Utah's Anti-Polygamy Society, 1878-1884

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UTAH'S ANTI-POLYGAMY SOCIETY
1878-1884

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Barbara Hayward
April 1980
This thesis, by Barbara J. Hayward, is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

Eugene E. Campbell, Committee Chairman

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March 26, 1980

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

A group of non-Mormon women in Utah created the Anti-Polygamy Society on November 7, 1878 and worked for over six years to eliminate polygamy among the Mormons. This thesis examines the events that led to the formation of the Anti-Polygamy Society, and follows the activities in which the society was involved. The hypothesis is that this society made a great contribution to the anti-polygamy movement even though the group existed for only about six years.

History of this type has often become divided into a story of good guys and bad guys. Many Utahns and, more particularly, Latter-Day Saints believe the non-Mormons who lived in Utah before the turn of the century should be dressed in black. Some traditions portray the Mormons as the heroes, who were plagued by the "gentiles," a group of people possessed of some unprovoked desire to tear down the Mormon hierarchy. Of course, there were some non-Mormons who could be placed in the "bad guy" category, but this label should not be arbitrarily given to any one who opposed Mormon politics.

There was a great rivalry between the Mormons and non-Mormons and only by trying to understand that both
sides may have had legitimate arguments can a true picture be formed. This is no less true of the Anti-Polygamy Society. There has not been a lot of research done concerning this group, but it is generally classified with the rest of the "bad guy" groups of Utah's history that fought against the Mormon Church. Polygamy and the anti-polygamy movement shaped the history of Utah, including statehood and woman suffrage. A study of the Anti-Polygamy Society is necessary to understand this anti-polygamy movement.

One of the best studies made pertaining to this organization is contained in a chapter entitled "The Gentile Ladies Hoist their Standard" in The Gentile Comes to Utah by Robert Joseph Dwyer. This book gave a good outline of the work the society did to combat polygamy. Beverly Beeton's dissertation, "Woman Suffrage in the American West, 1869-1896," was invaluable in helping to discover the ties between the Utah woman suffrage movement and the Anti-Polygamy Society. Orson F. Whitney's The History of Utah mentions the society many times, but with a strong Mormon bias.

The most helpful sources for this study were contemporary periodicals and newspapers. The society itself had a newspaper, The Anti-Polygamy Standard. Unfortunately it only lasted for three years, 1880-1883, but it contained reports on the Anti-Polygamy Society's views and activities. The Woman's Exponent, the Mormon
women's journal, also made periodic notice of the Anti-Polygamy Society. Salt Lake City's newspapers, The Salt Lake Tribune, gentile operated, and The Deseret News and The Salt Lake Herald, both Mormon operated, also were useful sources.

A personal touch came from an autobiography of Sarah Cooke, the society's president. It is entitled "Theatrical and Social Affairs of Utah" and can be found in a group of Mormon manuscripts in the Bancroft Collection at Brigham Young University and the University of Utah. Also a complete study of the women in the society must include some of the anti-polygamy literature published by some of the society's members. Jennie Froiseth, the editor of the Anti-Polygamy Standard, wrote the Women of Mormonism. In the Toils and The Fate of Madame La Tour were both novels written by Cornelia Paddock.

This thesis begins with a study of the relationship between the Mormons and the gentiles in Chapter II. Chapter III deals with the organization of the Anti-Polygamy Society and Chapter IV discusses the philosophy of the society concerning polygamy and the Mormon women. The activities of the society are examined in the next chapter, Chapter V, followed by a discussion of the woman's suffrage controversy in Chapter VI. Chapter VII deals with the publications of the Anti-Polygamy Society and Chapter VIII contains a summary of the anti-polygamy
movement in Utah after the society dissolved. Finally
an analysis of the accomplishments of the Anti-Polygamy
society is discussed in Chapter IX.
Chapter II

MORMONS AND GENTILES

Students of U.S. history automatically associate Utah history with the Mormon Church, but other groups also had a part in its story. The non-Mormon groups were collectively called "gentiles," and they struggled to establish themselves among the Mormons. An understanding of the relationship of the Mormons and the gentiles is important in understanding the Anti-Polygamy Society.

Mormons

The Mormons were members of a religious group known as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Not only were they joined together as a religious body, but also as a community. They voted as a group, settled as a group, and worshipped God as a group. They considered the ideal condition to be one in which there would be no rich and no poor but all would be equal, both economically and socially. Sacrifice, dedication and obedience were considered virtues.

The basis of this was the Mormon belief in Modern-day revelation. They believed that God instructed His church continually in the things He would have them do.
This instruction was given to the prophet and to other leaders of the church, and then these leaders were responsible for passing it on to the other members of the Church. It is easy to see that such a philosophy placed these leaders in a very powerful position.

It is also easy to see why fellow Americans would have reason to fear such a church. Some modern examples, like Jim Jones in Guyana and Charles Manson, show what could happen when a group of people believed that everything their leaders commanded them to do must be "religiously" obeyed. People reacted to such leaders with fear and apprehension. Similar feelings were expressed by the American people of the nineteenth century toward the Mormons. The Mormons' belief that their leaders acted in the name of their God motivated the church members to do many things in the name of the church, and to sacrifice willingly. Such faith helped to sustain church members during hard times.

The Mormons tried to set up their society according to their beliefs while they were in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, but their dream was not realized in any of these places. In Illinois their prophet, Joseph Smith, was killed by a mob. If they were to set up a society, or kingdom of God, in which their members would live and be ruled according to the word of God, they would have to do it in a place in which outsiders would be far enough away to leave them alone. The Mormons
hoped that they had found such a place in the Salt Lake Valley.

The first Mormon settlement was established in the valley in 1847. The only other people in the region were a few fur trappers, traders, and Indians. It appeared that they were truly isolated. The land they settled belonged to Mexico instead of the United States, but the Mexican War was being fought at the time they were first colonizing Utah, and by 1848, the territory was turned over to the United States. However, the Mormons' new home attained territorial status and their prophet, Brigham Young, was allowed to keep his position as political leader of the Utah settlements. President Millard Fillmore appointed him to be governor of the territory.

As the Mormons continued to gather in the isolated territory of Utah, again Americans feared the power of one man who held so much authority over a group of people. By 1858, Brigham Young was replaced as governor and a series of other "gentile" men served in that position. More gentiles came as other federal appointees arrived in Utah. Not all of these men were anti-Mormons, but nevertheless, friction began to grow. The Mormons had dreamed of being able to build the Kingdom of God without being disturbed, but these dreams were restricted by the outsiders who were given authority over the Mormons.
The basis of the difficulty was the church's control of Utah's politics. The church leaders often chose men that they wanted to serve in a certain elective position and the church members voted accordingly. They believed that they were acting in agreement with God's will when they voted the way their leaders suggested. Some federal officials felt that the members of the church were being coerced or brainwashed. At any rate, these gentiles asserted that all elective positions, including the territorial legislature, were always filled by men who were loyal to the Mormon Church, and there was nothing that could be legally done to change the outcome of the elections. In consequence of this the church had control over part of the government of the territory.

The main target of the controversy, however, was the Mormon practice of polygamy or plural marriage. Begun secretly among the Mormons before they settled the Utah Territory, it was not until 1852 that the church made a public announcement of the practice. While it may have been difficult for the average American to understand the political concerns of the non-Mormons in Utah, polygamy was a moral issue which Christian Americans could easily identify and oppose.

Originally, the outside world thought the Mormon women were innocent victims of church leaders who forced them to practice plural marriage, but it was soon apparent that the Mormon women were just as loyal to the church
and its leaders as the Mormon men were. These women believed that the leaders of the church received divine inspiration about all things, including polygamy. They were prepared to defend any attack that was made against their church and their leaders, especially the man they revered as a prophet of God, Brigham Young. This was difficult for the American people to understand. It was assumed by many anti-Mormon crusaders that if it were possible to work with the Mormon women that polygamy, and maybe Mormonism, could be stopped.

The Mormon women continued, for the most part, to be faithful to their church. The church had a special organization for them called the Relief Society. Each Mormon settlement had a local branch of the Relief Society in which the doctrines of the church were preached to the Mormon women. This organization, which was usually headed by wives of polygamists, emphasized home industry and loyalty to the church leaders.

The Mormon women also had their own publication, The Woman's Exponent, which was widely read among them. The editor of the Exponent during the period being studied was Emmeline B. Wells, who became known nationwide as the representative of Mormon women. Being a plural wife herself, she had a personal interest in the polygamy issue and often led the Mormon women against measures that threatened plural marriage.
Gentiles

The first of the gentiles to settle Utah after the Mormons, came with the California gold rush. Many of those traders and fortune seekers looked for a short cut to the gold fields and traveled directly through Salt Lake City. Some of these gentiles stayed in Utah while others, seeing a great opportunity for merchandising among the isolated Mormons, returned to Utah after going to California. When the region was transferred from Mexico to the United States and was made a territory, many federal officials came to Utah, accompanied by their wives and families. Some army officers, coming to Utah as part of Civil War contingents, became interested in mining, and rich ore deposits were discovered, attracting more non-Mormons to the territory. In 1869, the transcontinental railroad was completed and this made it possible for more people, including gentiles, to come to the Utah Territory. More families were also able to follow the men who came to Utah.

Among these newcomers were the missionaries, who came to convert the Mormons away from the "priesthood domination" and the "evils of polygamy." In 1865, one of the first protestant chapels, Independence Hall, was built in the territory. This hall was used by all denominations although the Congregational Church originally built it. These missionaries did not have a great deal of success
in converting Mormons, but they did contribute greatly to arousing public opinion against the Mormons throughout the country. They, like the Mormons, felt that they were doing God's work.

From the very beginning of this invasion into the Mormons' haven, the gentiles raised protests against the dominant church. It was impossible for them to have any type of political voice at the polls, because there were not enough gentiles to defeat the church-favored candidates. Usually the laws that were passed in the Territorial Assembly were laws favored by the church. The gentiles only voice came through the federally appointed officials. These conditions led the gentiles of all backgrounds to join together politically. If they did not work together they felt that they had no chance to have any say in the politics of Utah.

Of course, another cause of concern among the gentiles was polygamy. Although the Mormons believed it was a divine institution, non-Mormons believed it was immoral and degrading and were moved to fight against it.

**Anti-Polygamy Measures Before 1878**

In 1862, Congress passed the Anti-Bigamy Act. This was the first law that made polygamy illegal, but it was passed during the Civil War and not much was done to enforce it. Many people wondered whether this law violated the freedom of religion clause in the first
amendment since polygamy was a tenet of the Mormon religion. For many years, it was difficult to convict a polygamist under the provisions of the Anti-Bigamy Act, so the constitutionality of the law was not challenged. Some of the problems of convicting a polygamist under this law were that marriage records were seldom kept and that a wife could not testify against her husband. There was really no easy way to prove that someone was actually involved in polygamy.

The gentiles found that they could not count on the Utah Territorial Legislature to pass laws against plural marriage because most of its members were polygamists. With each election, the gentiles were unable to persuade the Mormon majority to elect men who would vote to outlaw polygamy, so the non-Mormons looked to Congress to enact such legislation.

In 1867-1868 session of Congress, a new plan was proposed to do away with polygamy. Hamilton Wilcox wanted to try granting suffrage in the territories, particularly in Utah Territory. His reason was that since Utah had a large female population it would be an ideal place to experiment with woman suffrage and see how it might work in the rest of the country. Also, since the wives were believed to be the slaves of the plural marriage system, if they had the right of suffrage, they could elect men to the territorial legislature who would enact laws to
eliminate polygamy.¹ This bill was submitted to Congress, but was never voted upon.

In 1869, a bill was again introduced in Congress proposing the same measure for Utah women. To the surprise of many Congressmen William H. Hooper, Utah's territorial delegate to Congress, supported the bill. Again the suffrage issue did not come to a vote.²

Extension of the election franchise to women in Utah was gaining popularity among others. The Utah Magazine, which would later become the Salt Lake Tribune, is credited as the first magazine in the territory to advocate extension of the voting privilege to women. Strong support was received from a group of liberal Mormons, the Godbeites, who either had been excommunicated or had apostatized from the church. In 1870, the National Woman Suffrage Association endorsed woman suffrage for Utah women as the most effective way to rid the territory of plural marriage.³

On February 12, 1870, the polygamists who were in the Utah Territorial Assembly decided to allow women to vote. It is interesting to note that woman suffrage in Utah was originally conceived as a plan to put these

²Beeton, pp. 36-37.
³Beeton, pp. 41-42.
same legislators out of office. Utah women were given this right on the basis of being the "wife, widow, or the daughter of a native born or naturalized citizen of the United States . . ."[^4] This was only two months after suffrage was granted to the women of the territory of Wyoming.

A few weeks later, women in Utah voted in their first election. Contrary to the hopes of people involved in the anti-polygamy movement, the women did not change the outcome of the election. Almost all of the ladies who voted were members of the Mormon Church, and they continued to elect the church-approved men to office even though they were polygamists.

Non-Mormon women were the next group to try to stop polygamy. In 1872, a group of Utah women signed a petition for Congress "... strongly deprecating the admission of Utah into the Union at the present time."[^5] Cornelia Paddock, later to be a prominent member of the Anti-Polygamy Society, claimed that she wrote the petition. She said that the petition was drawn up because a "... great fear was felt by the Gentiles and by those who had left the Mormon Church that Brigham Young would


succeed in his schemes for getting Utah admitted into the Union."⁶ These women felt that many wrongs had been committed because of polygamy and that these wrongs would be multiplied if Utah became a state. Statehood would give greater power to the Mormon leaders.⁷

One of the interesting things about this petition is that the names of the signers were published with the document. Most of the anti-polygamy petitions were published without the signatures. Some of these names were followed by an explanation of how long the signer had lived in the territory, had been a member of the Mormon Church, had lived in polygamy, or any combination of the three things. The petition stated that "more than 400 women" signed the petition, but only 382 names were printed with it. Also, the document is written to lead one to believe that a majority of the women who signed had once been members of the Mormon Church. Ninety-four of the signers added a note saying that they had once been members of the Church or were members at the time they signed the petition.⁸ No conclusion can be drawn from these facts about how many of the women involved with the petition were actually Mormons or polygamists. However,


⁷"Petition . . . Utah Territory."

⁸"Petition . . . Utah Territory."
Beverly Beeton said in "Woman Suffrage and the American West" that many of the Mormon women who signed later publicly withdrew their names because they claimed they did not know what they were signing.\(^9\)

Some of the women who signed the petition would later be involved with the Anti-Polygamy Society. The committee for the petition included Cornelia Paddock, Jennie Froiseth, and Mrs. William S. Godbe. Mrs. Paddock and Mrs. Froiseth would be key personalities in the Anti-Polygamy Society about six years later. Also, the seventy-eighth signature was Mrs. S. A. Cooke who would serve as the society's president.

\(^9\)Beeton, p. 68.
Chapter III

INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIETY

The 1872 anti-polygamy petition was only a beginning for the gentile women of Utah. They felt that polygamy was immoral and had waited for many years for something to be done to stop it. They finally took action themselves against polygamy.

Origin

Although there was considerable anti-polygamy sentiment among the gentiles of Utah, there was no effort to organize until 1878. In that year an incident occurred that united a group of women to fight against polygamy.

Caroline Owens travelled from England to Utah to marry John Miles. They had known each other when they were children, but had been separated for many years. During this time of separation, Miles joined the Mormon Church. He saw Caroline again while serving a mission. After converting her to Mormonism, they decided to be married in Utah. However, she soon learned that her fiance was also engaged to two sisters, Emily and Julie Spencer. Miles promised her, though, that he would not marry the sisters.
After arriving in Utah and arrangements were being made for the wedding, it became evident that Miles was still considering marrying the Spencer sisters. Caroline protested, especially when she found out that she was to be the second wife. She went through with the marriage plans anyway because she was "infatuated with him."¹ They were married on October 24, 1878.

That night at her wedding reception in the home of Angus Cannon she apparently had a change of heart. She tried to leave but was persuaded to stay. Later that night, though, she escaped to a gentile woman's home.² A writ was delivered to Miles and Cannon the next morning directing them to appear in court.³

No marriage records were kept so the only real evidence presented against Miles was the testimony of his wife, Caroline. The district court convicted Miles of polygamy on the basis of this testimony, although they questioned whether the ruling would stand in a higher court. In the territory, it was against the law for a wife to testify against her husband without his permission. The Territorial Supreme Court upheld this decision. In 1881, however, the United States Supreme Court disagreed

²"Miles," Salt Lake Daily Tribune, October 25, 1878, p. 4.
³"That Polygamy Case," Tribune, October 12, 1878, p. 4.
with the lower court ruling. It ruled that a wife could not testify against her husband, so there was no evidence that Miles married more than one woman.⁴

While the case was still in court, Caroline Miles sent a letter to the November 6th issue of the Tribune saying that she did not actually see Miles marry another woman. Therefore she could not be positive that her husband was a polygamist.⁵ This did not stop some non-Mormon women who took courage from Miles' arrest and trial. A group of ladies met at Sarah A. Cooke's home to plan an anti-polygamy rally. These ladies wrote a letter to Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, the nation's first lady, and the women of America along with letters to the clergy of America and a memorial to Congress. On November 7, 1878, they held a mass meeting in Independence Hall to present these documents and show the outside world that there was an anti-polygamy element in Utah. Sarah Cooke served as the chairman of the mass meeting and the wife of General Bane was the secretary.⁶

The memorial urged Congress to amend the 1862 anti-polygamy law so that it would be effective. A

⁵"That Letter," Tribune, November 6, 1878, p. 2.
similar message was communicated in the letter to the president's wife, Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes. The women asked the clergy to make sure that the letter to Mrs. Hayes and the women of America be read to all church congregations and signed by as many women as possible. All but two or three women at the mass meeting signed the documents. These letters were read to the group, and followed by an address from Miss A. Losee, vice president of the Women's National Christian Temperance Union.\(^7\)

Two committees were formed to help carry out the decisions of the meeting. A finance committee was formed which included the wife of Judge Van Zile and the wife of Reverend G. M. Pierce. A committee was also formed to distribute the address and memorial around the country and to collect signatures from Utah women on the letters. Some of its members were the wives of some prominent non-Mormon men of Utah like Major Goodspeed, Dr. Douglas, Dr. McEldowney, Dr. A. K. Smith, Judge J. B. McKeen, Bishop D. S. Tuttle, and Robert Walker.\(^8\)

All who were interested in creating a permanent society to fight against Mormon polygamy were invited to stay after the mass meeting was adjourned. Not everyone who stayed had sympathies with the anti-polygamy cause. When the discussion turned to possible names for the

\(^7\)Ibid.

\(^8\)"Anti-Polygamy," \textit{Tribune}, November 8, 1878, p. 4.
organization, Emmeline B. Wells, a well-known plural wife, made a suggestion. She suggested that it be called the Anti-Celestial Marriage Association. The Tribune reports that "... someone said that would make it pro-infernal, and the old hen Emmeline subsided." The name Anti-Polygamy Society was chosen and it was formed with the object of working to "prosecute the work enacted by the mass meeting."  

Thirty thousand copies of the letter from the mass meeting were printed and distributed throughout the country, particularly to the headquarters of Christian denominations. Also 600 copies of the Tribune's account of the organization of the society were distributed to newspapers around the country. The Tribune reported on November 27, 1878, that Mrs. Hayes' reply had already been received.

When the gentile women began to receive a lot of publicity and support around the country, the Mormon women decided that their voice needed to be heard also. They wanted it to be known that they did not want to be freed from polygamy. A notice appeared in the Deseret News on November 13, 1878, announcing a meeting of the women of Utah to,

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10 "Anti-Polygamy," Tribune, November 13, 1878, p. 4.
[P]rotest against the misrepresentation and falsehoods now being circulated, with a view to arouse public indignation against our people [the Mormons]; and to declare our sentiments upon the subjects at present being agitated.\textsuperscript{12}

This meeting was held on November 16 in the Salt Lake Theater. Among the speakers were Zina D. Young, Eliza R. Snow, Bathsheba W. Smith, Hannah T. King, Margaret T. Smoot, Dr. Romania B. Pratt, Annie Wells, Phoebe Woodruff, and Emmeline B. Wells.\textsuperscript{13}

The Mormon protests did not stop in Salt Lake City. Similar meetings were also held in Granite Ward, North Jordan, Fairview, Provo, Heber, Wallsburg, Fairview, Payson, Nephi, American Fork, Cedar City, St. George, Beaver, Lehi, Charleston, Manti, Pleasant Grove, and Alma, Wyoming.\textsuperscript{14}

The New York World spoke so favorable of the Mormons that the Tribune felt it had to write a rebuttal. The World said that the Mormon women's meeting, ...

\textsuperscript{12}"Mass Meeting," Deseret Evening News, November 13, 1878, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{13}"Woman's Mass Meeting," Deseret, November 16, 1878, p. 3.

[W]as both large and enthusiastic, though it was called to assert the divine right of a husband to have as many wives as he can support. The ladies who spoke bore names familiar in the annals of Mormonism, and most of them boasted of their long connection with the faith and their happy experience in married life.15

The Tribune replied,

The meeting was large, we admit, because devout Saints are always ready to be used for any purpose their inspired masters set them about; but the "enthusiasm" the World tells us of, was not visible to the naked eye. The speakers haltingly read from manuscript prepared by others, and the sea of dreary and care-worn faces which met the gaze would have cast gloom on the most festive occasion. It was really a sad exhibition.16

The Mormon women felt that their "exhibition" was an effort to save their way of life, while the non-Mormons observed the scene as only a display set up by the priesthood leaders of the Mormon Church. Nonetheless, the Mormon women printed 10,000 pamphlets to distribute in the United States and Europe.17

The Mormon women continually argued that they did not want plural marriage to be outlawed. The second meeting of the Anti-Polygamy Society was attended by about one hundred people including two Mormon women. These two

15 "That Mormon Women's Meeting," Tribune, December 1, 1878, p. 2.
16 Ibid.
women interrupted a speech by Cornelia Paddock and objected to the things she was saying. They declared that the system of polygamy was instituted by God. The Tribune dismissed the incident with a note that any Mormon women who attended in the future "confine themselves to decency."18

Prominent Members of the Society

Sarah A. Cooke

Sarah Cooke served as president of the society although she had once been a member of the Mormon Church. She presided over all of the society's meetings and all of the society's petitions were presented under her name. Although she was president, other women appear to be more dominant in the crusade. She remained president for all of the years that the society existed.19

Sarah was originally from England. About 1819, she and her husband, William Cooke, came to the United States and settled in New York. They also lived in South Carolina and Iowa before they decided to move to California. Sarah taught music in many of the places that they lived. They were originally members of the Episcopalian Church, but later became Baptists. In the

18"Anti-Polygamy," Tribune, November 13, 1878, p.4.
19Most of the information about Sarah Cooke was taken from Sarah Cooke, "Theatrical and Social Affairs of Utah," Bancroft Collection, Microfilm, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
years before the Civil War, Sarah and her husband were also abolitionists.

The Cooke family left for California in May of 1852 and arrived in Salt Lake City on July 12. One of Sarah's sons was sick so she stayed in Salt Lake City until spring to nurse him back to health. William Cooke had to leave his family and go to California to carry out a previous commitment.

During her stay in Salt Lake City, Sarah became interested in the Mormon Church, although her sons did not want her to join. One night she even overheard her daughter praying that Sarah would not join the church. Nevertheless, she was baptized and when her husband returned for them from California, he joined the church too. Even though she was a member, she insisted that she never believed in polygamy. She was eventually sealed to her husband in the Endowment House, which was the place that plural marriages were sealed.

Sarah resumed her career as a music teacher in Salt Lake City, and taught some members of Brigham Young's family. She said that she first became skeptical of the church while she was employed by the Mormon prophet's family. Sarah often heard his family pray for the destruction of their enemies which did not seem like a proper Christian activity for the family of a prophet of God. Brigham Young preached that Adam was the God of the earth. She sought advice on how to accept such doctrine,
but was only told that she must believe everything that the priesthood leaders taught.

Meanwhile Sarah and her husband were active in the church. She played the organ in the Tabernacle for ten years, as well as at the theater performances at the Social Hall. She taught music and day school for sixteen years and was a full tithe payer for most of that time. Her husband served a mission in New Zealand and Australia for three or four years. In 1858 her husband was shot and killed while serving as a volunteer policeman in Salt Lake City. It is hard to tell what his feelings toward the church were but his obituary described him as "... faithful in the discharge of every duty to which he was called; and died with the firm faith in the gospel of Jesus Christ, revealed in these latter days."20

After her husband's death some difficulties arose between Sarah and Brigham Young. She said he gave her a house and then later asked for $4,000 for it. Originally he paid for it with a team of horses and a wagon. This dispute resulted in a lawsuit.

Just before the last time she played the organ for the church she fell and broke her arm. Brigham Young wanted to attend to it, but Sarah insisted that only a doctor should look at it. The arm never healed correctly and Brigham Young said that this was because she did not

20 "Died," Deseret, October 20, 1858, p. 144.
have enough faith to let him heal it. He did pay $25 to the doctor for his services, but he later added this bill to the sum in the lawsuit. Unfortunately, no record has been found concerning the court's decision of this case.

When the Anti-Polygamy Society was organized, Sarah was sixty-nine years old. No record was found of whether she had been excommunicated or if she left the church voluntarily. At any rate, she did not have much connection with the Mormon Church at the time and associated with the gentiles of the valley.

Jennie Anderson Froiseth

Jennie Froiseth served in several positions in the Anti-Polygamy Society. For many years she was the vice president. Probably her greatest contribution to the society was her work as editor of the Anti-Polygamy Standard, the society's newspaper. She also edited an Anti-Polygamy Society book, The Women of Mormonism.

Jennie was born December 6, 1847, in Bally Shannon, Ireland.\(^{21}\) She had a very good educational background. Besides her education in New York, she also went to the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Paris, studied in Berlin, and spent three years in London.\(^{22}\) She came to Utah in


\(^{22}\)Some Utah Women.
1871 to marry Bernard Froiseth, an army surveyer for Fort Douglas.\textsuperscript{23} At the time that the Anti-Polygamy Society (hereafter designated as the A. P. S.) began, she was twenty-nine years old. Jenny stayed busy in the social and political life of Utah.

She helped to found the "Blue Stocking Tea" lady's literary club. Along with this she helped to found the kindergarten system and the Salt Lake Chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. She was also a member of the Esperanto Society of New York. She would later help to raise money for the Sarah Daft Home for the elderly.\textsuperscript{24} Jennie's anti-Mormon feelings extended to her charity work because for many years she would not allow any Mormons to stay in this home. Ironically many years later her daughter Ethyline Perkins would stay in the home.\textsuperscript{25}

Jenny was prominent in the woman's suffrage movement, serving as the vice president from Utah in 1888.\textsuperscript{26} Although she did have pro-suffrage sentiments, she did not feel that woman suffrage was good for Utah.

\textsuperscript{23}Beeton, p. 97.

\textsuperscript{24}Some Utah Women.

\textsuperscript{25}Phone conversation with Mrs. Ralph Funk, October 13, 1979.

\textsuperscript{26}Beeton, p. 128.
Cornelia Paddock

Cornelia Paddock served in many positions in the APS, including secretary. She was best remembered as a writer and lecturer. Cornelia spoke at almost all of the mass meetings that the society held. She also wrote two books and numerous articles about the evils of polygamy. 27

Cornelia was born in King's County, New York. She lived in New York until she was twenty-eight years old. At this time she moved to Nebraska. During her two year stay there she met Alonzo G. Paddock and married him. In 1870, they moved to Salt Lake City.

Cornelia was a member of the First Baptist Church. She was also active in many charitable activities like serving as the secretary of the National Board of Charities. She was the most popular writer in the Anti-Polygamy Society and her book, Madame La Tour, sold very well across the country. She, more than anyone else, became the spokeswoman of the APS. She was hated by the Mormons and loved and praised by the gentiles of Utah. Cornelia died of cancer in Salt Lake City on January 26, 1898.

27 Most of the information about Cornelia Paddock was taken from "Death of Mrs. Cornelia Paddock," Tribune, January 27, 1898, p. 8.
Other Members

There were many other women who had a part in the crusade against polygamy, but were not so prominent and did not leave very much written history.

Kate Hay McKean was the daughter of a lawyer in Saratoga, New York. She married Judge McKean, who later became known as a federal judge in Utah with strong anti-Mormon sentiments. Kate died a few months after the society was organized.  

Mrs. O. J. Hollister also had an important role in the APS. Her first name was never mentioned in written accounts, not even in her own obituary, but she was always known by her husband's name. Her husband served as a federal official in Utah for over twenty years. He was a journalist, a collector of internal revenue for the district, a manager for mining interests, and one of the builders of Corinne, Utah. Hollister "interested himself in the contest against Mormonism," and became good friends with Schuyler Colfax, an anti-Mormon vice-president under President U. S. Grant. Mrs. Hollister

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29 "Colonel Hollister Dead," Deseret, February 12, 1892, p. 8.

30 "Dictation of O. J. Hollister, Salt Lake City, Utah," Bancroft Collection, Microfilm, Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
was Colfax's sister, and became acquainted with Hollister because of this friendship.\textsuperscript{31} She died in 1917 in Seattle.\textsuperscript{32}

Elizabeth James was also an active member. She married William F. James of Harpers Ferry, Virginia. James came to Utah in 1873 for mining interests. He did some work at Bingham and in Cottonwood.\textsuperscript{33}

Mrs. M. Chislett is mentioned as an apostate from the Mormon Church.\textsuperscript{34} She was a member of the Blue Tea Literary Club and served as president for a period of time.\textsuperscript{35} She served, also, as recording secretary of the APS until she moved out of the territory in 1880.\textsuperscript{36}

The total number of women who joined the Anti-Polygamy Society has not been found, however these women were the nucleus of the group of women who decided the policy of the society.

\textsuperscript{31}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{32}"Funeral Services," \textit{Deseret}, February 12, 1892, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{33}"William F. James, Prominent Utahn Dies in California," \textit{Deseret}, December 22, 1919, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{34}Beeton, pp. 96-97
Chapter IV

PURPOSE AND PHILOSOPHY

As news of the formation of the Anti-Polygamy Society spread across the country, many newspapers and groups tried to analyze the motives of the organizers of this crusade. The Tribune spoke for many supporters when it praised the women and their cause.

It is the work of brave women working for their sister women and asking of the great American Nation [sic] that it shall be just in its dealings with all its citizens and true to the principles upon which it was founded . . .

Other notes of encouragement were also sent to the leaders of the society.

Others were critical of the society. The main critics were, of course, the Mormons. Many believed that the APS was only a puppet of the non-Mormon men in the territory. According to these people, the anti-polygamy movement was only a front to give political power to the gentiles and take it from the Mormons. The society was also accused of only trying to destroy the rights of

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Mormon women. These criticisms prompted the society to defend themselves.

**Purpose**

The society explained several times what they felt motivated them to work against polygamy.

... we have but one feeling toward the women of this Territory, that of kindness and good. We do not purpose [sic] to wage war against any party, sect, or person, but we do intend to fight to the death that system which so enslaves and degrades our sex, and which robs them of so much happiness.4

They also had high standards concerning themselves.

The workers of this cause must be inspired by the true spirit of Christian charity. Their [sic] must be none of the feeling of "I am holier than thou," but both workers must both be brought into an understanding of sympathy, on the basis of common humanity and womanhood.5

They realized that their crusade to end polygamy could create problems to the women they proposed to help. To illustrate their position, they told a story about "... an old-fashioned Methodist preacher whose whole soul was in his calling."

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He was on one occasion remonstrated with for flinging some hard blows at certain members of his flock. "Brethren," was his reply, "I am aiming at the devil every time, and if you will come deliberately and stand between me and that personage, you must not blame me if you get hit sometimes." This is in brief the position of the Standard. Its aim is to expose wrong, honestly, kindly, truthfully, yet fearlessly; but if people will come and stand between us and the wrong, it surely is not our fault if they get hit.6

**Attitude Toward Mormons**

It was often asked why the society worked so hard to end polygamy and free the Mormon women when these same Mormon women fought against the efforts of the APS. During the time the society was in existence, the Mormon women held many meetings of protest. The Mormon women also constantly praised the plural marriage system and testified that it was established by God.

One of the best explanations of how the society felt about this situation is found in *The Women of Mormonism*, edited by Jennie Froiseth. This book contained articles that were originally printed in the *Anti-Polygamy Standard*. Jennie fused the articles together so that the book made a statement about the society's conception of the real Mormon problem.

*The Women of Mormonism* stated that there were three classes of Mormon women. The first class was

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composed of the apostates who left the church for one reason or another. In the second class were those women who believed in all of the tenants of the church except polygamy. The final class of women were those who believed in all the doctrines of the Mormon Church, even polygamy, or at least they "pretend they do." 7

According to the society, those who belonged to the church although they did not believe in polygamy were usually living in polygamy. The society explained that there were several reasons why they did not leave their husbands or the church. Often the wife would stay for the sake of her children. To leave the church would brand those children as illegitimate. To leave the church would also mean that a mother would lose any financial support from her husband. Another reason was that they felt that any attempt to free themselves from polygamy was futile. "Tyranny and oppression" often made them so passive.

If these women had only the least idea, or the faintest hope that the overthrow of the Mormon theocracy would ever be accomplished, some of them would no doubt come out and join the Anti-Polygamy ranks. But they have no faith in Congress, and if the truth be told, very little respect for a government that cannot or will not enforce its own laws. 8

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8 Froiseth, pp. 117-119.
Some of these women originally urged their husbands to enter polygamy in support of the Church. After living in polygamy these women no longer believed plural marriage was sanctioned by God. They felt that they could not leave because they persuaded their husbands to take more wives in the first place. Another reason is that the outside world labels them as "no better than prostitutes" living as polygamous wives. If they left the Church, they would have to live in a world that would look down upon them. At least while they were living in a Mormon society their marriage was treated as legal and righteous.  

The final class of Mormon women were those who believed or "pretended" to believe in polygamy. The society called them the most degraded of all the women of Mormonism.  

Those who fell into this category were classified as either fanatics or hypocrites.  

The women who were labeled fanatics were considered to be uneducated and from the lower classes of Europe, although there were a few "whose birth and early training should have rendered her proof against such superstition and bigotry." The fanatics believed that

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9 Froiseth, pp. 119, 128-129.  
10 Froiseth, p. 131.  
11 Ibid.  
12 Ibid.
they would receive a greater reward in the next life because of their sacrifices in this life. They also believed that any wrongs that occurred because of polygamy were because it was not lived according to God's commandments. If it was lived correctly, the marriage would be happy. The society contended that these fanatics must be "partially insane" for why else would they choose to live in polygamy.  

Although she actively condemned polygamy, Jennie Froiseth said that she had sympathy for all the classes of Mormon women except one. These were those women that she classified as the hypocrites. Her definition of these hypocrites was:

... women who are too intelligent to believe that there ever was a revelation on polygamy, and who cannot close their eyes to the evil effects of the system ... They are degraded; and being themselves shameless, they are continually endeavoring to drag others down to their own level.  

The book carried the following quote from an "unidentified Mormon woman."

They the hypocrites are nothing but tools of the priesthood, and while professing to be working for the elevation of women, they are in reality doing nothing but seeking for new victims to gratify the base passions of their infamous masters.

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13 Froiseth, pp. 131-132, 148.
14 Froiseth, p. 144.  15 Froiseth, p. 145.
Jennie further declares, "No, they are not women, they are not human, they are ghouls." 16

The Mormon women who were classified as hypocrites were the women that the society was actually fighting against. The society sympathized with the other Mormon women, believing that they had been deceived. On the other hand, bitter hatred existed between the "hypocrites" and the anti-polygamy women for many years, even after the society was dissolved and polygamy was no longer a major issue.

The work of the "hypocrites" was done through the Relief Society. The A. P. S. maintained that the main purpose of the Relief Society was to extend polygamy. In spite of evangelical efforts in Utah, the Relief Society was able to keep a strong hold among the Mormons, and polygamy continued to spread. They believed another purpose of the Relief Society was to gather tithing for the Church in order to "corrupt members of Congress and subsidize the national press." 17 The main source of the Relief Society's power was that the group kept the people poor and dependent because of the large contributions that they collected. 18

16 Froiseth, p. 150.
17 Froiseth, pp. 145-146.
18 Froiseth, p. 152.
Fighting Apathy

The society experienced some degree of apathy from the gentiles in the community. They believed one reason for this was that some gentiles did not want to anger the Mormons because they depended on the Mormon people for trade. Others felt like it was none of their business and that they should let the government do the work to stop polygamy. There were other women who felt that it was degrading to even discuss the subject and wanted to stay completely away from it.19

The society was also disappointed at the apathy that the Mormon women showed them. The Anti-Polygamy Society appealed to the Mormon women several times for help.

We know that thousands of you would be glad to be released from your fetters, and now is the time for you to aid in your own deliverance. Remember that God helps those who help themselves. Let a branch be formed in every settlement throughout this territory, if there are in that settlement only two, three or half a dozen women who are opposed to polygamy.20

At another time they wrote a letter to the Mormon women trying to convince them of the errors of their ways. They agreed that everyone had the right to worship as they believed, but the laws of the land must be obeyed.

They pointed out many of the bad elements of polygamy and that wives were treated unfairly in their own homes. They also compared Mormonism to superstition. In spite of their reasoning, they won few Mormon women to their cause.

The Women of Mormonism concluded that the solution to polygamy was to strengthen existing polygamy laws or to make more effective ones. This could be achieved by working through the schools, the churches, and the press. They scoffed at the idea of letting polygamy die a natural death. They declared that the same thing was said of slavery, and that it did not work then. To the women of the society, a swift end was the only way.


Chapter V

ACTIVITIES OF THE ANTI-POLYGAMY SOCIETY

The Anti-Polygamy Society immediately began their efforts to change the laws and eliminate plural marriage. By December 17, 1878, a month after the APS was organized, the society had found someone to lobby in Congress for them. Judge Van Zile was going East and ladies chose him to represent them in Washington. Arrangements were made for the society to help raise money for his expenses.¹ This was only the beginning of what would become a major campaign.

Reynolds Decision

The Supreme Court handed down a decision that assisted the society's crusade. George Reynolds agreed to go to court and be tried for polygamy to test the constitutionality of anti-polygamy laws. The question was whether a law against polygamy violated the first amendment freedom of religion. The Supreme Court decided that it did not violate the first amendment. This amendment only protected a person's beliefs. A person's

¹"Anti-Polygamy," Tribune, December 18, 1878, p. 4.
actions based on those beliefs could be curtailed by law. This case erased all doubts about whether the 1862 law was constitutional. It did not make the law any more effective, but it did open the way for enforcement of the law and future legislation.

While this was happening, the National Woman's Suffrage Association Convention was being held in Washington, D.C. The convention was held on January 9 and 10, 1879 and for the first time, the Mormons sent representatives to it.

In other years, Utah was represented by women associated with a group of Mormons who disagreed with church policy, known as the Godbeites. When news of the Reynolds Decision was released, Emmeline B. Wells and Zina Young Williams, the Mormon representatives, were on hand to support George Q. Cannon, Utah's representative in Congress. These two Mormon women were very capable of handling the task of defending their faith. Some people expressed suspicions that Mrs. Wells and Mrs. Williams came to Washington in case an unfavorable decision was delivered by the Supreme Court. In an interview with the Washington Post, the Mormon representatives said that they did not know that the Supreme Court would render a decision while they were in

3Beeton, p. 87.
Washington, D.C., and that it was a coincidence that they happened to be in town. 4

The Mormon's woman suffrage connections opened many doors for them. On January 11, the day after the convention ended, the Utah representatives met Mrs. Hayes at a reception, where they were able to make an appointment to see President Rutherford B. Hayes. 5 On January 13, the ladies met with President Hayes, 6 and told him that the United States should not take wives and children from their husbands and fathers. They insisted that Mormon women were happy with the arrangement that existed in Utah. 7 Hayes asked them to put their message in writing so he could study it in more detail. In the letter that they wrote to Hayes on January 19, Emmeline and Zina said,

We . . . appeal to your excellency and to the Honored Members of your Cabinet . . . for the protection from the consequences of this decision [the Reynolds Decision] and the enforcement of this law of 1862, and from the indignation of public sentiment, which Ministers and women of


5Diary of Emmeline B. Wells, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, January 11, 1879.

6Wells, January 13, 1879.

this nation are arousing against us. They hoped their appeals had found sympathetic ear of President Hayes and his wife.

On January 15, 1879, the ladies from the Woman Suffrage Association and Emmeline Wells and Zina Williams met with Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes. The two Mormon representatives spoke to her about the enforcement of anti-polygamy laws. They said that if polygamy were stopped that 50,000 women and children would be homeless and the children would be nameless. However Lucy told them that she could do nothing to help them.

The Mormon women did not only meet with President and Mrs. Hayes about their grievances. On January 17, they spoke before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives. Emmeline felt those that listened to them were "Strongly Impressed" and that "good must result." Emmeline and Zina asked the committee to remember to protect those Mormon families who were already in polygamy. On January 20, Emmeline and Zina met Senator George Edmunds, the senator who would later

8Emmeline B. Wells Collection, "To Rutherford B. Hayes from Emmeline B. Wells and Zina Young Williams," Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints Historical Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.


10Wells, BYU, January 17, 1879.

sponsor two very effective anti-polygamy bills.¹² No other details of this meeting were preserved.

On the same day that Emmeline and Zina were meeting with Senator Edmunds in Washington, D.C., the Anti-Polygamy Society was meeting in Utah. The Salt Lake Tribune and many other newspapers and journals around the country had followed the crusade of the Mormon women in Washington very carefully, so the anti-polygamy women in Utah were aware of the proceedings there. The society passed a resolution urging Congress to pass laws to enforce the anti-polygamy legislation of 1862. They also protested against some of the statements that Emmeline and Zina were making in Washington, D.C. A Mrs. Fitzgabble commented that "the good book tells us that in the last days the spirit of lying shall be abroad in the land, and certainly I know the two Mormon women now in Washington have been affected by that spirit."¹³

Emmeline and Zina also presented a memorial to the House of Representatives. They asked that "... in any future legislation ... you will consider the hearts and consciences of the women to be affected by such legislation, and that you will consider the permanent care and welfare of children as the sure

¹²Wells, BYU, January 20, 1879.
foundation of the State." The Mormon women returned to Utah and awaited the results of their crusade.

The society met again on February 8, and sent another address to Congress. They repeated their request that laws be passed to enforce the 1862 anti-polygamy law. The society claimed that the two Mormon women lied when they said that 50,000 women and children would be homeless if anti-polygamy legislation were passed. The APS address insisted that only 10,000 women, not 50,000 were involved. This memorial was presented to Congress by Senator Edmunds.

By the end of the year, the president's message did not reflect any signs that Mrs. Wells and Mrs. Williams had influenced him. President Hayes' annual message was very strict toward the Mormons. He said that all departments of government should be aware of the problem of polygamy in Utah. He agreed that Utah should become a state but not until polygamy had been abolished. Before this year some people felt that the 1862 law was unconstitutional but the Reynolds case dispelled such anxieties. "There is no longer any reason for delay or

14"Cannon and the Two Hens," Tribune, February 1, 1879, p. 4.
16"Anti-Polygamy," Tribune, February 9, 1879, p. 4.

hesitation in its enforcement."\(^{17}\) If it cannot be enforced then the law should be changed. He declared that even the rights of citizenship could be taken away if it were necessary to stop polygamy.\(^{18}\)

This message surprised the *Exponent*. They said that it sounded like he meant what he said but they could not "believe him capable of so cruel and wicked an act" as to enforce the law. This would "deprive hundreds of women of the protection for themselves and their children which they now enjoy."\(^{19}\)

**The National Anti-Polygamy Movement**

The A. P. S. took advantage of the anti-polygamy mood that began with the president's message. On January 12, 1880, the society sent a circular to Congress, listing all of the members of the Territorial Assembly. Beside each name was a note telling whether the legislator was living in polygamy. Thirty-six out of the thirty-nine members of this assembly were polygamists "... thus proving that if not a majority of the people, yet at least the most prominent among them, are living in this felonous relation."\(^{20}\)

\(^{17}\)"President Hayes and a Part of His Message," *Exponent*, December 15, 1879, p. 108.

\(^{18}\)Ibid.

\(^{19}\)Ibid.

\(^{20}\)S. A. Cooke, "Polygamous Assembly," circular, L.D.S. Church Historical Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.
In April of 1880 the first issue of the Anti-Polygamy Standard was published. This paper would be issued for the next three years reporting the actions of the society as well as printing anti-polygamy literature.

The August 1880 issue of the Standard announced a change in the name of the society. The original name was the Ladies Anti-Polygamy Society. The new name was the Woman's National Anti-Polygamy Society. The society announced that they planned to include the rest of the country in their crusade instead of keeping the movement in Utah. They hoped that branches would soon be established across the country. Up until this time, branches had been established in Park City, Bingham, and Ogden. The way was opened so that a branch was established in Brooklyn and Chicago within the year.

In 1880 President Hayes again included an anti-polygamy statement in his annual message. The society voted to endorse this statement. Support from the chief executive encouraged them to continue their crusade with

greater effort and accept any challenge or obstacle they had to meet.

The beginning of the new year brought one new challenge for the society to fight. The New York Christian Union published an article entitled "A Plea for Toleration from the Persecuted Church of Latter-Day Saints." It was published several times in newspapers all over the nation and it suggested that the country was unfair to the Mormons. It also asked for greater tolerance of the Church's religious beliefs. The A. P. S. immediately appointed a committee to plan a mass meeting to protest the article.25 The meeting was held in the Methodist-Episcopal Church of Salt Lake City on February 13, 1881. It was probably one of the biggest mass meetings in the history of the society. The speakers were Judge J. S. Boreman, Cornelia Paddock, Mrs. Hunt (an apostate), Professor Coyner, and Professor Hilton. The topics centered around divorce among the Mormons, the unhappiness in the homes, and how the Mormon women were forced to enter polygamy. The message of the meeting was that there should be no tolerance extended to the Mormon Church. The Standard devoted almost a whole issue to the meeting. It printed the speeches and discussed the topic at length. Extra issues were printed to distribute to the news

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The society hoped to profit from added news exposure.

Later that year, the A. P. S.'s mood changed from direct attack of the Mormons to a half-hearted defense of the Church. The coming months brought news of the assassination of the new president, James Garfield. After he died speculation was made that his assassin, Guiteau, was hired by the Mormons. Rumors declared that the Mormons had him killed to fulfill the doctrine of blood atonement. At this time blood atonement was preached by the Mormons and it stated that death was the only way to be forgiven of some sins. The Standard stated that it was absurd to say that the Mormons had anything to do with Guiteau's actions because blood atonement on that scale was too risky. They explained that the Mormons had other methods to achieve their goals that were not so risky.27

The society was delighted to hear that President Garfield's replacement, Chester A. Arthur, held anti-polygamy beliefs. In his address to Congress in December of 1881 he asked Congress to pass a law that would allow a wife to testify against her husband in court cases involving polygamy. He also asked for a law that


27"Answer to Correspondence," Standard, September 1882, p. 42.
would require the registry of marriages. He also expressed his feelings toward polygamy.

For many years the Executive in his annual message to Congress has urged the necessity of stringent legislation for the suppression of polygamy in the Territories, and especially in the Territory of Utah. The existing statute for the punishment of this odious crime, so revolting to the moral and religious sense of Christendom, has been persistently and contemptuously violated ever since its enactment.28

The society voted to support the new president. They sent him a letter thanking him for his message.

The name of Chester A. Arthur [will] be handed down to posterity in connection with American polygamy, the same as that of Abraham Lincoln is in connection with American slavery.29

They also reminded him that the representative for Utah Territory to the House of Representatives, George Q. Cannon, was a polygamist and a top official in the Mormon Church. An interesting thing about this letter is that it was signed by the "Anti-Polygamy Women" instead of the Anti-Polygamy Society.30

The years from 1881-1882 were big ones for the anti-polygamy sentiment in this country. Meetings were

28 U. S. Congress, President's Annual Address, Congressional Record, 47th Congress, First Session, December 6, 1881, vol. 13, pt. 1.


30 Ibid.
held all over the country and laws were being presented to Congress to try to end polygamy. Francis Willard wrote to the Anti-Polygamy Society in January, 1881 and said that twenty-three state Women Christian Temperance Unions sent letters to thank the president for his message. In July, 1881 a new group was organized in Brooklyn, New York. Its name was the Women's Christian Union for the Suppression of Polygamy. It pledged to work with the Anti-Polygamy Society. M. J. Hawkine wrote a letter to the society telling about the success of her anti-polygamy lectures in England. In Ashbury Park, New Jersey, the women voted on a petition for Congress and asked that all Christian assemblies in the country endorse it.

The year 1881 was only an introduction to the events of 1882, The Tribune said:

The wires were illuminated and adorned again yesterday and last night by the brightest kind of reading on the Mormon question. The country is waking up; there has been nothing like it since the Kansas border ruffian times, and the grand old war meetings.

31 Standard, January 1881, p. 76.'
33 "Correspondence," Standard, August 1881, p. 35.
Some of the 1882 crusades included a mass meeting in Kalamazoo, Michigan on January 22. This was called by the clergy in the area and the Anti-Polygamy Society claimed responsibility for this meeting. The very next day found a similar meeting in Chicago and Boston. The Chicago meeting was called by the local branch of the Anti-Polygamy Society in that city, and the Boston meeting was held in the Plymouth Church. In Boston, they went as far as to advocate doing away with the election in Utah and having the president appoint all officials. The Chicago meeting claimed to have 2,500 people. There was a meeting in New York on the same day. Also on the 23rd was a meeting by the Pastors Union in Rochester, New York. On the same day there was a meeting in St. Paul, Minnesota which was presided over by their Governor Hubbard.36 In May of that year, the Methodist Churches all over the country were to have anti-polygamy meetings on either the first or second Sunday of that month. There was reported to be over 10,000 meetings in one form or another.37

George Q. Cannon Issue,

One reason for the nation-wide protest against polygamy was a controversy over the election of the Utah

Territorial representative to Congress. George Q. Cannon was running for re-election on the Mormon's Peoples Party. The non-Mormons supported Allen G. Campbell on their Liberal Party ticket. Cannon defeated Campbell by a decisive margin, but Governor Eli H. Murray gave the certificate of election to Campbell. Murray's actions were based on the fact that Cannon was a polygamist and there was a question about his citizenship. The Anti-Polygamy Society endorsed Governor Murray's actions and suggested that Congress also support Campbell. 38

In November of 1881, the society took further action to keep Cannon out of Congress by writing a letter to the women of America. They asked the women to sign a petition asking the House of Representatives to accept Campbell instead of Cannon and to send it to their representative in Congress. They also urged the women of America to subscribe to the Standard. This letter was distributed across the country on the newspaper wire exchange. 39

The letter gave the society a chance to publish some of their grievances against Cannon.' They claimed that Cannon had illegal citizenship papers. A Mormon clerk of court gave them to him but there was no record

that he appeared in court to receive his citizenship. Furthermore they said that he could not become a citizen because his loyalty to the Church came before his loyalty to the state. He should have been expelled from the House of Representatives for his immoral conduct alone since he had four wives. He also advised the Mormons to disobey the laws of the United States. Because of this he represented his church in Congress instead of his territory. The society contended that he received his salary from Congress for eight years under "false pretenses." 40

The society tried other methods to persuade Congress to reject Cannon. They also had a card placed on the desk of each Congressman. These cards contained Arthur's anti-polygamy statement from his annual address and Cannon's admission that he was a polygamist. 41

In April 1882, the House of Representatives finally voted to keep the Utah seat vacant. The society claimed that Congress should receive no credit for ousting Cannon. They said that if it were not for the anti-polygamy campaign Cannon would have been accepted again as Utah's representative. The APS credited itself

40 "Memorial to Congress," Standard, December 1881, p. 65.

for forcing Congress to take action against Cannon. This was a great victory for them.

The Edmunds Bill

The anti-polygamy sentiment across the country culminated with the Edmunds Bill, passed in 1882. This new bill named unlawful cohabitation as a crime, punishable by not more than a $300 fine, or six months in prison, or both. It also made polygamy a misdemeanor. Jury members could be dismissed if they were polygamists, or believed in plural marriage. Not only were polygamists, men and women, disqualified to vote or hold office, but a commission would be appointed to regulate elections. If the bill passed, all offices in Utah would be declared vacant until the Commission set up new elections. The Anti-Polygamy Society endorsed this plan.

While Utah remains as now organized, with a polygamous Legislature [sic], polygamy is attacked at a great disadvantage. The first step, therefore, in a real effort to abolish polygamy should be to abolish the present governmental organization. Give Utah a commission.

The APS took action by organizing a mass meeting in the Methodist Church in February of 1882 to adopt a

resolution asking Congress to pass the Edmunds Bill. Cornelia Paddock conducted most of the business of the meeting. After she read the resolution, speeches were made by Reverend R. G. McNeice, Governor Eli Murray, Judge Boreman, and General Bane. When the resolution came to a vote only five individuals voted against it. The crowd shouted to put those dissenters out of the meeting, but Reverend McNeice objected and said, "... each man has a right to vote as he pleases. Let these people so vote, the day for the trammeled ballot in Utah is over."45 The assemblage applauded in agreement.

The Mormons, of course, did not favor the Edmunds Bill and took every opportunity to protest against its passage. The Mormon women contributed to the protest by sending a memorial to Congress asking that the bill be rejected.46 The APS observed the actions of the Mormon women, but interpreted the scene differently than the Mormons did.

No better illustration of the absolute depotism exercised by the Mormon priesthood can be cited than the fact of there being the names of more than 11,000 young girls and young women upon the church petition to Congress. There is scarcely a young girl in the Territory, if permitted to express her own opinion honestly, who would not bitterly denounce polygamy as a curse to her sex, and not a young married woman who would not demolish the infamous institution

46 "Memorial to Congress," Exponent, March 1, 1882, p. 149.
at one blow if she had the power, and yet so completely are they in the power of their tyrannical masters that they dared not refuse signing a document praying for the perpetuation of their own shame and degradation. 47

On January 23, the Senate Judiciary Committee approved the Edmunds Bill, but it still had to be voted upon by both houses of Congress. The Anti-Polygamy Society called another meeting on February 26, 1882 to encourage Congress to accept the bill. 48 The bill passed in Congress and became a law on March 22, 1882.

After the passage of the Edmunds Bill, the Mormons organized some passive retaliation among the gentiles of the city. Mormon servant girls began quitting their jobs in gentile homes. This was something that directly involved the women of the Anti-Polygamy Society. They suggested a meeting at once "for liberating Gentile housekeepers from the tyranny of Mormon servant girls." 49 The Mormons also decided to boycott gentile merchants. The society urged the gentile merchants to withdraw their advertisements from the Deseret News and Salt Lake Herald to counter the Mormons. 50

The End of the Society

The passage of the Edmunds Bill appeased a lot of the anti-polygamy sentiment around the country. Even the Exponent noted this change. "The prejudice which set in so heavily against Utah and the Mormons, about four years ago, seems to be giving way a little. Perhaps it has nearly spent its fury."51 The Anti-Polygamy Society, which was four years old at the time of this article, also seemed to have "spent its fury."

The society did not accomplish much between the time of the passage of the Edmunds Bill and the last issue of the Standard in April 1883. The end of the Standard was a sign of a new era for the Anti-Polygamy Society. Most of the "fury" was over, but polygamy had not been destroyed among the Mormons. Although many men were sent to the penitentiary for polygamy, the church showed no signs of changing their doctrine. There was a lot of work left to do in the anti-polygamy crusade, but the Anti-Polygamy Society was not leading the way. Anything the society did at this time did not attract enough attention to be mentioned in the local newspapers.

The last reference found about the Anti-Polygamy Society was in an 1884 issue of the Exponent. It only

discussed the society's philosophy concerning woman suffrage in Utah. Evidence points out that perhaps the last years of the APS were spent in trying to settle this issue.

52"Petition to Disfranchise Women," Exponent, June 15, 1884, p. 11.
Chapter VI

POLYGAMY AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

At the time that the Anti-Polygamy Society existed, Utah was one of the few places that allowed women to vote. As was discussed in Chapter II, woman suffrage in Utah was originally conceived as a way to terminate polygamy. However, when suffrage was granted to the women of Utah, they did not use their ballot to elect men who would vote for anti-polygamy legislation in the Territorial Assembly. Instead, the same men were re-elected, and the Mormon women even held public demonstrations showing their support of polygamy. Obviously, the anti-polygamists could not use the Mormon women to end polygamy.

Many groups began to question the validity of Utah's woman suffrage. Among these critics was the Rocky Mountain Presbyterian.

It is the women who legalize polygamy in Utah. The women vote, in solid phalanxes, for Mormonism and polygamy. They are tools of the men and the designing of church officials . . . The polygamous women and daughters flood the polls, and sweep everything before them. The surest way to reform Mormonism is to repeal the law allowing women suffrage in this Territory.

"How the Mormons Must Be Treated," Tribune, December 29, 1878, p. 2.
Other newspapers across the nation criticized Utah women suffrage. The Chicago Tribune used pretty strong words in their criticisms. When the women of Utah protested plans to take away the ballot, the Chicago paper called them "thousands of men reinforced by thousands of women." They also commented that Utah women exercised their votes "in the interest of registered prostitution" and that "...the women of Utah deliberately and of their own notion vote their own defilement and degration."\(^2\)

Politicians also advocated an end to women suffrage in Utah. In 1879, Governor George Emery asked for the disfranchisement of women in Utah in his annual message.\(^4\) Even the ex-vice president, Schuyler Colfax, criticized women's suffrage in Utah. He advocated that Congress should refuse "to allow a polygamist a half dozen extra votes of his household to fortify his illegal conduct, and to magnify his importance and power at elections for Congressmen, etc."\(^5\)

The APS agreed with these criticisms. They often told stories about Mormon women who would vote for the Liberal candidate, or non-Mormon candidate, and later be

\(^2\)"The Impudence of the Polygamists," Tribune, March 19, 1892, p. 5.
\(^3\)Ibid.
\(^5\)"Colfax's Speech," Tribune, January 29, 1882, p. 4.
excommunicated. The society also claimed they knew of men who bragged about all of the extra votes gained through wives. However, their stand on the women suffrage issue became a cause of concern because it cost them a loss of support among some influential non-Mormons. Surprisingly, it even gave some support to the Mormon women.

Defense for the Mormon Women

The Exponent led the defenders of Utah women suffrage.

It cannot but be apparent to any logical reasoner, that the women of Utah hold their political and social destiny largely in their own hands by means of the franchise; and notwithstanding the insinuations as to their want of judgment in exercising this privilege, they will not be blackguarded into voting for men to hold office who have so little respect for honorable wives, mothers and daughters as to stigmatize them with names too vile for utterance . . . Mormon women have the suffrage and they exercise it in the fear of God, as a gift from Him under the impulse of the age in the progress of reform.

They also claimed that the election franchise was good for Utah. Not only were the women of Utah allowed to vote, but they could also attend political, primary, and school meetings. They could nominate candidates and could serve as delegates to county conventions. Women of Utah were also active on political

[7]"Woman Suffrage in Utah," Exponent, Nov. 15, 1881, p. 92.
committees. They explained that Utah had the secret ballot so "undue authority or compulsion cannot possibly be exercised in the actual casting of votes."\(^8\)

In January 1879 the Mormons sent representatives to the National Women Suffrage Convention for the first time.\(^9\) It should be noted also that the Anti-Polygamy Society was organized in Utah only a few months before the convention. Up until this time, the Mormons isolated themselves politically, but there was a need for change. The Mormons needed alliances outside of Utah.

The women's movement had divided some years prior to this. One group became the conservative American Woman Suffrage Association and the other became the more radical National Woman Suffrage Association. In philosophy, the Mormons were more closely related to the American Suffrage group, but, when the Mormons were looking for non-Mormon friends, they instead associated with the National group. The reason for this, according to this historian, Beverly Beeton, was that the National group believed in carrying out crusades on a national level, and they were able to lobby for the Mormons in Congress.\(^10\) The Mormon women then had someone else to aid them.

\(^8\) Ibid.


\(^10\) Beeton, pp. 86-87.
This alliance was not without problems. The National Women Suffrage Association was willing to do all they could to protect the Mormon women's voting rights, but they were careful not to be associated with polygamy. If they came to the Mormon's defense too strongly, the National Women Suffrage Association (or the NWSA) could be accused of trying to defend polygamy also. Romania B. Pratt discussed this problem with Susan B. Anthony at the 1882 convention. Romania was told that the suffragists had to shun "even the appearance of evil," especially since the issue of polygamy was so controversial. Anthony further explained that she did not believe in polygamy, but she did support the Mormons on the suffrage issue.  

The National Women Suffrage Association started their crusade with the first convention that the Mormons attended. This 1879 convention proposed an amendment be added to the Constitution protecting women suffrage in the territories, especially Utah.  The NWSA knew that a dangerous precedent could be set if the right to vote was taken from Utah women. It was also in the NWSA's interest to help the Mormon representatives.

11 "Women's Suffrage Convention," Exponent, March 1, 1882, p. 146.
12 Ibid.
In 1882, the Woman Suffrage Association of Missouri urged Congress not to consider disfranchising the Utah women. They argued that it was "subversive and contrary to natural justice and the principles of American Liberty." They pointed out that women who were working to eliminate polygamy would also be hurt in this effort to punish polygamists, "women . . . who . . . are . . . actively engaged in forming public opinion against it . . ." [the Anti-Polygamy Society]. They added that although they did not want to see the disfranchisement of women, they advocated that laws be passed to end polygamy.14

Similar memorials and petitions were sent to Congress by NWSA groups. The Woman Suffrage Executive Committee of New York protested the issue in 1884. Sara Andrews Spencer, Belva Lockwood, Matilda Hindman, and Elizabeth L. Saxon also spoke in defense of the Mormons.15 Lillie Devereau Blake wrote to the Exponent in 1886 and told the Mormons that the New York State Woman Suffrage Association passed a resolution against the anti-woman suffrage clause in Senator Edmunds' new bill. The New York women admitted, however, that they did support the anti-polygamy part of the Edmunds Bill.16 The NWSA

15 Exponent, January 15, 1884, p. 124.
16 Exponent, February 1, 1886, p. 133.
sent a memorial to President Grover Cleveland in 1887 asking him to veto the Edmunds-Tucker Bill on the grounds that it would disfranchise Utah women.  

The Mormon women found that because of the suffrage issue, they had support in Congress. A Select Committee on Women's Suffrage in 1882 used Utah as an example in trying to prove that woman suffrage should be extended. They said that although these women have been criticized as being coerced by their husbands to vote a certain way, that in Salt Lake City there "... is less disturbance of the peace and a ... citizen is ... more secure in his person or property." In 1886, the same committee reported that "suffrage is as much of a success for the Mormon women as for the men."  

When the Edmunds-Tucker Law was discussed in Congress, women suffrage became one of the few issues of the bill that was debated. Every Congressman prefaced his statement by asserting that he wanted polygamy outlawed in Utah.

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17 Beeton, p. 117.


This became a common desire across the country. The fate of the bill and others like it rested on provisions like woman suffrage, not the issue of polygamy.

Two individuals began to campaign in behalf of the Mormon women. In 1886, Hamilton Wilcox, who originally proposed extending voting privileges to Utah women, urged the American women to write to their Congressmen and ask them to vote against any measure that would disfranchise the women of Utah. By far the most ardent defender of Utah suffrage was Belva Lockwood. She belonged to the NWSA but went beyond the limits her fellow suffragists set. She protested any infringement on voting rights, but she also defended the Mormons' rights to practice their religion.

The Position of the Anti-Polygamy Society

The Anti-Polygamy Society was put in a very awkward position on the suffrage issue. Many of the society members believed in the principle of woman suffrage. In 1882, Emmeline B. Wells served as the vice president of the NWSA representing Utah, while Cornelia Paddock, a prominent anti-polygamist, was a member of the

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22Belva Lockwood, "The Mormon Question," *L.D.S. Church Historical Archives*, Salt Lake City.
executive committee. Jennie Froiseth was the vice president in 1888. In 1880 George R. Maxwell asked for a writ of mandamus to "erase and strike from the list of voters of Salt Lake County, . . . , the names of the following persons, viz. Emmeline B. Wells, Maria M. Blythe, and Mrs. A. G. Paddock, and also the names of all women whose names thereon appear as voters . . . ". As a suffragist Cornelia Paddock was named beside the prominent Mormon women. However, the A.P.S. was forced to take a non-suffrage stand to further the fight against polygamy.

The society took a cautious approach to the suffrage issue in the beginning. In one of the first issues, they declared " . . . the Standard has no direct interest in the matter of female suffrage." They did, however, try to convince their readers to use their votes to some advantage. Before a local election, the Standard advised that the women of Utah did not have to vote as the church directed.

You have the opportunity to think and act for yourselves, and if you have the least vestage of self-respect you ought to rise, en masse, and defeat

23 Beeton, P. 102.
24 Beeton, p. 128.
26 "Reorganization of the Liberal Party of Utah," Standard, Sept. 1880, p. 44.
the re-election of the man who has made your wifehood a badge of shame and dishonor.27

In 1881, the Standard urged Utah women to "turn out en masse" for the coming election. They agreed that not all of the "illegal" Mormon votes could be overturned, but in Summit, Tooele, Beaver, and in parts of Salt Lake City, a Liberal candidate should be elected.28

By 1882, the polygamy issue was becoming more agitated around the country, and the society began to take a bolder stand. The APS began to be critical of Utah's women suffrage. Cornelia Paddock said that the men who gave the vote to the women of Utah could be compared to the Southern Legislators and slaveholders "who made their human chattels count in estimating the basis of the representation to which their states were entitled in Congress."29 The Anti-Polygamy Society went on to say that although woman suffrage was "worse than a farce" that they would not endorse any plan that would take the vote away from the women and still let the "ignorant and treasonable law-breakers who are their masters" vote.30

In February 1882, the society adopted a resolution asking that all polygamists have their right to vote taken from them.\(^{31}\) This resolution was in concurrence with the Edmunds Bill that was before Congress at that time.

Although the main thing that the Society wanted was the disfranchisement of all polygamists, men or women, they did have some individual complaints against women suffrage in Utah. They argued that the legislature had no Congressional authority to grant suffrage to women. There were also different voting requirements for men and women. The men had to be taxpayers and had to live in the territory for five years. There were no such requirements for the women. There were also charges that Mormon courts granted naturalization papers too easily for the many immigrants in the Territory, thus allowing even more Mormons to vote.\(^{32}\)

This stand drew criticism from suffrage groups. The society wrote two letters to the suffragists to explain their position. They explained that they were not for the disfranchisement of women of the Territory even though they felt the law granting this right had been abused. What they asked for was the disfranchisement

\(^{31}\)"City Jottings," \textit{Tribune}, February 8, 1882, p. 4.

of polygamists, both men and women. The society also explained why they felt suffrage did not work to end polygamy in Utah. The APS declared that the Mormon women were taught that women were inferior to men and that they must do as the priesthood directed. They could not even enter into the Celestial Kingdom without men, and they had to be resurrected by a man. The franchise was connected to religion so the priesthood controlled the votes of the Mormon women. The only thing that Utah women suffrage did was to "retard the day of Utah's deliverance from priestly bondage and to rivet their own fetters more securely." The priesthood only used the women's vote to lessen the impact of the Gentiles' votes.\(^\text{33}\)

In April of that year the society wrote a letter criticizing a speech made by Phoebe Cozzens at the National Woman Suffrage Convention of January of 1882. Mrs. Cozzens stated that Utah proved that women suffrage was a success. A woman could be safe at night and the courts were clean and pleasant. She also said that there was no liquor in Utah. The APS said that this was untrue. They reported that there were saloons and tobacco among the Mormons and that their own newspaper, the Deseret News even carried ads for these things. This

letter was signed by the Anti-Polygamy Women. The name of the society was not mentioned.

With the Edmunds Act of 1882, all polygamists were disfranchised. At election time, the society tried to explain the bounds of the Mormon women's freedom. The Anti-Polygamy Society reported to these women that they could now have free and fair elections. They urged the ladies to rid themselves of polygamy by voting for men who would enact legislation that would end polygamy and show the world that they would help themselves.

By January 1883, the elections had not proven that disfranchisement of polygamists would work. Mormons who believed in polygamy were elected to office. Again the issue of disfranchisement of Utah women was discussed in political circles. The Society said that this would only be the first step to solve the problem. All Mormons should be disfranchised because they are all polygamists in their beliefs.

The Standard was issued for the last time soon after this statement. It is difficult to discern what position the society held regarding woman suffrage. The

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35 "To the Women of Utah," Standard, November 1882, p. 66.

Exponent in 1884 commented on an article by Cornelia Paddock in the Woman's Journal. According to the Exponent, Cornelia said that the gentile women of Utah would not mind if the right of woman suffrage was taken from them. She claimed that the gentile women felt that their votes were useless anyway. The Exponent then asserted that other members of the society would not agree with Mrs. Paddock. Some members, like Jenny Froiseth, did not wish to see the disfranchisement of Utah women. 37 It must be remembered that this report was given second hand, and also by an enemy of the Anti-Polygamy Society. The new anti-polygamy movement that would begin shortly would advocate that the right to vote be taken from Utah women.

37 "Petition to Disfranchise Women," Exponent, June 15, 1884, p. 11.
Chapter VII

THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS

The prime method that the Anti-Polygamy Society used to carry on their crusade was through their writings. The business of the society was distributed for publication on the newspaper wire service and APS members also wrote articles and letters to magazines and newspapers. Not only did they use outside sources but their message was also carried in publications from within the society.

The Anti-Polygamy Standard

About a year and a half after the Anti-Polygamy Society was organized they started publishing a newspaper, with Jennie Froiseth serving as the editor during its three-year existence. The paper was published by the Standard Publishing Company, although in March 1881, subscriptions could be renewed at the Salt Lake Tribune Office.

The first issues of the Anti-Polygamy Standard explained the purposes that the society hoped to achieve

2 "Local Mention," Standard, March 1881, p. 93.
with the paper. They wanted to prompt the Mormon women to investigate plural marriage by presenting the origin of polygamy and proving that it was not a divine law. They intended to point out that polygamy was against the laws of the land, of God, and of nature. The main purpose was to help the women to understand that polygamy was not something that a loving "Heavenly Father" would institute. The society hoped that this plan of action would eventually help the Mormon women free themselves from polygamy.  

They announced that the paper was an "independent journal" created to,

"[A]id the ladies of the Anti-Polygamy Society in their endeavors to suppress a system which had its origin in sin and which is inimical to progress and true Christianity as it is enslaving and dishonoring to womanhood."  

Several favorite quotes and mottos were reprinted in each issue such as one by Harriet Beecher Stowe.

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

\[3\]"Our Policy," Standard, April 1880, p. 4.  
\[4\]"Salutations," Standard, April 1880, p. 4.  
\[5\]Anti-Polygamy Standard.
Along with this, I Corinthians 7:2 was printed in each issue. "Let every Man have his own Wife, and Let every Woman have her own Husband." A plea to the "Pastors of Christian Churches" was always carried asking that each pastor give a copy of the Standard to some "energetic lady of his congregation" to circulate around the town. Perhaps this lady could also set up a society to protest polygamy.

The paper contained several monthly features. One of these was the " Beauties of Polygamy." This column told stories of the "loveliness of the so-called Celestial marriage system." For those who might not believe their stories, the Standard issued the following statement about their policy for printing all polygamy stories.

... we wish to state distinctly that we do not, or will not publish anything except we have what we consider the most reliable authority. Such instances, we admit, do seem almost incredible, but what brutality is there of which human nature is not capable under certain circumstances.

As a final reassurance to skeptics they said, "... we shall take pleasure in introducing them to our authority who is perfectly willing to be interviewed on the subject ..." Unfortunately all of the stories were written

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8 Ibid.
so that the identity of most of the characters could not be known, and their authorities left no written record to verify the tales.

The first volume of the *Standard* had a monthly column called "For and About Women" that reported short news items about women throughout the country and the world. There was a series of articles titled "Woman as Benefactress," that told the life story of many accomplished women around the world. Any news of women connected with European royal families was also published. A "Housekeeper's Corner," was printed in each issue that gave household hints and recipes.

A curious feature of the first volume of the *Standard* was the presence of mining interests on its pages. The last page was devoted to mining each month. During the twelve months that this volume covered, about twenty-one out of fifty-two of the advertisements, or forty-one per cent, concerned mining directly. If the *Standard's* mining-related advertisements like attorneys, brokers, and transport companies are included, the number increased by nine. This can be explained by the fact that many of the gentiles of Utah were involved with mining. If money was needed, the mining interests were a good source of revenue. Many of the members of the society were married to men involved with mining and these women probably appealed to their husbands for advertising funds. Jennie Froiseth's husband, B.A.M. Froiseth, alone
had three ads pertaining to his business. Articles on mining could also increase the circulation of the new paper.

The beginning of Volume II showed several changes. The Standard was becoming more dedicated to anti-polygamy news and omitting some of the more frivolous articles. The mining articles were slowly eliminated. Even the number of mining advertisements were decreasing. In 1881, there were only thirty-six per cent, and in 1882 only seven and a half per cent of the ads were directly related to mining. Of the few issues in 1883, only three per cent of the advertisements were concerned with mining. By the end of 1881, there were no longer any mining articles.

The Standard dedicated more space to the anti-polygamy crusade with each issue. Very often guest columnists would expound on the evils of polygamy or reports of anti-polygamy meetings in other parts of the country would be included. One of the most popular features was a serial called "A Heart History," by Eleanor Lovell. A chapter of this anti-polygamy novel was printed each month.

It is difficult to tell how wide the circulation of the Standard was. However, comments concerning the paper were printed in the following newspapers: New York Christian Union; Fort Wayne, Indiana, Christian Union; The Sunbeam, Brooklyn, New York; Morning Star, Dover, New Hampshire; The Post, Appleton, Wisconsin;
New York Methodist; Philadelphia Christian Women; New York Herald; The Oswego Times, New York. 9 It is also difficult to tell how many newspapers publicized items concerning the Standard, but even if the above newspapers were the only ones that did, the Standard received a fairly wide exposure around the country.

Although there is no record of the number of subscribers, the society obviously was not satisfied with the circulation of their paper. The Standard constantly advertised for more subscriptions. To help solve this problem, Ann Eliza Webb, Brigham Young's divorced wife, was named general agent for subscriptions and advertising, since her anti-polygamy speaking tours brought her into contact with people all over the country. 10

August 1881's issue asked for ten thousand new subscriptions. 11 Special deals and bulk rates were set up to help reach this goal. 12 Also arrangements were made so that a reader could subscribe to the Standard and Our Union (Women's Christian Temperance Union) for $1.25
a year. For $1.50 a year a person could get the Christian Woman and the Standard, and for $2.00, the Christian Woman, Our Union, and the Standard was offered. Sample copies could be sent to friends free of charge.

Arrangements were made to reward readers who sent in new subscriptions from friends and neighbors. Any one who sent in five new subscriptions in November 1881 could receive a free copy of Cornelia Paddock's new book, The Fate of Madame LaTour. In January of 1881 some local merchants offered prizes for new subscriptions. Cohn Brothers offered the following prizes:

- 3 subscriptions: kid gloves
- 5 subscriptions: lace tie
- 6 subscriptions: half-dozen handkerchiefs
- 8 subscriptions: best quality kid gloves
- 10 subscriptions: fine lace tie

Moore, Allen and Company offered:

- 3 subscriptions: cologne
- 10 subscriptions: quart of cologne, toilet set, brush and comb, or a mirror
- 20 subscriptions: dressing case
- 30 subscriptions: nail set
- 35 subscriptions: dressing case
- 60 subscriptions: extra fine dressing case
- 75 subscriptions: sewing machine

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13 Standard, April 1881, p. 1.
16 Standard, March 1881, p. 93.
18 Ibid.
Each new gimmick must not have delivered the desired result for each issue of the *Standard* contained some sort of enticement for new subscribers.

Another problem that the *Standard* encountered was trying to collect money for subscriptions. Almost every issue printed some sort of reminder for payments that were overdue and by July 1881, their plea became almost urgent. "Will they not please remember that the issue of a paper requires mutual helpfulness. We have our bills to meet regularly and this cannot be done without money."  

They further asked "a large number" to pay up. In the last part of 1882, the *Standard* started printing their collection policy in every issue.

The APS must not have been able to solve these problems because the final copy of the *Standard* was a combined February and March issue. This was the first time that the *Standard* was printed as a combined issue. There was a plea that all accounts for subscriptions be settled at the end of volume three, or the end of March, at the Tribune office. As usual there was a special offer to try to entice new subscribers. 'A free one-year subscription would be given to anyone who sent, within

21 "Special Notice," *Standard*, February and March 1883, p. 84.
thirty days, the names of twenty-five ladies interested in subscribing to the Standard.  

The February/March issue promised that the fourth volume would be "enlarged and improved and otherwise adapted to accomplish the end desired." Nothing in this edition disclosed that this would be the last issue. Perhaps there were not enough new subscribers, or money, to pay for the continuation of the paper. There was one note that hinted that perhaps the end was coming. It was almost like a summing up statement for the work that was accomplished.

All though the existence of the Standard it has been struggling against fearful odds, right in the midst of the enemy's camp, and its capabilities for performing its mission have been greatly circumscribed by reason of various circumstances which it is not necessary to enumerate here. But, notwithstanding, the Standard feels that it has done good work and we now call upon all law-loving and law-abiding people to assist us in continuing that work until there is not further use for an anti-polygamy journal within the confines of the American nation.  

The Women of Mormonism

Jennie Froiseth's main contribution as a writer was her job as editor of the Anti-Polygamy Standard. In

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24 Ibid.
1882, Jennie served as editor of another Anti-Polygamy Society project, a book called *The Women of Mormonism*. This book was a collection of articles and stories that had been previously printed in the *Standard*, and it tried to convey to people outside of Utah the society's image of Mormon women. A summary of this image was discussed in Chapter II. Jennie tried to create a mood of sympathy toward the Mormon women and put all the blame on the Mormon "priesthood." Francis Willard said in the introduction to *The Women of Mormonism*,

> There is something chivalric as the knights of old in the Author's [sic] defense of Mormon women from the harsh criticisms made by the uniformed upon their course in submitting to this awful form of tyranny.

Jennie tried to describe what polygamy was actually like. Her method was to present an idea and back it with a story. The book was well organized, although, like most anti-polygamy works of the time, poorly documented. The *Women of Mormonism* is probably one of the best statements of the anti-polygamy idea of the Mormon problem of any work of the time.

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Cornelia Paddock's Books

Cornelia Paddock was probably the best known of the writers in the Anti-Polygamy Society. She wrote for one purpose and that was to stir up hatred against the system of polygamy and those who directed it. Her style was vindictive and sensational. A good example of her writing can be seen in her description of Brigham Young in The Fate of Madame La Tour.

He was in the prime of life, of medium stature, but powerfully built, and his face bore the stamp of an iron will to which all must bend, and of that inflexibility of purpose which annihilates all obstacles. His deep set eyes told of greed, both of money and power, as plainly as the square mouth and heavy jaws revealed the savage in his nature, at once sensual and cruel.27

During the time that the Anti-Polygamy Society existed, Cornelia wrote two books, The Fate of Madame La Tour and In the Toils, and one short story, "Saved at Last from among the Mormons." These stories were centered around tragedies brought about by polygamy. The two books followed one basic pattern with slight variations. The husband (or father) was deceived and joined the Mormon Church. The family became involved with the Church, although the wife did not really believe in it. The husband would promise her that he would never enter into a

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plural marriage, but the "priesthood" forced him to take another wife. His first family, particularly his first wife, would have to endure great trials because the husband entered into polygamy.

The women were always portrayed as innocent victims who were trapped into polygamy. They saw the "evil designs" of Mormonism, but their husbands were slow to notice until some sort of tragedy came upon the family. Help came from gentile men who were involved in mining and the family would be freed from the Mormons' influence.

Cornelia's most successful book was her second one, The Fate of Madame La Tour. After writing In the Toils, Cornelia had built quite a reputation. Madame La Tour was prefaced by several letters testifying to her good character. Among these were letters from Eli H. Murray, the governor of Utah Territory; Jacob S. Boreman, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Utah; George S. Black, former Secretary of Utah Territory; Sarah A. Cooke, the president of the Anti-Polygamy Society; and John Greenleaf Whittier. There were also favorable reviews printed from fifty-seven journals and newspapers. 28

The objective of the book was explained in the preface. Cornelia hoped to trace "the development of the Mormon system . . . and show some of the ways and means

28Ibid., p. v-vii.
of its workings.\textsuperscript{29} Although the book was advertised as fiction, Cornelia maintained that one of her characters, Louise La Tour "is not a creation of fancy. Her story is true; her sufferings were real . . .\textsuperscript{30} She also went on to say:

The family which figures here under the name of La Tour I have known intimately for nine years, and from the members of it who never believed in Mormonism I have obtained the facts of their history. I have, of course, made changes in their story, and have blended with it some incidents (of fact) from other lives.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{29}Ibid., p. ix. \hfill \textsuperscript{30}Ibid. \hfill \textsuperscript{31}Ibid., p. 332.
Chapter VIII

THE FINAL YEARS OF THE ANTI-POLYGAMY MOVEMENT

The years following the passage of the Edmunds Bill were hard ones for the Mormons. The first polygamy case to appear in court under that law occurred in October 1884, when Rudger Clawson was tried for polygamy and unlawful cohabitation. In the course of the trial, his wife was brought in as a witness, but she refused to testify. She was placed in the penitentiary over night for contempt of court. The next day, she testified, at her husband's request, and admitted that she was Clawson's plural wife. He was fined $500 and sentenced to prison for three years and six months. This case was only the beginning of a pattern that would be repeated many times in the next decade.

Many of the members of the church, as well as church leaders, went "underground" to resist the polygamy laws. An intricate system of hiding was used and many polygamists were able to evade the law officers. Many, however, were taken to court and tried for polygamy. The business of the church was also administered from the underground, since most of the general authorities were polygamists. Franklin D. Richards, an apostle who chose
to live with his legal wife, directed most of the outward affairs of the church.

Angie Newman

A new anti-polygamy figure appeared after the demise of the Anti-Polygamy Society. Angie Newman came to Utah in the summer of 1880 as secretary of the Woman's Home Missionary Society. She returned to her society and recommended that the group become involved in the anti-polygamy crusade.¹ The Woman's Home Missionary Society voted to build an Industrial Home to house polygamous wives who wanted to escape and learn to be self-sufficient. In 1883, Angie was elected the secretary of the Mormon Bureau of the mission society and travelled around the country collecting funds to finance the home.²

As support for the Industrial Home grew and pressure from law officers enforcing the anti-polygamy laws increased, the Exponent began to contend with the anti-polygamy supporters, especially Mrs. Newman. Very seldom did the Exponent devote much space for any of the people involved with the anti-polygamy movement. It was

¹"The Industrial Home," Tribune, March 16, 1886, p. 4.

almost as if the Mormons did not want to dignify the anti-polygamy cause by recognizing it in their magazine.

However the scene changed in 1884 and by 1886, the Exponent began to criticize Angie Newman's crusade.

She wants Congress to think she knows "Mormon" women and their needs better than they do themselves. She speaks of her knowledge of female suffrage in Utah, when it is well known she lives in Nebraska, and most of her knowledge is second hand, and gained from such authority as Mrs. Paddock's and Mrs. Froiseth's sensational novels and works written by apostates.³

At a later time the Exponent commented:

Recently in Mrs. Newman's lectures she told a sensational story, one or more to the WCTU in New York, that perfectly horrified them, and would have terrified the "Mormon" women still more, had the stories been true.⁴

In spite of Mormon protests, the support for an Industrial Home grew and on March 15, 1886, the Industrial Christian Home Association was organized. The new anti-polygamy organization was not restricted to women, however, most of the officers were women, Jeanette Ferry of Park City was the president with Margaret Zane as one of the vice presidents and Cornelia Paddock as the corresponding secretary. A review of the list of members in this association indicated that some of the more

⁴ "Editorial Thoughts," Exponent, November 1, 1888, p. 84.
prominent members of the Anti-Polygamy Society, like Sarah Cooke and Jennie Froiseth, were not members of this new association. Cornelia Paddock, however, remained active throughout the existence of the association.  

Cornelia used her pen to try to convert followers of the new anti-polygamy plan. She wrote an article in the Christian Register explaining why an Industrial Home was necessary for Utah. Her main argument was that "Utah has no system of Public Charities," and something had to be done to ease the high unemployment rate among the Utah women. One reason for high unemployment was the "system of cheap and easy divorce, which is an outgrowth of polygamy." Wives need to provide for their families because many husbands could not afford to provide all of his families with food and clothing and they also need to be prepared to support their children when polygamy would be destroyed. Finally, if a wife would leave her husband to escape polygamy, she would need some way to provide for herself and her family. Cornelia believed that the Industrial Home would solve these problems.  

Although Cornelia Paddock remained active in the movement, Angie Newman was the new national advocate of the cause and all other anti-polygamists were secondary. 

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5 Territorial Papers, Senate, Industrial Home, Hearing 49th Congress, 1st Session, May 7, 1886.  

Congress in 1886

The year, 1886, became a key one in the anti-polygamy crusade. Senator George Edmunds of Vermont submitted another bill to end polygamy and Angie Newman lobbied Congress to gain funds for her Industrial Home project.

When Edmunds' new bill was debated in Congress, the controversy of the bill was not centered around whether Mormons had the right to practice polygamy. The details of how to enforce the law were the factors that were discussed. Among these, Edmunds proposed to take the right to vote from all Utah women. Many people questioned the reason behind this, but Edmunds felt justified in this action.

It is to relieve the Mormon women of Utah from the slavehood of being obliged to exercise a political function which is to keep her in a state of degradation, it is to diminish the voting power of this hierarchy.  

He further stated:

... so far as I know and have heard ... there has been no instance in which any anti-polygamy women in Utah has raised her voice against this provision, which has now been proposed for nearly two years. I believe it safe to say, therefore, that what are called the Gentile women in Utah and that part of the Mormon women who do not believe in polygamy and do not practice it are willing, and desirous that Congress should assist in reducing

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the voting power of this hierarchy by depriving all women in that Territory of the right to vote.

He added that the purpose of this plan to disfranchise Utah women was to put "political power into the hands of those who are opposed to the practice of polygamy" and take it from the Mormons.

One of the biggest defenders of woman suffrage in Utah was Senator George F. Hoar, a Republican from Massachusetts. At one point he said, in reply to Edmunds:

You are saying that a woman, if she be anti-Mormon if she agree in opinion with the author of this bill in every particular or with every Senator who shall vote for it, she being now clothed by lawful exercize of the authority of the people of that Territory with the right of suffrage, shall be deprived of it, merely because it is expected or anticipated that some other woman, if she have the right of suffrage, will exercize it in a manner detrimental to the law-making powers here. It seems to me that is a violation of the sound and fundamental principles of legislation.

He also argued that "He [Edmunds] says now that the women there are likely to vote a certain way under the influence of the priesthood, and therefore he leaves the priesthood and takes it from the woman!

In spite of this issue, and the many others that were discussed, the Edmunds-Tucker Bill was passed by

8Ibid. 9Ibid., p. 407.
Congress. This bill contained stricter provisions than the Edmunds Bill of 1882. For example a lawful wife would be allowed to testify in polygamy cases and marriages were required to be recorded. Woman suffrage was abolished in Utah and the test oath was again to be administered to test the loyalty of all voters toward anti-polygamy laws, with the elections still under the direction of the Utah Commission. Some of the measures were aimed directly at the church, such as the destruction of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, which helped finance groups of Mormons travelling to Utah, and the abolition of the Nauvoo Legion. The Edmunds-Tucker Law also enforced some provisions contained in the Anti-Bigamy Law of 1862, for instance, the Mormon Church was disincorporated and all property valued over $50,000 was confiscated.

The other anti-polygamy measure in Congress that year concerned the Industrial Home. Angie Newman appeared before Senate hearings and committees trying to gain support for the home. She declared that the purpose of the project was to "build an institution in which women who desire to escape from polygamy shall have facilities furnished them, first, for self-support, and then to escape from the Territory."12 She further stated that she knew that Mormon women and children would use the

home because many of them expressed to her that they
would, as well as Secretary Thomas and Governor Murray
of Utah, and many gentile residents of the territory. 13

The Exponent protested against many of the things
that Angie said in Congress, even stating that she lied
in many instances. Nonetheless, money was appropriated
for the Industrial Home by the end of the session.

The Industrial Home

On November 28, 1886, Salt Lake City's Industrial
Home was opened in a two story brick building rented by
the Industrial Christian Home Association. 14 This,
however, was only the temporary location for the home, as
plans were drawn for a larger building. The Industrial
Home Association contained three departments to help any
Mormon women who left their polygamous husbands. One
would teach domestic industries like cooking, sewing,
and tailoring. The second department would include
mechanical industries like secretarial skills, telegraphy,
and silk reeling. An instructor would be provided as
well as a job placement program. The final department was
established to provide a temporary home for women and

13 Ibid.
14 Territorial Papers, "Letter to President from Caleb W. West," November 25, 1887.
children who had no other place to go.\textsuperscript{15} They were then ready for the acceptance of women aided by the association.

The first year that the home was in operation was a disappointment to the organizers of the project, because only a total of thirty-three people used the services provided by the home. Eleven women, fifteen boys, and seven girls were among the "inmates." A total of $6,955.90 was spent on the home for furnishings, supplies, salaries, rent, and clothing for these inmates. Only five women and five boys took advantage of the job placement program of the home and earned $212.82.\textsuperscript{16}

The administration of the Industrial Home was also a source of frustration for the members of the association. Responsibility for the home was divided between the association and a Board of Control headed by Governor Caleb West, the territorial governor. West and Jeanette Ferry both reported to Congress that this combination was inefficient and that friction existed between the two groups. Jeanette believed that part of the problem was that the duties of the Industrial Home Association and the Board of Control were never clearly outlined.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{15} Territorial Papers, Senate, Industrial Home, Hearing, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., May 7, 1886.
\textsuperscript{16} Territorial Papers, "To President from West," November 25, 1886.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.; also Territorial Papers, Industrial Home of Utah, Annual Report of the President, October 4, 1887.
The coming years did not show any signs of change in the number of Mormon women who used the facility. However, the Industrial Home Association continued to lobby Congress and promise that more women would be involved with the project, if the program was expanded. Plans for the new Industrial Home were drawn and Congress appropriated funds to construct the building. Still no great increase in the number of women who were using the facility occurred.  

In the midst of the enforcement of the Edmunds-Tucker Law and the many problems that the Mormons were facing at that time, the Exponent found the activities in which the gentiles were engaged to help the Mormons interesting. At one time the Exponent commented that "... they fail to remove the beam from their own eyes, but reach over the Rocky Mountains, penetrating into the very fastnesses to search and discover the mote in the eyes of the 'Mormons.'" In 1888, some prominent suffragists were in Salt Lake City and were invited to tour the Industrial Home. The matron of the home told the women that there was a need to expand the requirements for entrance. The Exponent sarcastically reminded its


19 "Comments," Exponent, October 15, 1888, p. 76.
readers that one woman and nine children were presently living in the home. "No wonder these charitable people who are so anxious to do good feel that their platform of work must be upon a broader plan." The Mormons also claimed:

The whole concern is a ridiculous farce from first to last, it is an experiment that has so far proved a failure; it has been in operation four years and reports at the present time nine inmates, rather an expensive experiment indeed. The Industrial Home might with all propriety be called "An Experiment Station."

The program began to be modified when the Utah Commission took over control of the home in place of the Board of Control in 1888. The new home was completed but the number of Mormon women entering the home did not increase. The Utah Commission attempted to explain why more women did not use the home. In 1889 they said in their yearly report:

As to the ultimate success of the Home, the Commission express no opinion . . . Whether the deluded women of polygamous marriages will, after a while, as the coils of the law slowly circle them about, avail themselves of the munificence which the Government offers them in the Home, remains to be seen. As yet but few have done so, and it appears by the report of Mrs. Jeanette H. Ferry, president of the Industrial Home Association,

20"Comments," Exponent, October 15, 1888, p. 76.
21"The Industrial Home an Experiment," Exponent, November 15, 1890, p. 84.
hereto appended, the number seems to be lessening.22

Jeanette Ferry also had some comments about why there were so few women coming into the home. They were told they are leaving their own people to come under Gentile rule; they are branded as paupers and ostracized by their own friends . . . The leaders of Mormonism hold their people opposed to the United States Government. They forbid entrance to this Home. The power of the priesthood is often stronger than suffering, conscience, home, or country.23

In 1890's report, the Utah commission added:

The fewness of the inmates in the Home is, in the opinion of the Commission, due to the restraining influence of the Mormon Church and to female pride, which interprets a position in the institution as an evidence of a degrading pauperism. Time and the advance of just reviews, it is to be hoped, will overcome these obstacles . . . This is but another evidence of the powerful hold which the priesthood . . have upon the will and action of the members.24

They also believed that the home encouraged some good because "it stimulated the church authority to greater diligence in caring for the class of people intended to


23Territorial Papers, Annual Report of the President, 1889.

24Territorial Papers, Report of the Commissioners of Registration and Elections on the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah, November 12, 1890.
be benefitted by this institution." Therefore, they believed the effort was not entirely wasted.

The number of women who were using the Industrial Home continued to decline so new plans were made to use the home more effectively. It was eventually made into government offices and at the time of Utah's statehood, the new state offices were housed in the old Industrial Home building. Later a private business bought the building and turned it into a hotel and then later an athletic club.

The Manifesto

The Edmunds-Tucker Law proved to be very effective in enforcing the law and pressuring the Mormon Church. The church was disincorporated, and property was confiscated and turned over to territory schools. Over one thousand Mormons were fined or imprisoned for polygamy and many others were hiding underground," fugitives from the law. The church ceased to function as an institution and was placed in a position in which new action had to be taken.

25 Ibid.


In the 1887 state constitutional convention, a provision was added in the constitution outlawing polygamy in the territory with the stipulation that only Congress could amend this provision. The General Authorities of the church advised all Mormons who could vote to approve of the constitution. As in the past, the bid for statehood was turned down, but a new change in the policy of the church was occurring.

George Q. Cannon told his son, Frank J. Cannon, in 1890 that changes would be made soon. On September 24, 1890, Wilford Woodruff, the president of the Mormon Church, issued a statement known as the Woodruff Manifesto, declaring that the church would no longer teach its members to practice polygamy and it was approved by the members of the church in the following general conference. Congress accepted this act of submission to the law and by 1894, an enabling act was passed in Congress allowing Utah to become a state. The constitution was completed in 1895, again containing an anti-polygamy clause, but also a clause restoring woman suffrage. In 1896, the long battle over polygamy was settled and Utah became a state.
Chapter IX

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ANTI-POLYGAMY SOCIETY

When the Manifesto was issued, the Anti-Polygamy Society had been dissolved for several years and in many ways their efforts were almost forgotten. During the time that the society existed, the anti-polygamy women often expressed their belief that in the future, the Mormons would thank the society for the work they had done, but the Mormons did not want to be freed from polygamy. There were many things that the APS women did not understand about the relationship that the Mormons had with their church.

The biggest misconception that the Anti-Polygamy Society held concerned some of the loyalties of the Mormons. They misunderstood these loyalties, underestimated them, and tried to ignore them. None of their plans to end polygamy considered the loyalty or even the devotion that existed between a man and his wives. The APS knew that there was a difference in the relationship between a husband and wife in monogamous marriages and polygamous marriages and the society interpreted this difference as a lack of any sort of ties between them. In Cornelia Paddock's novels, when the hero would "come
to his senses" and realize that he had erred when he took another wife, the man would make amends by leaving his second wife and returning to his "legal" one. This occurred in plural marriages but usually, wives were not "dropped" by the husband. There were stronger ties that existed in this relationship. Not even the plan for an Industrial Home considered the fact that most of the husbands of plural wives would not give up their family. This loyalty and devotion was one reason why polygamy was so hard to destroy and that the same women that the society was trying to save were the ones that worked the hardest to preserve polygamy. Although the anti-polygamy crusaders only thought that the first woman who was married in a polygamous relationship was the true wife, the other wives actually believed that they were married in a legal sense and deserved all of the privileges of being a wife.

The society also underestimated the loyalty of the Mormon women toward their leaders in the church. The women believed that their leaders were instructing them as God would instruct them. Some of these women would even testify that they "knew" that their leaders were prophets of God. The anti-polygamy women would not envision these men as prophets of God and could not understand why other women would believe them to be so. They believed that they were either being coerced in some way, were very naive, or else they were pretending
to believe for some personal gain. Since these women really believed that their leaders were men of God the APS found it very difficult to influence many of the Mormon women to accept the anti-polygamy philosophy.

However, the APS stated from the time that they were organized that they intended to "expose wrong, honestly, kindly, truthfully, yet fearlessly; but if people will come and stand between us and the wrong, it surely is not our fault if they get hit."¹ It was clearly not their purpose to consider the feelings of the Mormon women unless the women agreed with the philosophy of the society. The fact that most Mormon women wanted polygamy to continue was not a factor. Under these circumstances, with a Mormon majority, the APS has not been remembered on favorable terms and forgotten with many of the other things that happened in that period.

The next generation, also held many of the same beliefs and loyalties and did not think of the anti-polygamy reformers as any type of "saviors." The historians who wrote about the history of that turbulent anti-polygamy period were products of the same era. The Anti-Polygamy Society was mentioned in several of the Mormons histories that were written directly after the crusade, like B. H. Robert's Comprehensive History of the Church and Orson F. Whitney's The History of Utah,

¹"Our Position," Standard, April 1881, p. 4.
but the memory of polygamy was an idealistic one and anyone who sought to destroy it was acting against God. Under these conditions, the APS was forgotten. This was compounded since it was not even operating when polygamy was finally outlawed.

Although many of the things that the APS accomplished were not appreciated by the Mormons, and their activities were forgotten through the years, the society contributed to the over-all anti-polygamy movement. Orson F. Whitney said in the History of Utah:

While it is true that the growing hostility to plural marriage, enhanced by the ... decision in the Reynolds case, might have led eventually to some such movement ... it is none the less [sic] probable that had there been no Miles Case there would have been no general anti-polygamy agitation of so early a date. It was that case which brought the Anti-Polygamy Society into being, and it was that Society which gave birth to the wide-spread political and religious agitation that led to the enactment of the Edmunds Law.²

At the time it existed, the Anti-Polygamy Society attracted the attention of the country. They received sympathy from reformers like Lucy Hayes, Frances Willard, and Harriet Beecher Stowe.³ Newspapers all over the

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³ See: Standard, January 1881, p. 76; Jennie Froiseth, The Women of Mormonism, p. 2; "Anti-Polygamy," Tribune, November 16, 1878, p. 4; The title page of every issue of the Standard carried a quote from Harriet Beecher Stowe endorsing the APS.
country carried their message and reviewed some of their anti-polygamy novels that were written during the period when the society was active. Branches of the society were established in Chicago and New York City. Although they did not mention the society by name, The Exponent made a comment that a "prejudice" started against Utah and the Mormons at about the time that the society began. For a time the society led the crusade against polygamy, although it seems that they did such a good job of stirring up a reaction against Mormonism that they produced new crusaders that took over the work the APS started.

In 1882, the society gave itself a lot of credit for the anti-polygamy work.

We are certainly justified in asserting that the Standard, and the Anti-Polygamy Society through it, have done more than any other one agency in forming that public sentiment which have absolutely forced Congress to take the initiatory steps for suppression of Mormon polygamy.

The society also worked to end polygamy without outside pressure of special interest groups. The anti-polygamy movement accomplished goals that pleased many

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people who disagreed politically with the Mormons, but these people did not have much of a part in the actual crusade. The mining interests were only a part of the Standard long enough to start the magazine. Then the Tribune was in trouble, mining interests kept it afloat. The Standard however, discontinued the mining news and advertisements and did not return to them when they needed help. The Standard declared in the beginning that it was an independent journal.  

The society, although forgotten in the end, accomplished the goals that it set in the beginning of their crusade. They wanted to present the polygamy problem before the nation and keep the issue alive until something was done to abolish it. The Anti-Polygamy Society was the group that began the anti-polygamy crusade that resulted in the Woodruff Manifesto.

Chapter X

CONCLUSION

The Anti-Polygamy Society was established to stop polygamy in Utah. It did not plan any type of aid to the Mormon ladies, like the Industrial Home Association, but only wanted to agitate the issue so that polygamy would be stopped. They believed that the work they were doing was morally right. The society must be credited, in the end with being the group that started the big anti-polygamy crusade of the 1880's.

The society began as a reaction to Caroline Owens marriage to John Miles. This situation so enraged the non-Mormon women that they were motivated to organize. They followed what would be their usual pattern of dissent, a protest meeting and then a petition to Congress. After this meeting, the society organized to keep the issue of polygamy on the minds of the American people.

The society acted, although they realized that most of the Mormon women did not want their help, but they felt that they were a better judge of what was morally right. They also felt that those Mormon women who believed in polygamy were either fanatics, and were not really aware of what they were doing, or hypocrites, and knew what they were doing, but did not care. The
main agency for the hypocrites was the Relief Society and this organization was the group that the APS worked against.

The society began their activities right after they organized, as the Supreme Court delivered the Reynolds Decision that declared that anti-polygamy laws were constitutional. At this time two Mormon women were in Washington, D.C. and they were trying to gain support for the Mormons among the nation's leaders. The society denied many of the things that the Mormon women were testifying to the country's leaders, like President and Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes and George Edmunds. The Mormon women, however, were not able to accomplish much in the long run, because many of the people they came in contact with in Washington eventually took an anti-polygamy stand.

One of the biggest campaigns of the society was the job of expelling George Q. Cannon from the House of Representatives. Petitions and letters were sent explaining that he was not worthy of the office because he was not a citizen and he was breaking the law as a polygamist. In the end, the society believed that their efforts convinced the legislators not to allow Cannon to remain in Congress.

The years 1881-1882 were big ones for the anti-polygamy movement. Groups from all over the country urged Congress to enact laws to stop polygamy. The years' work culminated with the passage of the Edmunds
Bill, which opened the way for more convictions of polygamists, as well as disfranchising polygamists and not allowing them to hold office.

The main source of controversy that the APS encountered centered around the issue of Utah's woman suffrage. Woman suffrage groups believed it was vital for Utah to be successful in this extension of women's rights and any attempt to disfranchise Utah women could be potentially harmful to their movement. Many of the leaders of the APS had pro-suffrage sentiments, but they saw Utah woman suffrage only as a frustration of their efforts to end polygamy. They felt that the wives were multiplying their husbands' votes and electing more polygamists into public office. The APS took a conservative stand on the suffrage issue at first and only publicly advocated that polygamists be disfranchised while at the same time criticized Utah's woman suffrage as a "farce."

The society began to take a stronger stand against woman suffrage in its last years as they found that the Mormon women received support from national groups and many Congressmen were voting against anti-polygamy legislation because of the issue.

The society's newspaper, The Anti-Polygamy Standard, existed for three years. The first year had many articles dedicated to women and housewives rather than devoting all of its space to the anti-polygamy cause. Utah's mining interest also had a big part of the
magazine, but the second year found the pages increasingly more devoted to its main purpose, the anti-polygamy crusade.

One of the problems confronting the Standard was selling subscriptions. The journal always offered special deals to bring in new subscribers. The last issue was in 1883 and it promised a bigger and better Standard soon, but this promise never materialized.

Polygamy ended without the Anti-Polygamy Society and many of its prominent members. Cornelia Paddock stayed with the movement until the end, but even she was overshadowed by the dynamic work of Angie Newman. Cornelia served as secretary of the Industrial Home Association as long as it existed.

Polygamy was ended without the fanfare and the thanks that the idealistic ladies hoped at the beginning of their campaign. Their efforts may have been forgotten, but they should be credited as the group that began the anti-polygamy movement that eventually ended polygamy among the Mormons.
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B. SECONDARY SOURCES


APPENDIX A.

Mrs. A. G. Paddock,
Salt Lake City, Utah.

Mrs. Sarah A. Cooke,
President of the Woman’s National Anti-Polygamy Society.

Mrs. Jennie Anderson Froiseth.

UTAH'S ANTI-POLYGAMY SOCIETY
1878-1884

Barbara J. Hayward
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ABSTRACT

The Anti-Polygamy Society was established in 1878 to try to encourage Congress to abolish the practice of plural marriage in Utah Territory. In the brief time that it existed, the women of this Utah-based group sent petitions, circulars, and letters to Congress and many leaders of the country urging that laws be passed to end polygamy. Much of their work was also carried out in the society's newspaper, the Anti-Polygamy Standard.

By the time that laws were passed that restricted polygamy, the Anti-Polygamy Society no longer existed. Nonetheless, the society was important in the anti-polygamy crusade because it was responsible for starting the movement that finally ended polygamy.

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