and Bill, a tall, clean-cut, American-boy type. We went to the church dance at the Bonneville Stake Center and danced until two or so and then came back to a party at the house with some nice young people. We stayed up very late.

At the end of New Year's Day, the family and I dined at a nice restaurant, and after taking his family home, Dick and I drove high up Capitol Hill overlooking State Street. I was wretchedly tongue-tied and unhappy and couldn't say anything. I could not speak. Dick was sweet and patient but was obviously disappointed in my reactions. We came home very late. I shivered all night, a chronic upset while in Salt Lake. It was a bad night.

The next day was Sunday, and we went to church. We visited some friends of Dick's and a houseful of my relatives. I was stiff but tried to be friendly. Dick seemed to have known them all of his life. At dinner that evening, I knew I was a failure. I just wanted to be gone as soon as possible. The feeling persisted that evening when Dick spoke at a fireside gathering to an impressive group of young people who obviously thought he was tops. The next day, he drove me down to Provo to visit my sister Georgia. I said about ten words the whole way, planning to tell people that it had been a very nice weekend and that I had enjoyed it, even though it had been painful. I spent three peaceful days with Georgia, and it didn't matter there whether I impressed anybody or not.

I hated to come back to school. I felt a vague dread all the way. But after a few days, when I had dispatched all my thank-you notes and gotten back into my courses, I felt better.

Dick had sent a telegram from Kansas City to greet me on my arrival. Light in tone, it contained tempered terms of endearment, and I was pleased. Maybe I hadn't been such a flop after all. On the day he was due to arrive back, I came back to my little cell and found a pink carnation with a rather tender card. I hoped that it might be a positive symbol. I had a date that evening and so missed his call, but I called him at midnight when I got home. We had a very pleasant chat.

Turbulent as my romantic life was, I was also having a hard time on the academic side. Somehow, I felt compelled to challenge one of my English teachers. I didn't like what she was teaching me. I went into the final exam with a B grade, but—determined to say what I thought was right and correct, whatever that may have been—I flunked the exam. When grades came out, I had a D in the course. I had tried to be really honest on an exam, and I failed it. I cannot even remember the issue.

Later that evening we attended MIT's Miami Triad dance at the Hotel Somerset. The a cappella singing group of which I was a member, the Wellesley Widows, sang. I just wanted to go home. Dick saw that I was grim and subdued. He repeatedly asked what had happened. How could I tell him? He was graduating magna cum laude. He was Phi Beta Kappa. He was the class orator. How could I admit to flunking an exam? He would not want anything to do with me. I finally admitted the awful truth and was amazed at his response. Was that all? That was of no significance. He was quite relieved that it wasn't something serious. What could he have imagined?

Miss Jones, my Wellesley class dean, called me in to talk about my grades. She wondered why I had fallen down in just one course. The teacher had described it as an inexplicable total collapse, an utter failure. Dean Jones asked if I was having problems, if the college could help, maybe some tutoring. She said that such things were usually related to problems at home. I admitted some personal problems, and she arranged an appointment to see the school psychiatrist. This doctor, on call for Wellesley students, spent an afternoon a month at the college.

Going to a psychiatrist was a new and serious business. T. S. Eliot's play *The Cocktail Party* about Christ as a psychiatrist was then being performed, and Freud was at the height of his popularity. We considered these mind doctors to be superhuman in many ways.

I went to see Dr. Snyder to tell him all the things that bothered me. What I had to say was that a romantic situation had reached a difficult climax the night before the exam, exacerbating my antagonistic relationship with my professor. I expected the psychiatrist to dispense some

moral judgment, to tell me that what I had done was stupid, childish, and wrong.

I knew his time was valuable, twenty-five dollars an hour, so I told this nice-looking young man everything bothering me about my romance and the exam as fast as I could. I did not know what else to say. He listened. He made a few notes as I talked.

He then said that writing the exam in that way was an unconscious attempt to get back at the professor, that there were better ways to do it, and that he could not get excited about the grade. He made a few other comments. It was magic for me. I rose from the chair a new person. I left all my troubles on the floor. I felt cleansed, renewed. I was myself again. I was calm and happy and ready to commit myself to marriage.

Back in my room, I wrote Dick a letter unconsciously full of Freudian imagery, frank and loving, and telling him what I felt and hoped for. I mailed the letter. The letter was delivered.

On Thursday, February 17, 1955, I lived in real terror but heard nothing. At four o'clock, I went to a Widows rehearsal. We were singing to the Harvard freshmen that night. On returning from the rehearsal, I was told that Dick had been calling all afternoon and that there were flowers. I dashed down and got my flowers, a dozen yellow and white roses. The card said that I should give the flowers names, half boys and half girls. I was joyful and overcome.

I chatted gaily with the Widows and our drivers on the way into Cambridge. Dick was waiting inside the door of Harvard's Memorial Hall. He'd had his hair cut, and it was still a little wet. He enclosed me in a most welcome arm and said he'd see me after the show.

Afterwards I was scooped up and taken home. We walked to Tupelo Point, the same spoon holder we had used about three months before, and there looking out over the lake, we pledged our troth. Dick offered a prayer of thanks and for help in the future. We were officially engaged.

The next day was a big Wellesley weekend, Carousel. Dick came before lunch bearing daffodils and a balloon. We wandered the campus, identifying trees, enjoying the unseasonably nice weather, ignoring everybody we knew. As a special celebration, we two drove to Boston for a ritzy dinner at Locke-Obers. We had a very posh meal, which took a long time to eat. We made many jokes about finishing the meal with baked Alaska, which we called "Baked Elastics."

The next day, the Widows made a new recording of our songs. We worked for about five hours. By the end, five of our dates had collected. Dick and I had dinner at Winthrop, his Harvard house, and then went

up to his room to have a little discussion. His roommate, Charles, was out for the evening. Dick produced a stack of congratulatory letters. He took a bath while I read the letters and looked through his journal. Then we laid some broad plans for our future together. Trust was first mentioned; we are to be complete and total confidants and tell all. We are to respect each other and not only to not make fun of our love or take it lightly, but also to never flirt or pay undue attention to anyone else. We are to be constantly alert of ways to help others and of ways in which to disseminate the gospel. I didn't know that I could do very well in these things and doubted that I could keep up. We planned nice things that we'd do for our children: take them out, teach them languages, learn 'em the social graces, stimulate their precocious minds by teaching them the same things we were learning at the time. And we would be civic leaders and good hosts and kind to all. We were full of aspiration.

And so we were engaged. We planned and executed our own engagement dinner. I had my picture taken at Bachrach's, and it ran in the *New York Time*s. People proffered congratulations and felicitations.

Dick decided, to my family's chagrin, that he should spend the summer with us in San Francisco. He said that we should be close until the wedding so that we would not drift apart. He lived in the basement, and my father was impressed when he very quickly got a summer job, worked hard, and helped around the house and the church.

In August, we had a big pre-wedding reception in the Sunset Ward cultural hall and then set off across the desert to Salt Lake City to be married in the temple. As we pulled away in Dick's black Ford, my mother turned to my father and murmured, "I wonder if she's good enough for him." My own mother.

We still had trouble talking to each other and had some rough patches in our early marriage. Eventually, I discovered that he was very different from the man I had imagined him to be, and for many, many years, we have considered ourselves to be very fortunate in our marriage to each other.

Claudia L. Bushman, a social and cultural historian of the nineteenth-century United States, holds degrees from Wellesley College, Brigham Young University, and Boston University. She collaborates with Richard Lyman Bushman on historical publications, the Center for Latter-day Saint Arts, and a family of six children, twenty grandchildren, and two great-grandchildren.

My Life in Art

Richard Lyman Bushman

My father, Ted Bushman, was an artist. He worked his way through BYU in the 1920s painting signs and drawing cartoons. Before he graduated, he worked as a fashion artist in Los Angeles for a short time. After he married my mother, he made his living as a freelance artist for Salt Lake department stores, especially Auerbach's. When work dried up during the Depression, he took a position at Meier & Frank in Portland, Oregon, as a fashion artist for the store's multipage newspaper ads. Gradually, he migrated to the management side and eventually took a position with an ad agency in Portland where he handled the Pendleton Woolen Mills account. In 1950, our family moved back to Salt Lake City for Dad to work at ZCMI as head of their advertising and public relations department.

His real life in art began after he retired from ZCMI. He almost immediately took lessons and began to paint. It was as if a dam had broken. He painted continually, first oils and acrylics and then watercolors. Wherever he went, he took pictures and then painted in his studio—a few still lifes, but mostly landscapes and seascapes. He was always working on two or three canvases. We have more than a dozen of his paintings on our walls, and my brother and sister even more. Our grandchildren have Ted Bushmans too, sharing in the extensive legacy of his art. As I write, I look up at a New England fishing vessel coming out of blue mist and above it a brown-toned watercolor sketch of a Western cabin against a clouded sky. He may not have finished the cabin—it has no signature on it, which he added only when a work was complete. But I like his unfinished work as well as the signed pieces.

Dad always wanted me to take up art in some form. He gave me all the encouragement he could, but I never responded. I have yearned to sketch but am discouraged by my own fumbling efforts. Sometimes when I travel, I take a sketchbook and make a few stabs. Even when not sketching I will often stare at people on the subway and speculate on how to capture an eye or a cheekbone. Etchings fascinate me. I can examine one drawing for a quarter of an hour to figure out how the artist accomplished the work's subtle effects with a few lines.

Perhaps when I grow old—I am only eighty-eight at this writing—I will take up drawing. I can imagine myself spending a few hours each day with a pad and drawing pencil, perhaps guided by one of the excellent books on how to draw. My hand sometimes shakes a little, but that would not slow me down. I would go for broad strokes rather than fine lines. I would happily draw books on a table or the edge of a bed. To record anything with some measure of finesse can be immensely satisfying.

I certainly don't lack the inspiration to begin. On the wall above my desk, beside the two Ted Bushmans, are three sketches by my great-grandfather Frederick Schoenfeld, who taught art at a German gymnasium in the 1850s where Karl G. Maeser also taught. They married sisters, were converted together, and migrated to Utah. Frederick could not make a living teaching art in Utah in the 1860s, but his daughter, my grandmother, Hildegarde Sophia Schoenfeld Lyman, inherited her father's taste and passion for art. She made her little house on L Street in the Avenues a gallery of her beautiful work, much of it in the form of furniture she finished. She was a beautiful woman who made the world around her beautiful. I adored her.

So an inclination to art came down to me from both my father's and my mother's sides. Perhaps those influences have drawn me to museums. When Claudia and I discovered that I did not want to take dancing lessons and she did not want to play tennis, we lit on museums as a middle ground where we both enjoyed ourselves. We have spent many happy hours in the Metropolitan and the other magnificent museums along Fifth Avenue in New York. We were thrilled to discover that the townhouse where the Eastern States Mission was once located is at 79th and Fifth, midway between the Metropolitan and the Frick. Too bad the price puts it out of reach for a Latter-day Saints arts center—though we dream on.

Now on the wall above my desk is a sketch by my grandson Max, who studied at Pratt Institute in Brooklyn and is a painter. My granddaughter

Caroline, a superb watercolorist, has given me the hull of a fishing boat listing in the water. Two other granddaughters, Montana and Claudia, have contributed needlepoint and a strange cosmic scene. The invitation is open to all of my offspring to take a spot on the wall, companion pieces to the art of my father and great-grandfather.

Will I ever contribute to the collection? Likely not, though my life in recent years has become strangely entangled in art. The other day at a meeting of the executive committee of the Center for Latter-day Saint Arts, I announced that my vision of the Center's purpose is "to promote the creative work of Latter-day Saint artists" and then added with some passion, "that is where my heart is." The center had just completed its third two-day festival at the Italian Academy on the Columbia University campus, and we were reviewing where we stood. Like most organizations, we find we must continually review our mission. My outburst promoting the creative work of Latter-day Saint artists was my version of our purpose.

Five years ago, I would not have recognized the person who made such a declaration. I had dedicated a number of years to raising funds for a Mormon studies chair at the University of Virginia. Thanks to the generosity of two major donors, a three-million-dollar endowment was in place, and Kathleen Flake occupied the chair. Occasionally Greg Sorensen, who had played a large role in the campaign, would come to New York from Boston, and we would get together, often at Grom, a gelato shop just off Columbus Circle. We were ruminating on what had been accomplished in the field of Mormon studies when Greg posed the question, What next? Always one to look at matters from a peculiar angle, he suggested our fault might be that we think too small. To get us going, he asked, What if we had not three million but fifty million to work with? How would we employ it?

We began turning over possibilities, and for a number of months, whenever he was in New York, we would meet for breakfast or gelato and pick up the conversation. We had seen the formation of three Mormon studies chairs and knew more were in the offing. Should we populate the country with similar endowments? Were they needed? Were there enough scholars to fill the positions? Greg was fascinated with biblical scholarship and speculated about a center that would try to assimilate the best in biblical criticism into a Latter-day Saint perspective. I thought of a research center where we could bring in the best scholars for a year to explore themes relating to Mormonism.

I cannot remember the moment when art entered the conversation. I had sometimes reflected on someone's comment about art providing a medium for expressing theological ideas that would falter if put into words. Should we encourage that kind of expression? Claudia and I enjoyed the plentiful supply of museums and concerts in New York. We were middling patrons, but institutional connections or personal investments were nonexistent. My father's paintings hung on our walls, and that was it. Still, I somehow felt that art was the next frontier. If we could foster artistic creation and tell the story of our people through our artists, it would be a great work. Over the past half-century, I had seen Latter-day Saint historians improve their standing in the broader world. Could our artists follow the same course?

In the back of my mind, I knew this endeavor would work because it had actually begun a dozen years earlier. Glen Nelson, who moved to New York to attend NYU and never left, had been running the Mormon Artists Group (MAG) for years. Claudia and I had already been caught up in his projects. We had both written essays for a couple of his collections, and he was the one who prompted me to write *On the Road with Joseph Smith,* which he had published in a luxury edition with a cherry case. Glen and his wife, Marcia, raised two children in a tiny one-room apartment on 57th Street near 8th Avenue because that was the only way they could afford to stay in the city. They went to the plays, the operas, the ballets and concerts, the museums. And Glen began MAG to provide opportunities for Latter-day Saint artists to show and perform their work. He got to know many of them personally by offering them a place to stay when they came to town—hanging from a hook in the closet I assume.

Glen knew the Latter-day Saint artistic community better than anyone in the world, and it was because of him that I knew an arts center would work. We met for lunch at Robert, a restaurant at the top of the Museum of Art and Design, again on Columbus Circle. Glen asked a few questions, exercising suitable professional caution, but I knew he could not resist my proposition. He is basically an enthusiast, so I knew he would leap at the idea of an arts center that would advance the cause he had been pursuing for years. Essentially, I was offering to partner with him in a work he had already undertaken.

We agreed on many things. First, that basing the center in New York gave us a great advantage because of the city's magnetic pull on artists. Second, that we were interested in the creators of art, not the performers.

Third, that we wanted to ground the work in scholarship. We knew the best way to promote art was to offer informed criticism. Unless we could situate art in its cultural setting and dive into its meaning, we could not advocate for it. We pledged ourselves to treat art seriously, not just as a pleasant pastime.

From that point on, we began to look around for allies and supporters. We did not plan systematically. Things just happened. One day in church, Claudia and I were sitting on the front row as usual, and I noticed a young woman sitting alone on the second row. After the meeting, I went up to greet her and learned she was Allyson Chard, the wife of the high council speaker. She was new to the city, having followed her husband to New York when he took a job. Having dragged my wife from place to place, I knew this could be hard. I asked if she was looking to get involved in activities in the city and if she was interested in art. She said yes; in fact, she had worked on a number of art-related projects in Salt Lake City. By then her husband, Dan, came up, but I wanted to know more about Allyson. I told her about the newly emerging arts center, and she took an interest. I asked for her email address, and before long she was sitting in our meetings. It turns out Allyson runs a huge Christmas market at This Is the Place Heritage Park each year, is extremely well connected, and is a mastermind when it comes to organization. She soon became the center's managing director and now runs the festival and many other parts of the organization.

Or to take another case, I knew we needed help with fundraising. I called Elder Gordon Smith, our then Area Seventy, to ask if he knew of anyone who might fill the bill. He mentioned that Dave Checketts had just been released as stake president. Dave and I met for breakfast shortly after, and I made a pitch. Not a moment's hesitation and Dave was telling us we should think bigger. Why not hold our art exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum? He was the one to put us in touch with some of our biggest donors.

I had not known Brad Pelo, though he lived in an adjoining ward. Glen recommended that we get together with him for lunch and make our pitch. Brad had run a number of businesses, including Bookcraft before it was sold to Deseret Book. I had not known this before he, Glen, and I had lunch together, but Brad was the one to institute the Stadium of Fire in Provo as part of the city's Fourth of July celebration. As we waited expectantly after our pitch, he told us he could write a check and send us on our way, or he could be all in. He wanted to think about

which path to take. A few days later he called to say he was all in—and he has been. His vast experience and natural wisdom have been lifesavers in one situation after another.

Jenna and Jeff Holt were on my temple shift. They seemed willing and capable and were invited to join the team. It turned out that both had extensive experience in fundraising, Jenna was a law graduate, and Jeff knew the ins and outs of business accounting. Jenna got us incorporated and obtained our tax-exempt status. Jeff set up our accounting system.

Diane Stewart was less a chance encounter than a calculated move. I had known her ever since she lived in New York and knew of her vast experience as a collector, a patron, and a gallery owner in Salt Lake. I knew we needed her advice, and she has never failed us.

So we came together higgledy-piggledy and formed a team. What held us together was a common belief in the value of art and a conviction that presenting Latter-day Saint artists more openly and frequently in a world art capital would help them and help the Church. Brad said that one of our best talking points with him was our desire to offer a place where artists with Latter-day Saint backgrounds could find a home. We knew that many had drifted away, but many still felt a connection. Glen had offered them friendship along with a place to sleep, and like a good family, the center wanted always to leave the doors open.

We then called ourselves the Mormon Arts Center, and people repeatedly asked, What do you mean by Mormon art? That question is as puzzling as what we mean by American art or African American art. It is a useful question to pursue even if it has no final answer. We have two definitions. Glen says it is any art by artists who identify as Mormon (now Latter-day Saint), whether or not the subject matter is religious. Laura Hurtado, our ally and then at the Church History Museum, defines Latter-day Saint art as art by, for, or about Latter-day Saints.

The question became more complicated when we talked to Utahns about a Mormon Arts Center. There we discovered that the term Mormon art, or Latter-day Saint art, had a different meaning than in New York. One artist who attended a salon concert in Salt Lake told us emphatically that he was Mormon, and he was an artist, but he was not a Mormon artist. We realized that Mormon art in Utah meant art prepared for Church use in temples or chapels or as devotional art to hang on the walls of our homes. In New York, Mormon art implied the

art of a people and a culture. From the city's point of view, Mormons look like a kind of ethnic group, like African Americans or Latinos. Whatever art comes from that culture is Mormon art.

Our first festival was held in Riverside Church, the big John D. Rockefeller–funded, cathedral-like Baptist church near Grant's tomb, overlooking the Hudson River. The New York chapter of the BYU Professional Society holds its annual dinner in their large South Hall. We liked the space because there was room for an art exhibit at one end and chairs for programs at the other. Nearby was a small stone chapel just perfect for a concert of string quartet music by Latter-day Saint composers. Laura, then curator of global art at the Church History Museum, curated a show of works created in the last three years called "The Immediate Present." A generous artist drove the pieces of art in a van all the way from Utah and, with a little help from the other artists, lugged them into the South Hall.

Glen had noticed that 2017 was the fiftieth anniversary of President Kimball's stirring BYU address that mentioned Mormon arts. A decade later Kimball had reformulated the talk to focus on the arts, challenging Mormon artists to rise to greater heights, to produce music and painting to match Mozart and Michelangelo. The theme of the festival became the Kimball challenge. Our lead question: How far have we come?

It was a great start. Unfortunately, my limited experience pointed my thinking in an academic direction. I thought at once of a day-long symposium with papers by the best scholars we could muster. The scholars responded and produced excellent papers that were later published as *The Kimball Challenge at Fifty: Essays from the Mormon Arts Center Festival.* (One of the essays won a prize for best criticism from the Association of Mormon Letters.) My heart was in the right place, but I learned afterward that sitting all day listening to scholarly papers was not everyone's idea of a good time, especially when some of the papers were devilishly complex.

We learned our lesson, and subsequent festivals have featured more performances and participatory activities; the 2019 festival was the best we have produced thus far. But one thing saved the day in 2017. Craig Jessop agreed to lead the audience in hymns from our history with a small ensemble of musicians and Bonnie Goodliffe, tabernacle organist, at the piano. Everyone in the audience had the music before them, and under Craig's direction, for an hour and a half we sang through hymns familiar and little known.

The final number was W. W. Phelps's "The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning." After the song, I looked over to Brent Beasley, one of our donors, who was sitting next to me and observed, "Brent, you have tear spots all over your shirt." "I know," he said. "I can't help it." That was enough to send us off hoping that we had started something grand. Perhaps my life in art has just begun.

Richard Lyman Bushman was born in Salt Lake City in 1931 and brought up in Portland, Oregon. He received his undergraduate and graduate degrees from Harvard University and taught at Brigham Young University, Boston University, and the University of Delaware. He retired as Gouverneur Morris Professor of History at Columbia University in 2001 and was visiting Howard W. Hunter Chair of Mormon Studies at Claremont Graduate University from 2008 to 2011. He is the author of a number of books, including *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling.* He served as co–general editor of the Joseph Smith Papers until 2012 and in 1997 founded the Mormon Scholars Foundation, which fosters the development of young LDS scholars. He is now co-director of the Center for Latter-day Saint Arts in New York City. He and his wife, Claudia Bushman, have six children and twenty grandchildren. He has served as a bishop and stake president and currently is patriarch of the New York Young Single Adult Stake.

An Apostolic Journey: Stephen L Richards and the Expansion of Missionary Work in South America

By Richard E. Turley Jr. and Clinton D. Christensen

Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2019

Reviewed by Elisa Eastwood Pulido

In their work *An Apostolic Journey: Stephen L Richards and the Expansion of Missionary Work in South America*, authors Richard E. Turley Jr. and Clinton D. Christensen have compiled a documentary history of the 1948 journey of Apostle Stephen L Richards and his wife, Irene Merrill Smith Richards, to South America. Turley is a former assistant Church historian and former managing director of the Department of Public Affairs for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and Christensen has spent much of his career at the Church History Department collecting Latter-day Saint history from Latin America. *An Apostolic Journey* recounts how Richards inspected missionary work in Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil and offered suggestions to missionaries, to mission presidents, and later to General Authorities of the Church about the growth of missionary work in the postwar era. His journey marked the first visit of a General Authority to South America in over two decades.

The authors argue that tremendous growth of Church membership in South America began with Richards's visit. Their intent is to create a record demonstrative of the strenuous efforts made by Richards in reviving the South American missions. The book jacket heralds this slim volume as the first history of the Church in Latin America from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century; the prologue offers a brief history of the Church in Latin America, beginning with Parley P. Pratt's 1851 journey to Chile and concluding with a few cursory paragraphs on the history of the Church in other regions, including Central America and Mexico. The epilogue also offers a short summary of the growth of the Church in Latin America after Richards's visit, followed by a timeline.

Chapter one is a brief summary of the Richardses' journey from Utah to New York City; their January 15, 1948, departure for South

America aboard the *SS Argentina*; and their arrival in Buenos Aires on February 3, 1948. Chapters two through four offer documents pertaining to the Richardses' visits to missions in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. These first four chapters provide an array of previously unpublished documents, including private letters and journal entries written by Irene Richards, journal entries from missionaries, mission records, correspondence from mission presidents, and newspaper articles (largely from South American papers, though also from the *Church News*). Chapter five contains a summary report written by Stephen L Richards, as well as his recommendations to the Church hierarchy in Salt Lake City and a report of his journey delivered in a general conference in October 1948.

Though apologists and lesser historians might not have done so, Turley and Christensen refrain from editing out uncomfortable statements found in the documents. They warn readers that "at times [Irene Richards's] letters in this volume reflect a pro–North American perspective common to the era that is insensitive to growing economies and the Latin culture" (3). While this is true, the authors' warning should also be extended to comments reflecting the class consciousness and ethnic prejudices of Steven L Richards.

What emerges from the documents is a view of the Richardses in all their humanity. Elder Richards was recovering from a heart attack, and Sister Richards had a vocal ailment. Travel to remote areas of Argentina and Brazil took many hours on primitive roads in the heat of summer, and meeting schedules ran late into the night. Sister Richards wrote descriptions of the exotic landscapes she visited in her diaries. In her private letters, expressions of love and concern for young missionaries and her family members are juxtaposed next to her complaints about the lower "class" of converts, outmoded fashions worn by South American women, the ignorance of the Argentines, the need for churches and mission homes to be in better neighborhoods, and so forth (32, 39, 47, 87, 88, 133). Most of these comments are reflected in Elder Richards's own reports (142, 166, 175, 176, 178). Though the authors do not warn readers about Richards's insensitivities, they allow observations revealing his elitism and prejudice to stand alongside those that demonstrate his leadership skills and obvious organizational talents.

Turley and Christiansen do tacitly demonstrate that other attitudes were possible. They include, for example, a statement by Uruguayan mission president Frederick S. Williams, who later recounted that as he was driving the Richardses on March 2, 1948, they came across a woman

standing alone in a torrential downpour. Williams offered the woman a ride in the front seat alongside his own wife, for which he received the following reprimand from Elder Richards: "The brethren advise us not to pick up anyone" (90). The authors offer no commentary on the event. It is left to readers to observe that Richards was one of "the brethren" and that Williams's egalitarianism allowed him to extend kindness to a poor woman as well as to the Richardses.

More contextualization and interpretation are needed throughout the volume. Readers might, for example, better understand Richards's social networking with ambassadors, Rotarians, bankers, members of yacht clubs, and so forth if explanation had occurred earlier in the book regarding the need to introduce mission presidents to influential persons who could help secure visas, assist with the transfer of mission funds, and broker real estate deals. The most thorough explanation for Richards's fraternization with South American elites is found in the final chapter (170, 172–73).

In the epilogue, Richards's visit to South America is heralded as a rare event that resulted in unprecedented Church growth in all of Latin America. Curiously, the extensive 1943 tour of the Mexican Mission made by David O. McKay, then President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the 1946 visit of Church President George Albert Smith to Mexico are both excluded from summary paragraphs on Church history in Mexico and from the historical timeline of the Church in Latin America. Smith's visit coincided with a conference in Tecalco at which 1,200 members of the schismatic group known as the Third Convention reunited with the mainstream Church in a single day.[1] The authors may have wished to focus on the acquisition of new converts and not on the reconversion of dissidents. Nevertheless, because Church membership in Mexico now stands at nearly 1.5 million, a similar success today would require the reunification of over 330,000 disaffiliated Mexican members at a single conference attended by the current President of the Church.[2] Richards made his journey to South America just two years after the 1946 success in Mexico. Contextualizing the history of

1. F. Lamond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture,* 2d ed., (Provo, Utah: Museo de Historia del Mormonismo en Mexico, 1987), 157.

2. "Facts and Statistics: Mexico," *Newsroom,* accessed May 1, 2020, https://newsroom.churchofjesuschrist.org/facts-and-statistics/country/mexico. This site lists the membership of the Church in Mexico as 5,300 in 1946.

the Church in South America in light of events in Mexico from 1935 to 1946 would have also shed light on Richards's instruction that in the Church, "the right of nomination has been given to the President" (25). This directive was obviously an instruction meant to avoid the petitioning for mission leaders of local extraction as had been attempted by Conventionists in Mexico in 1936. Likewise, Richards's directive to work "toward local (native) administration as soon as possible" stemmed directly from the concerns of Mexican members desiring ecclesiastical self-governance (61, 138).

While this book could prove an uncomfortable read for Latin Americans of any ethnicity and for Euro-American Latter-day Saints in the United States, the epilogue could be particularly disheartening to Black members worldwide. In their cataloging of the successes gained through Richards's visit to South America, Turley and Christensen list not only membership growth but also the eventual formation of new stakes, the building of temples in South America, and ultimately the 1978 revelation lifting the ban on Blacks from the priesthood (191–92). The evidence for this overstated claim comes from a secondhand source quoting Mark E. Petersen in an email more than thirty years after the fact (200 n. 40). According to this source, the high frequency of miscegenation in Brazil made it impossible to discern the racial lineages of converts. Thus, the argument could be read to imply that the lifting of the ban on priesthood and temple admittance for Blacks was not based on a desire to include but because it was simply not possible to bar in Brazil all those who had been traditionally excluded in the United States. More contextualization, interpretation, and sourcing are necessary to substantiate this polarizing claim.

An Apostolic Journey adds another volume to the scant body of literature on the history of the Latter-day Saints in Latin America. The book will interest scholars of missiology, academics researching missionary movements from the United States and the attitudes of missionaries toward their converts, and readers interested in the history of the restored gospel in South or Latin America or in its global contexts more generally. Readers should not expect to find documentation of the voices of South American converts but rather the experiences of North Americans who came to establish missions in Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. That the documents in this volume were composed in 1946, shortly after the conclusion of World War II, lends the book a unique relevance to the current era. During the war, missionaries from the U.S. were called home;

hence, in the postwar era, the Church had to re-establish missions worldwide. Likewise, in 2020, Latter-day Saint missionaries have returned from international missions due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Scholars desiring to research the re-establishment of global missionary networks in the twenty-first century may find an interesting parallel in this volume.

Elisa Eastwood Pulido is a visiting scholar in global Mormon studies at Claremont Graduate University. Her fields of research include race, religion, and politics. Her first book, *The Spiritual Evolution of Margarito Bautista: Mexican Mormon Evangelizer, Polygamist Dissident, and Utopian Founder, 1878–1961,* was published by Oxford University Press in March 2020.

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