ORDINARY ACCOUNTS OF EXTRAORDINARY VALUE:

MORMON PIONEER WOMEN'S LIFE WRITINGS

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"Mestre em Estudos Literários: área de concentração Literaturas de Expressão Inglesa"

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ABSTRACT

Considering personal literature as a distinct literary genre that reveals and preserves their authors' identity and voice, and that demands its own parameters for literary analysis, this study investigates two nineteenth-century Mormon women's life writings: Mary Jane Mount Tanner's journals and Patience Loader Rozsa Archer's autobiography, taking into account their value as historical documents, which not only demonstrate an effective way to access the past, but also have already proven to be fundamental for the reconstruction of the Mormon experience and preservation and conveyance of its group identity and collective memory.

Attempting at understanding how literature, history and memory merge, this study presents the development of the comprehension of memory as a social phenomenon and summarizes the contributions of important thinkers like Halbwachs, Le Goff, Connerton and Hobsbawm. It also provides an outline of the history of the United States in the nineteenth century to contextualize the historical and social frames in which those texts are inserted.

R E S U M O

A partir de considerações acerca da literatura pessoal enquanto um gênero literário diferenciado que, ao mesmo tempo, revela e preserva a identidade e a voz do autor, e que demanda parâmetros de análise literária específicos, este trabalho investiga as escritas pessoais de duas mulheres mórmons do século dezenove: os diários de Mary Jane Mount Tanner e a autobiografia de Patience Loader Rozsa Archer, considerando o seu valor enquanto documentos históricos que não somente constituem um bom método de acesso ao passado, mas que também tem se mostrado fundamental na reconstrução da experiência mórmon e na preservação e transmissão da identidade do grupo e de sua memória coletiva.

Visando compreender como literatura, história e memória se entrelaçam, esta pesquisa apresenta o desenvolvimento da concepção da memória enquanto um fenômeno social e resume as contribuições de importantes filósofos sobre o assunto: Halbwachs, Le Goff, Connerton e Hobsbawm. O estudo também traça, em linhas gerais, um resumo da história dos Estados Unidos no século XIX, proporcionando o panorama necessário ao entendimento das molduras históricas e sociais em que os textos se enquadram.

“And behold, there shall a new star arise,
such an one as ye never have beheld”

For Stella,
My Guiding Star

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

Many were the times when I thought my own challenges and trials, feelings and anxieties similar to the pioneers'. Along my way towards the accomplishment of this work, I had to stop many times for loading and unloading… I had to evaluate what was of real importance and value for me to carry on, and had to have the courage to leave so many desirable things behind. It was not rare that feelings of discouragement, inadequacy and exhaustion made me feel too weary to proceed. I would like to express my gratitude for those who were often by my side and, more importantly, lent me a hand and helped me push my handcart to the end of my journey.

Ricardo, my love, my friend, my companion, who has been supportive and my partner at all times.

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Heavenly Father, for His constant guidance and protection, and for blessing me with the unique opportunity of having all these people in my life.

“Mormonism is something more than a religion as the term is usually understood . . . American Mormons represent a cultural entity whose traditions, heritage, and experience deserve to be considered a vital part of the American mosaic.”

Michael Austin

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INTRODUCTION

In 1986, I joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and ever since I have been instructed in the doctrine and principles of the faith. Among many important teachings of our religion, one that has specially influenced my life is, “Whatever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection” (D&C130:18). Following the path so many Mormon women have walked before me, I decide to pursue further education, and I had but one certainty: it had to be in the literary field. During a course on research at Faculdade de Letras, UFMG, I was taught that graduate students had better choose a topic that had a strong appeal to them. I then started thinking of the various canonical writers and their literary works with whom I had some degree of acquaintance. Many of them truly exerted some fascination for me, yet, I was searching for that “strong appeal”. Unexpectedly, the idea of working with Mormon women came to my mind, and soon after that the idea of working with their personal writings. I confess that, in the beginning, I feared the reaction of the admission committee, as Mormon studies is still a nearly non-existent field of research in Brazil, but, to my surprise, the committee welcomed my research project.

As soon as I defined my research topic, I got in touch with Professor Sandra Ailey Petree, from Northwestern Okalahoma State University, a scholar of Mormon Women’s personal writings. Through her constant advice and support I was gradually instructed in the peculiarities of what I then learned belonged to a distinct literary genre. The choice of the texts for this study should follow some criteria that assured that they were preserved to the maximum, that only minimal editorial interference should be made, and that they should, to a large extent, convey their writer’s voice.

As one can easily suppose, finding primary sources for such a theme in Brazil was a major challenge. Accordingly, Professor Petree kindly provided the two texts for this study,

both of which had been transcribed by her and unpublished at the time: the journals of Mary Jane Mount Tanner and the autobiography of Patience Loader Rozsa Archer – whose manuscripts she was, at that time, preparing for publication under the series The Life Writings of Frontier Women.

A trip to the United States in July, 2005, allowed me to travel over the pioneer route, from Fayette, New York – the very cradle of the Church – to Salt Lake City, Utah, and surroundings, including Patience's and Jane Tanner's places.[1] That was not only an opportunity to do academic research but, to a certain extent, sense the pioneer experience. Besides revering its historical past, the Church has been making enormous efforts at its reconstruction. Many of the historical sites are owned and maintained by the Church, and some of them transformed into visitors' centers and museums.

In Nauvoo, Illinois, workshops of different kinds demonstrate nineteenth-century techniques of brick-making, weaving, bread-making, rope making, candle making, boot and shoe making. There, one can visit a post-office of the 1840s and learn about the cross-writing letter technique, and see what a general store stocked with frontier supplies was like. Original tools, equipment and products are displayed in the print shop, in the gunsmith, in the tin and in the blacksmith shops. Wearing typical nineteenth-century costumes, senior missionaries take visitors for a ride in a covered wagon pulled by yoked oxen, as they recount the pioneer experience. In Salt Lake City, the various museums, archives, libraries, monuments and parks never allow one to forget the Latter-day Saints' historical past.

The aim of this research is to investigate Mary Jane Mount Tanner's journals and Patience Loader Rozsa Archer's autobiography, taking into account their value as historical documents, and to understand their history as a way to fully comprehend and appreciate their literature. The study intends to analyze such women's performance within both the private and the public realms in order to examine their writing about their marriages, their offspring,

their extended families, and their community, as well as to understand how they echo and are affected by both American history and its contemporary mentality. Mormon women's life writings are undoubtedly a good way to access the past and have already proven to be fundamental for the reconstruction of the Mormon experience. They not only reflect, but also help build and maintain a strong group identity and preserve its memory.

Thus, through this research I will attempt to discuss how history, memory and literature merge and promote the knowledge and the reconstruction of the past, and, in the case of Mormonism, the promotion and maintenance of a collective memory and a group identity.

The thesis is divided into five chapters:

Chapter 1, "On Memory", aims at approaching how history – its inherent notions of time (past and present) – identity, literature, and memory interweave, and especially at analyzing the development of the comprehension of memory as a social phenomenon. The contributions of some prominent modern thinkers will be summarized.

Chapter 2, "Nineteenth-Century America: The Historical Context for Mormon Pioneer Women's Life Writings", intends to approach the development of some relevant events concerning various aspects of nineteenth-century North America, including the religious effervescence in the so-called Burnt-over District, the concept of "Manifest Destiny" and colonization of the West, the Utah War, and the American Civil War. The rise and history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, will be discussed in parallel, as it is inserted in the general history of the United States.

In Chapter 3, "Rem(a)inders", I discuss personal writings as a distinct literary genre that demand their own parameters for literary analysis. The chapter also discusses personal writings as a genre that reveals and preserves their authors' (in this case, women's) identity and stand as both remainders and reminders – since with the passage of time they are

ultimately what lasts, the sources that give access to the past, and make its unveiling and (re)construction possible.

Chapter 4, “Mary Jane Mount Tanner’s Odds and Ends”, provides an introduction to Jane Tanner’s journals, taking into consideration their particulars and examining the various themes in her accounts. As she narrates her lifestory, torn between her family and public affairs, Jane depicts major aspects of nineteenth-century Mormon Women’s lives and the emergence of special interest in the “woman’s question”.

Chapter 5, “Patience Loader Rozsa Archer’s Recollections of Past Days”, is an introduction to Patience’s autobiography, which provides a valuable witness of the early history of the Church, her emigration from England, her experience as a member of the Martin Handcart Company, the Utah and the American Civil wars, and her life in the mining camps in the Rocky Mountains.

In this thesis, I hope to show the value of Mormon personal literature as both historical documents and literary text, and, at the same time, to emphasize its importance for the conveyance and maintenance of values and collective memories. Literature should expand in order to allow Mormon personal literature a place (Beecher 2000: xiv), which does not necessarily mean to endorse it, but rather to consider its contributions to literary, historical and sociological inquiry.

i. A Note on the Editorial Methods Adopted

Since this study is based on the transcripts of the original documents prepared by Professor Petree, a clarification of the editorial procedures adopted is necessary. Special editorial methods must be adopted in order to preserve not only the text but also the “organic form which becomes almost a descriptor of the genre” (Petree 1999:43).

The USU Press editorial staff recommends that minimal interference should be made – only what is sufficient to make the manuscript readable. In order to preserve the originality

of the text, so as to maintain it as unaltered as possible, to preserve the writer's own voice, so to speak, minimal editing is recommended. Professor Petree clarifies the methods employed through the following general outlines[2]:

1) No changes are made to spelling, grammar, or punctuation unless the writer's own work is impossible or very difficult to understand. Then the editor makes minimal changes, always carefully indicated by brackets, and also explained in the introduction.

2) Even strikeovers and cross-outs in the original manuscript are reproduced. Some editors use carets to show that something is written above or below the line. Currently the publishing editor is using subscripts and superscripts to replicate as nearly as possible when the author has written above or below the line.

3) Endnotes can be used to explain an idiosyncrasy in spelling, punctuation, etc; or for elaboration or background information on persons, places, and things mentioned by the author.

ii. A Note on Quotations from the Original Texts

As the personal writings of Mary Jane Mount Tanner and Patience Loader Rozsa Archer still remained unpublished during my research, and because the entire texts are too voluminous to be included in the appendix, many of the passages quoted in this study are lengthy.

CHAPTER 1

O N M E M O R Y

> "Please assume ... that there is in our souls a block of wax, in one case larger, in another smaller, in one case the wax is purer, in another more impure and harder, in some cases softer, and in some of proper quality...Let us, then, say that this is the gift of Memory, the mother of the Muses, and that whenever we wish to remember anything we see or hear or think of in our own minds, we hold this wax under the perceptions and thoughts and imprint them upon it, just as we make impressions from seal rings; and whatever is imprinted we remember and know as long as its image lasts, but whatever is rubbed out or cannot be imprinted we forget and do not know."
> [Socrates to Theaetetus. Plato, *Theaetetus* 191d]

i. Preliminary Considerations

According to Greek mythology, the goddess Mnemosyne, personification of memory and the protector of arts and history, made available to mortals the power to go back to the past, which is precisely what makes of Mnemosyne the great organizer of time, as she connects past and present and allows an understanding of the pertinent relations of causality. Indeed, time can only exist for those who remember.

Knowledge is also inseparable from memory for "all things that are or have been may be learned and recalled" (Parada[3]). The apprehension of the mere act of being depends on memory, "and man, in order to be must be able to remember that he is, lest his very identity vanishes behind the clouds of inexplicable confusion. And once he remembers who he is, he still needs Memory in order to acquire and practice any science, art, or skill" (Ibid). Therefore, the gift of Memory was not only responsible for the existence of a sense of identity, both individual and collective, but also provided mortals with the power of immortality: once they recorded faces, gestures, deeds and words, mortals would never be forgotten, and thus in a sense would never die.

Symbiotically, literature both exists because of memory, since each narrated word would vanish had not memory preserved it, and remains the very reservoir of memory, as

well as a realm for reflection upon memory and its unfoldings. In this sense, “Mnemosyne owns all tales” (Parada) and they ultimately exist due to her power to preserve them. As Halbwachs puts it, “It is language, and the whole system of social conventions attached to it, that allows us at every moment to reconstruct our past” (Halbwachs 173).

As Hayden White has argued, historical writing depends on the form of narrative itself, and the stories of history are understandable by virtue of their reliance on fictional forms. Hence, the story depends not only on the facts, but also on their creation: that is, how the facts contained in the chronicle as components of specific kinds of plot structures are encoded (Adams 394). White states that

> the events are made into a story by the suppression or subordination of certain of them [story elements] and the highlighting of others, by characterization, motific representation, variation of tone and point of view, alternative descriptive strategies, and the like – in short, all of the techniques that we would normally expect to find in the emplotment of a novel or a play . . . This is why in history what is tragic from one perspective is comic from another, just as in society what appears to be tragic from the standpoint of one class may be . . . only a farce from that of another class (White 1978:84).

History, in this sense, is story, and the choices a writer (narrator) has to make consist of an essentially literary operation. And, as a collection of past events, history is not only evocable through memory, but according to Herodotus, the father of history, it is also responsible for preserving the collective memory “from decay the remembrance of what men have done . . .” (Parada) and therefore from forgetfulness.

This chapter aims at discussing how these various elements: history, inherent notions of time (past and present), identity, literature, and memory interweave, and especially at analyzing the development of the comprehension of memory as a social phenomenon. For

this purpose, the contributions of some prominent modern thinkers on these topics will be summarized.

ii. Halbwachs: Memory as a Social Phenomenon

In the late 1920s, French historiography was revolutionized by the idea of "cross-fertilization between the disciplines and the collaboration across departmental lines,"[4] proposed by the founders of a journal entitled Annales d´histoire économique et sociale, one of whom was the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. Aiming at reestablishing intellectual relations between history and other disciplines and at borrowing from them to enrich the writing of history (Halbwachs 11), Halbwachs proposed an examination of the constitution of memory, both as an individual process and as a process of social construction. For him, the past, rather than being simply preserved, is reconstructed in the light of the present. Halbwachs distinguished and also related individual and collective memory, claiming that "while the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember". Hence, the real bearer of memory is ultimately the individual, who recalls personal experience through

> social frames which either obviously or covertly dictate to him what is valuable and even necessary to remember, and how, in which sense-related, ideological, and ethical connections, and what can or has to be forgotten, is erased from an individual's cognitive-evaluative and active relationship to the world.[5]

The next fundamental distinction proposed by Halbwachs regards historical memory and autobiographical memory. For Halbwachs, historical memory "reaches the social actor only through written records and other types of records, such as photography" although "it can be kept alive through commemorations, festive enactment, and the like" (Halbwachs 23). A present generation's self-consciousness can only be accessed by counterposing its present

to its own constructed past by means of participation in commemorative meetings in which members of the current generation “recreate through imaginatively reenacting a past that would otherwise slowly disappear in the haze of time”(Halbwachs 24).

Autobiographical memory, on the other hand, “is memory of events that we have personally experienced in the past”. Halbwachs believed that social institutions play an essential role in the maintenance of historical memory, since the individual often cannot remember events directly but only by means of “reading or listening or through commemoration and festive occasions when people gather together to remember in common the deeds and accomplishments of long-departed members of the group” thus stimulating historical memory. Social institutions, therefore are both responsible for storing memories of the past and for interpreting them (Halbwachs 24).

In his theory, Halbwachs argues that “the apparent void between periods of effervescence and ordinary life are, in fact, filled and fed by collective memory . . . in the form of a variety of ritual and ceremonial acts of heroic actors and commemorated in bardic and epic poetry that keeps alive the memory during otherwise dull routines of everyday life”(Halbwachs 25). From Halbwachs’ standpoint, it is the concerns of the present that are the main force that shapes the past: “the beliefs, interests and aspirations of the present shape the various views of the past as they are manifested respectively in every historical epoch” (Halbwachs 25).

Barry Schwartz, a contemporary American sociologist, argues that collective historical memory depends not only upon such presentism but also on continuity and on cumulative aspects, since “it shows at least partial continuity as well as new readings of the past in terms of the present” (Halbwachs 26). Asserting that not only continuity but also change makes history, Coser declares that “the present generation may rewrite history but it does not do it on a blank page” (Halbwachs 34). In fact, considering memory a tabula rasa,

and emphasizing both the social and the interactive character of memory, Halbwachs relates an individual's reminiscences to the material and moral life of the societies and asserts that they are the result of the shared life experience of the individual with his peers. This means that the acquisition of memory occurs as soon as the individual takes on the memory of the group with which he relates to as his/her own, and therefore appropriates the group's collective representations. Halbwachs attributes the differentiation of individuals' memories to the varied and unique sets of experiences each of them undergo throughout their lives and how they combine those fragmentary and disconnected remembrances with the collectively consolidated grand-narrative.[6]

Halbwachs also introduced an important consideration concerning the localization of memories, according to which objects, facts and landmarks of the past might not only take part but also influence one's representation of the past, since through them the past might be accessed. Together with stones, monuments and buildings, rites and commemorations remain as landmarks of memory that could eventually either exert power in the representation of the supremacy of one group over other or allow oppressed groups to strengthen their sense of identity by means of recovering traces of their memory.

On religious collective memory, Halbwachs asserted, every religion "reproduces in more or less symbolic forms the history of migrations and fusions of races and tribes, of great events, wars, establishments, discoveries, and reforms that we can find at the origin of the societies that practice them" (Halbwachs 84). Furthermore, he claims that only by recalling, at least in rough outline, the point from which they took their departure long ago, can the people appreciate a religious movement or religious progress exactly (Halbwachs 85): a "new religion is not an absolute new beginning" since the adoption of larger and deeper beliefs does not presuppose an entire rupture with the framework of notions in which it has matured. Accordingly, religion reproduces the past in the sense that it still relies on its origins and

counts on religious elements of old cults that are assimilable into a new framework. In case of Mormonism, for instance, the whole movement ultimately arose because Joseph Smith had been raised within a family-oriented religiosity strongly influenced by the Puritan tradition of scriptural reading and interpretation, and prayer.[7] In Halbwachs words (86):

> Society must persuade its members that they already carry these beliefs within themselves at least partially, or even that they will recover beliefs which had been rejected some time ago . . . [society] enframes the new elements that it pushes to the forefront in a totality of remembrances, traditions, and familiar ideas.

Referring to Mormonism again, the belief that the calling of Joseph Smith as a prophet, seer and revelator was connected to the assumption that some prophecies concerning the restoration of the true gospel of Jesus Christ were being fulfilled.[8] In this sense, the establishment of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints represented the missing link, which both recovered the old rites, beliefs and divine authority from the past, and also legitimized the so-called "dispensation of fulness of times."[9]

As Halbwachs says, at first a society "does not foresee the consequences of the new principles that it asserts. Social forces, among others, prevail and displace the group's center of gravity. But in order for this center to remain in equilibrium, readaptation is required so that the various tendencies of institutions constituting the common way of life are adjusted to each other" (Halbwachs 86).

Another way in which religion reproduces the past concerns the profound meaning of myths. As the migrations and fusion of peoples are observed under the perspective of the believers, they present a depiction of the life, activities and figures of divine or sacred entities, and imagination provides them with a sensible form of existence, which is preserved through remembrance (as gods and heroes), and whose story is told and commemorated in

the form of a cult (Halbwachs 86-87). In Mormonism, the pioneers – who are extensively discussed in the present work, their sacrifice and migration exert a major fascination for believers, and their epic is continually retold and commemorated in the Mormon community.

The moral teaching established by the founder of the religion may also be fundamental, since they are based on atemporal truths, and the figure and remembrance of the individual who discovered them passes into the background (Halbwachs 88-89). Halbwachs cites the case in which Emile Durkheim[10] carefully analyzes the role of Siddhartha Gautama within the philosophy of Buddhism. Analogous to the case examined by Emile Durkheim, one may cite the case of Mormonism, whose doctrine could not have become known had Joseph Smith not revealed it. In the following passage, one may merely substitute Smith's name for the Buddha's. "But once such revelation had been made, the work of [Joseph Smith] was accomplished. From this moment on, he ceases to be a necessary factor of religious life. And this is why [Joseph Smith] cannot be a god. For a god is above all a living being with whom humans must reckon and on whom they must rely; but [Joseph Smith] is dead, he has entered [heaven]; he can no longer affect human events"(Halbwachs 89). Despite the fact that Joseph Smith is neither a mediator nor a savior, the superlative influence on the shape that life and religious feelings have taken within the LDS community were an indelible remembrance of his terrestrial life, faith in his words as being words of truth, and submission to the law he announced as the law of holiness. Thus, Smith remains the great knower and the propagator of knowledge.

Making a distinction between what he calls an attempt at "reliving" the past and "conformation to its teachings", Halbwachs remarks that "the past cannot be reborn, but we can fathom what it was like, and we are most successful if we have at our command well-established landmarks. Our success is also greater if the element of the past in question has occasioned a large number of reflections and if a series of thoughts has intersected with it:

these will help us to restore certain aspects of the past." And he adds that the best method to accomplish this consists of [. . .] those who have the best command of tradition, getting together and thinking in common, or better, remembering in common"(Halbwachs 103).

Halbwachs' ideas have indeed opened the way for the development of a remarkable generation of French historians, whose new historiography is known as the study of collective mentalities: Philippe Ariès, Georges Duby, Jacques Le Goff, and others.

iii. Le Goff: The History of Mentalities and Images from the Past

Much more concerned with institutions and with the social practice of ideas while less focused on concepts, the history of mentalities relies upon and gains precision from the history of values and the history of the Imaginary. In fact, as Le Goff claims, the history of mentalities is

> a history of intellectual productions linked not to texts, the spoken word, or gestures, but to images, or a history of the *imagination* [*imaginaire*] which allows us to treat the literary document and the artistic document as historical documents in their entirety, on the condition that we respect their specificity; a history of the modes of conduct, practices, and rituals that refer to a hidden, underlying reality, or a history of the Symbolic (. . .) (xviii, xix).

Hence, based on the idea that "every history should be a social history" (Le Goff xix) and through the incorporation of anthropological methods, the so-called New History aims at reaching "the deepest levels of historical realities, whether these be material, mental, or political, while taking care to preserve the structured unity of humanity and knowledge" (Le Goff xii). Using this conception, history may be understood as the "science of evolution of human societies" and has become an essential part of the need for individual and collective identity (Le Goff xxiii).

Since one of the historian's roles is to complete narrative with explanation, we must acknowledge the fact that history depends upon narrative, that is, to understand it as a literary genre, "an art at the same time as a science" (Le Goff xix). As Le Goff points out, "history is written, much more than in earlier days, under the influence of . . . collective memories", which is the "raw material" of history (xi). And it is precisely the collective memory that serves as a basis for the scientific creation of the so-called 'new history', which

> can only be interpreted as a 'revolution in memory' that causes memory to 'pivot' on a few fundamental axes: an openly contemporary problematics. . . and a resolutely retrospective procedure', 'the renunciation of linear temporality' in favor of multiple kinds of time as experienced 'at the levels where the individual takes root in the social and the collective' . . . (Le Goff 95).

In turn, "the discipline of History nourishes memory and enters into a great dialectical process of memory and forgetting experienced by individuals and societies" (Le Goff xi).

The history-memory association ultimately conveys the general obsession with a fear of a collective amnesia. Remembering might therefore be interpreted as a way of resisting amnesia, which Le Goff metaphorically sees not only as an individual perturbation echoing in the personality, but also as the (deliberate or accidental) lack or loss of the collective memory of peoples and nations that could provoke strong perturbations for the collective identity (Ferreira). Bearing in mind that the interest in the past serves the purpose of illuminating the present, and also the fact that the notion of time is not naturally given but a construction, the opposition between past and present turns out to be essential for the consciousness of time, which is a basic element of both history and memory.

Throughout history, human societies have made great efforts at trying to domesticate 'natural time'. Such efforts may be illustrated through the creation of calendars, which,

instead of being subject to nature, through 'the natural movement of the moon or the sun, the cycle of seasons, the alternation of day and night", are instead ruled by culture. "The calendar is the product and the expression of history; it is linked to the mythical and religious origins of humanity . . . It shows the efforts made by human societies to transform the cyclical time of nature and myths, of the eternal return, into a linear time, punctuated by groups of years . . . Historical time is rediscovering at a new, very sophisticated level the old time of memory, which is broader than history and supplies it with material" (Le Goff xix, xx). One of the contributions offered by the New History concerns the new conception of historical time according to which "history proceeds at different rates of speed, and the historian's task is above all to determine the rhythm of historical processes. It is not the superficial stratum, the rapid time of events, which is most important, but rather the deeper level of the realities which changes slowly" (Le Goff xxii).

Besides the true places of history, where the creators and dominators of collective memory are to be sought (states, social and political milieux, communities of historical experiences or of generations), a broader notion of 'place' in the collective memory is also essential for this approach to history. The word 'place' gains a variety of meanings – all of them relating to their status as memorials: 'Topographical places' refer to archives, libraries, and museums; 'monumental places' include cemeteries and architectural edifices; 'symbolic places' concern commemorative ceremonies, pilgrimages, anniversaries or emblems; and finally, 'functional places' are represented by manuals, autobiographies, or associations (Le Goff 95). Functional places have been collected and transformed into testimonies, which have furnished the material for history (Le Goff xvi). Moreover, testimonies provide the perception of a multiple time that seems to operate through superposition, which differs from the general increments of time recorded by official history (Ferreira). As the only remnant, the document, which according to Foucault "is not objective, innocent raw material, but

expresses past society's power over memory and over future" (Le Goff xvi), acquires then the status of monuments. The word monument derives from Latin *monumentum*, meaning memorial, and from *monēre*, that is to remind; a monument is thus essentially related to everything that might evoke past and perpetuate memory, including written artifacts (Ferreira). On regarding documents as monuments, Foucault declares that

> History in its traditional form undertook to 'memorize' the monuments of the past, to transform them into documents and to make these traces speak, although they are often non-verbal, or silently express something other than what they say; in our time history is what transforms documents into monuments, and in the place where one used to decipher the traces left by men, where one tried to recognize the image of what they had been, it now deploys a mass of elements that tries to isolate, group, make pertinent, to put into relationships, and to constitute as wholes (Le Goff 177).[11]

iv. Hobsbawm and the Invention of Traditions

The English historian Eric Hobsbawm discusses a new comprehension of the establishment and significance of traditions. Hobsbawm invites us to consider the fact that some traditions are invented. "Invented traditions" are sets of practices (with either ritual or symbolic nature) that are regulated by rules, tacitly or openly accepted, which aim at inculcating certain values and norms of behavior through repetition. Repetition in turn automatically implies a continuity in relation to the past; indeed, continuity in relation to an appropriated past is established whenever possible (Hobsbawm 9). He points out however, that as long as there is a connection between invented traditions and a historical past, very often the established continuity is rather artificial, since it is mostly a reaction to new situations that either remain as a reference to previous situations or establish their own past by means of quasi compulsory repetition (Hobsbawm 10).

As tradition not only focuses on but is also characterized by invariability, Hobsbawm emphasizes the difference between tradition and custom, emphasizing that, although tradition does not restrain innovation, its function in traditional societies is to guarantee that innovation is compatible with and legitimized by the historical past, and also that it supports and provides historical continuity. Nevertheless, the decay of custom inevitably affects the tradition with which it is associated.

Hobsbawm pinpoints another relevant distinction; this one between tradition and the notion of convention or routine, which does not have any relevant symbolic or ritual functions, although they may eventually be acquired. The excessive repetition of a given social practice tends to produce and to formalize a number of conventions and routines so as to facilitate the transmission of the custom. As long as their functions and justifications are technical rather than ideological, those networks of convention and routine do not constitute "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm 10-11). New traditions are invented when sufficiently large and rapid transformations occur. Adaptation is a possibility or a need even for old institutions that count on established functions, references to the past, and ritual practices (Hobsbawm 12, 13).

The traditions invented since the Industrial Revolution are eventually categorized by three interlinked groups. The first group concerns those that establish or symbolize social cohesion or the conditions for admission of a group or communities whether actual or artificial. The second group regards those that establish or legitimize institutions, status, or authority relations. The last group includes those traditions whose major focus is on socialization, the inculcation of ideas, systems of values and standards of behavior (Hobsbawm 17). The study of the invented traditions, Hobsbawm claims, is very elucidative of human relations with the past; nevertheless, in order for it to advance, it should always be contextualized within a wider social history, as I have done in my historical chapter, below.

Engrossingly, the invented tradition might figure as the very symbol of conflict of a given society (Hobsbawm 21). If we take into consideration the implementation of the principle of plural marriage by the Church in the nineteenth century as an example, we could distinguish two perspectives: that of the Mormons and that of the non-Mormons. For the LDS, plural marriage was ordained by God through revelation to Joseph Smith as a response to his inquiry on the practice in the ages of the biblical patriarchs, and was considered a part of the "restoration of all things".[12] Although the practice was acceptable as an important part of Christian History, in Western society, the non-Mormons saw polygamy mostly as an "immoral, barbaric, and deplorable" (Church History p. 425) invented tradition, which also represented a threat to "the strongly entrenched tradition of monogamy and the solidarity of the family structure" (Church History p. 256). Undoubtedly, polygamy was "the very symbol of conflict" of Mormon society in nineteenth-century America.

It could be argued that, following Hobsbawm's arguments, collective identities are not only subject to construction but also to reconstruction and are ultimately subordinated to dominant interests, insofar that they are also subject to manipulation and distortion. In conformity with this idea, André Leroi-Gourhan declares that

> tradition is biologically just as indispensable for the human species as genetic conditioning is to insect societies: ethnic survival depends on routine, and the dialogue that is established brings about the equilibrium between routine and progress, routine symbolizing capital necessity to the group's survival, and progress the intervention of individual innovation that produces a better survival (Le Goff 98).

Le Goff adds: "memory is an essential element of what will henceforth be called individual or collective identity, the feverish and anxious quest for which is today one of the

fundamental activities of individuals and societies. But collective memory is not only a conquest, it is also an instrument and an objective of power" (Le Goff 98).

v. Paul Connerton and the Transmission of Tradition

More recent studies have also contributed to the understanding of how memory is both conveyed and sustained throughout time. In his book *How Societies Remember* (1989), Paul Connerton endorses other studies that consider memory as a cultural faculty, such as the works of Halbwachs and Hobsbawm, and yet he comes up with a new idea: for him, ritual performances and non-inscribed practices are the vehicles that both transmit and guarantee the sustenance of traditions and ultimately of social memory.

In accordance with the previously mentioned thinkers, Connerton develops his theory bearing in mind that

> We experience our present world in a context which is causally connected with past events and objects, and hence with reference to events and objects which we are not experiencing when we are experiencing the present. And we will experience our present differently in accordance with the different pasts which we are able to connect that present. Hence the difficulty of extracting our past from our present: not simply because present factors tend to influence – some might want to say distort – our recollections of the past , but also because past factors tend to influence, or distort, our experience of the present (Connerton 2).

Following the notion of a "Social Imaginary", proposed by the New History, Connerton argues that "concerning social memory in particular, we may note that images of the past commonly legitimate a present social order. It is an implicit rule that participants in any social order must presuppose a shared memory (Connerton 3). Despite those shared assumptions, for Connerton they seem insufficient for the conveyance and sustenance of

images and recollected knowledge of the past, which for him is likely to be explained through "(more or less ritual) performances" (Connerton 4), which bring recollections and bodies together. Connerton contends that commemorative ceremonies remain as a reservoir of collective memory, as long as they are "commemorative only in so far as they are performative; performativity cannot be thought without a concept of habit; and habit cannot be thought without the notion of bodily automatisms" (Connerton 5). From this point on, Connerton attempts to explain the existence of an "inertia in social structures", which for him is still not explained.

In harmony with the other cited thinkers, Connerton proclaims that "all beginnings contain an element of recollection . . . the beginning has nothing whatsoever to hold on to . . . the absolutely new is inconceivable" (Connerton 6). Our particular experiences are based on a prior context that provides us with a framework of outlines, of typical shapes of experienced objects. "The world of the percipient, defined in terms of temporal experience, is an organized body of expectations based on recollection" (Connerton 6). Connerton then develops his argument concerning the two distinct areas of social activities in which recollection is at work: commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices.

In dividing memory into three categories: personal memory, cognitive memory and habit-memory, Connerton states that the personal memory is related to "those acts of remembering that take as their object one's life history". Such memories are located in and refer to a personal past, and the remembrance of an event is thus elucidative of a concern with one's self. Another aspect defended by Connerton is that since people reflect on their past under the influence of their actual present, which gives them a certain distance, there is a kind of doubling (I who speak now/ I who experienced an event in the past). Such memory claims figure significantly in their self-descriptions since their concept of their own character, their self-knowledge, is determined by the way they view their own past actions' influences. Thus,

> the important connection between the concept of personal identity and various backward-looking mental states . . . Through memories of this kind, persons have a special access to facts about their own past histories and their own identities, a kind of access that in principle they cannot have to the histories and identities of other persons and things (Connerton 22).

I would partly disagree with this generalization and would suggest that personal writing should be considered a wider category, a literary genre, as Petree claims (1999:7). Although little distinction has been made, the terms of types of writings such as journals, diaries, letters, as well as autobiographies deserve to be more precisely defined and these unique types deserve to be recognized as sub-genres. In fact, in autobiographies, there is an implied distance between the moment of writing and the moment when the event took place. Indeed, as several of the theorists previously mentioned have agreed, the passage of time interferes in the process of reconstruction of the past. As a result, it could be argued that autobiographies, by their very nature, "interpret and usually exaggerate and aggrandize events, whether consciously or unconsciously" (Petree 1999:9). A journal, on the other hand, "is an on-going, not entirely recollected, record of events. It may or may not consist of daily entries, but it will be a record made fairly close to the event in time, and it will occur in a context of time and place which reveals the individual in a specific milieu" (Petree 1999:9). See Chapter 3, section vi for a discussion on genre.

The second category, cognitive-memory, requires that the person who remembers that thing must have met, experienced or learned of it in the past. It is related to the meanings of words, lines of verses, jokes, stories, layout of a city, mathematical equations, truths of logic, or facts about the future (Connerton 22).

Finally, there is habit-memory, which per se involves a capacity to reproduce a certain performance. With respect to the act of writing, Connerton remarks that it is the most

obvious example of inscription and has an irreducible bodily component. And adds, “we tend to forget this; writing is a habitual exercise of intelligence and volition which normally escapes the notice of the person exercising it because of this familiarity with the method of procedure” (Connerton 77). In addition, the significance of invariability discussed by Hobsbawm is also relevant, when Connerton states that

> The impact of writing depends upon the fact that any account which is transmitted by means of inscriptions is unalterably fixed, the process of its composition being definitely closed. The standard edition and the canonic work are the emblems of this condition. This fixity is the spring that releases innovation. When the memories of a culture begin to be transmitted mainly by the reproduction of their inscriptions rather than by ‘live’ tellings, improvisation becomes increasingly difficult and innovation is institutionalize (Connerton 75).

Connerton sees inscriptions, hence texts, as privileged objects of interpretation, which is after all an object of reflection. Reflection on the practice of interpretation is a cumulative process that is also a result of the attempt to understand what has been handed down within a given culture from the past, and

> what is handed down in a form of a text within a single culture is transmitted like nothing else that comes down to us from the past in that culture. Detached both from its producers and from any specific addressees, a text can lead a life of its own; it enjoys relative cultural autonomy (Connerton 96).

Connerton (21) contends that “we all come to know each other by asking for accounts, by giving accounts, by believing or disbelieving stories about each other’s past and identities”, and in relation to writers of memoirs declares that they

> see their life as worth remembering because they are, in their own eyes, someone who has taken decisions which exerted, or can be represented as having exerted, a more or less wide influence and which have visibly changed part of their social world. The 'personal' history of the memoir writer has confronted an 'objective' history embodied in institutions, or in the modification or transformation or even overthrow of institutions: a programme of educational training, a pattern of civil administration, a legal system, a particular organisation of the division of labour . . . It is this perceived capacity of making a personal intervention that makes it possible for the writers to conceive their life retrospectively, and frequently to envisage it retrospectively, as a narrative sequence in which they are able to integrate their individual life history with their sense of the course of an objective history. But what is lacking in the life histories of those who belong to subordinate groups is precisely those terms of reference that conduce to and reinforce this sense of a linear trajectory, a sequential narrative shape: above all, in relation to the past, the notion of legitimating origins, and in relation to the future, the sense of an accumulation in power or money or influence [. . .] For it is essential in perceiving the existence of a culture of subordinate groups to see that this is a culture in which the life histories of its members have a different rhythm and that this rhythm is not patterned by the individual's intervention in the working of the dominant institutions (Connerton 19,20).

Not only do we situate individual behavior with reference to the place in their life history but also with reference to its place in the history of the social settings to which they belong. As Connerton announces, "the narrative of one's life is part of an interconnecting set

of narratives; it is embedded in the story of those groups from which individuals derive their identity (Connerton 21).

Besides sanctioning the work of Halbwachs and of the French historiography, Connerton's study also supplies them with additional ideas, when he says that, considering the fact that the duration of a social group exceeds the lifespan of any single individual, in order to 'remember in common', it proves to be more important to *transmit* the mental representations relating to the past of a specific group to its younger members, than simply being able to retain it. Communication between individuals, thus, is determinant for understanding memory as a social phenomenon (Connerton 38). Connerton's contention is that "to study the social formation of memory is to study those acts of transfer that make remembering in common possible". For this purpose, he recommends the isolation and consideration in more detail of certain acts of transfer that are to be found in both traditional and modern societies. Although they are not the only constituents of communal memory, commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices are crucial acts of transfer, which lead us to see that images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past are conveyed and sustained by (more or less) ritual performances (Connerton 39,40).

To sum up, the relevance of the question of memory is indubitable, and not only has it been a recurrent concern throughout time, but it has also fascinated scholars from the various disciplines - such as philosophy, anthropology, psychology, sociology, and history - who have been collaborating to come up with a better understanding of the constitution, importance, and functions of memory as a social phenomenon. A great part of the enchantment exerted by memory is because memory is in the end the power that transcends life and death; the bridge that provides humans with explanation, understanding, and justification and gives them the hope of redemption through times that are still to come. As Phlippe Ariès observes:

> Perhaps men today feel the need to bring to the surface of consciousness the feelings of another time, buried in a deep collective memory. An underground research of anonymous wisdom: not atemporal wisdom or truth, but empirical wisdom which rules the family relations between human collectivities and each individual, nature, life, death, God and the beyond (Ariès 1990:175).

The notions and theories presented by these thinkers will be used to support the discussion in which the maintenance of the historical and collective memory and the establishment of a group identity are conveyed through the historical documents, the writings of the two women, which are ultimately monuments that eternalize Mormon history through individuals' perceptions and words. However, before such a discussion can be presented, they must be inserted in their historical context, which is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA:

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR MORMON PIONEER WOMEN'S LIFE WRITINGS

Widely recognized as the century of ideology and power, the nineteenth century was the background for many remarkable social and historical events that profoundly affected and influenced the lives of thousands of people all over the world, particularly in the United States. Politics, economics, the frontier, transportation and communications, religious freedom, civil rights, domestic life and gender roles are some of the many relevant issues that not only are intrinsically connected to the notions of ideology and power but that also underwent radical changes throughout that century. Moreover, as Mormon history dovetails with general American history, all of these notions inevitably underlie Mormon pioneer women's personal life writings. In order to set the scene for the personal writings that this study aims at analyzing, and which ultimately help in the reconstruction of a global history, this chapter outlines the development of relevant events of nineteenth-century North America.

i. America's Mission

Even though the American people originally derived from many other nations, the sense of a common nationality started to emerge during the American Revolution, as Christopher Gadsden, leader of the Charleston radicals, claimed: "There ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker, known on the Continent; but all of us Americans"(1765). As the American Revolution carried on, so did the sense of an American nationalism, which was the manifestation of an idea of a divine mission. In fact, Jefferson's "Declaration of Independence" (1776), established upon the great principle of human equality, not only suggests America's political detachment from other nations but also from their historical past,

their tragedies or triumphs. Actually, such a declaration attempts to confer on the United States the status of a new-born nation, which is instead connected to the future (O'Sullivan 1839). Hence, for the Americans (here understood as the ethnic-Anglos from the U.S.), their nation had a special and divine (com)mission, as the term first coined by journalist John O' Sullivan reveals in an article entitled "Annexation" [13] which reads: ". . . our manifest destiny [is] to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions".

The notion of the United States having a "manifest destiny", which underlies elements of American exceptionalism, nationalism and expansionism, implies a strong belief that "God (Providence) had given the United States a mission to spread republican democracy (the great experiment of liberty) throughout North America" (see Appendix 2).[14] Although the term was coined only in 1839, the subliminal general notion of America's divine mission seems to be deeply rooted in the American imagination, and can be illustrated by the statements of prominent former political leaders, such as John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, who, as early as 1630, compared the Puritan commonwealth as representing a "city upon a hill", in an allusion to the Gospel according to St. Matthew, chapter 5, verse14: "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid". Jonathan Edwards claimed that America was singled out by God as "the glorious renovator of the world", while John Adams announced the opening of America as "a grand scheme and design in Providence for the illumination and the emancipation of the slavish part of mankind all over the earth". Accordingly, Jefferson's Declaration of Independence was eventually "a call to lead the way for all mankind toward liberty and equality" (Tindall 150).

America's territorial expansionism had a strong impact on the Native American population and incrementally compelled their resettling further west, sometimes through force and mostly with reluctance. Tindall claims that Indians were then considered "barbaric

impediments to white social progress" (262). In 1830, signed into law by President Andrew Jackson, the Indian Removal Act justified the relocation of American Indian tribes living east of the Mississippi River in the United States to lands further west. Among the results of such removal efforts, often through the use of force or great pressure, were the relocation of approximately 100,000 American Indians and the resulting so-called "Indian Wars", which ultimately resulted in the decimation of the Native American peoples.

Both the Native Americans and the Mormons constituted two minority groups that were pushed forward into the American West, which was precisely the territory where the two groups would meet. Actually, the Latter-day Saints acknowledged the American Indians, whom they referred to as the "Lamanites", a remnant of the house of Israel, to whom great promises were extended. Such knowledge was revealed through The Book of Mormon promoting "a strong sympathy on the part of the Saints towards the Indians; and there was a great reason to believe that this sympathy might become mutual" (Smith 1980: vols 3, xxix). It is very doubtful that the Indians were aware of Mormon problems or recognized them as a troubled people, persecuted like themselves; for the most part Native Americans thought all white people to be basically their enemies. Nevertheless, they were often kind to and supportive of groups of white people who showed them respect and did not seem to intend to displace them. Brigham Young's Indian policy was to feed them, not fight them. Nevertheless, there were Indian altercations occasionally, but for the most part the Mormons, while uneasy about Indians, escaped attack.

In Patience Loader Roza Archer´s Reccolections (Sic) of Past Days there is an account of one small wagon train, with two or three wagons, that was destroyed. According to her account, a man named Babbit, an individual wagon master not sent by Church authorities, who carried goods to and from the valley, was attacked and killed, along with all the seven or eight people with him. There was one young handcart emigrant with him, and

her child, who were both killed. Babbit had offered speedier transportation to the valley than the handcarts could make. Other than the Babbit train, Indian problems for the most part were local skirmishes, seldom resulting in much death or damage.

In his introduction to History of the Church, Roberts states that the Mormons were also falsely accused of "seeking to enter alliance with the Indian tribes of the west for the purpose of driving the old settlers from their possessions in Western Missouri, in order that the Saints with the Indians might possess the land to the exclusion of the 'Gentiles.'" (Smith 1980: vols 3, xxx). And in 1836, when the Saints were removed from Clay County, these accusations were publicly made as a further justification for their removal. Later, in 1857, the formation of alliances between Mormons and Indians with the purpose of conspiracy against American citizens was also alleged but never proven.

ii. American Religious Character and the Beginning of Mormonism

As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Northeastern United States experienced the influence of religion with the arrival and settlement of the Pilgrims, who, in search of religious freedom, sailed from Europe to build a Christian commonwealth where they could freely practice their style of religion and live according to their own laws. The Puritans, as they were derogatively referred to, derived from the Protestant Reformation and were ruled by moderation in all things except piety (Tindall 54).

Although the Puritan ministers were very influential in the early years of colony, Wade claims that "by the end of the 1600s . . . the clergy were no longer the undisputed leaders of colonial opinion" since various factors, including the witchcraft trials and hangings in Massachusetts in the 1690s, contributed to the colonists' criticism of their religious leaders. Moreover, the arrival of non-English immigrants from different sects in the 1700s also weakened the privileged position of the Puritans (Wade 61). Nevertheless, religion still

played a crucial role in people's lives, since it provided the community with a sense of purpose, a better explanation of the world, and the hope of an afterlife (Middleton 284).

Meanwhile, in Europe, a scientific revolution challenging old premises was taking place. Destabilizing the notion of an earth-centered universe in favor of heliocentric system proposed by Nicolaus Copernicus, together with Isaac Newton's theory of gravity, Enlightenment[15] thought brought an emphasis on natural law and reason. Actually, many of these concepts could be reconciled with established beliefs and theological explanations of the world, since the new insights of natural sciences could be seen by religious people as an evidence of the glory of God. Since the U.S. was receptive to the new science, it too was profoundly affected by the climate of thought, which ultimately fitted the American experience (Tindall 63). As a result of the Enlightenment project, together with the growing importance of formal education needed for "right reason" to interpret the Scriptures (Tindall 302), was the growing anti-religion of the population at large. As Tindall declares, "many people seemed to be drifting away from the old moorings of piety and, [. . .] intellectually, the educated classes were falling into deism and skepticism" (66).

Middleton also points out the "distancing of the ministers from their flock" and the resulting "drift toward clericalism" as one plausible cause for the subsequent mass religious movement known as the Great Awakening, which caused considerable disquiet (285). The eighteenth century's wave of evangelism, the so-called Great Awakening, "began in a number of different places as individual ministers sought to revive religious feelings through evangelical methods," in which "efforts involved placing greater emphasis on the four gospels with their message of glad tidings and salvation" (Middleton 288). The movement consisted of an attempt to re-center religion "in the heart rather than on the head, on faith rather than on reason, and on grace rather than good works". The fact that the movement reached out to the mass of the population through preaching in fields, perhaps makes its style

more remarkable than its theology. In fact, in the open-air mass meeting, “not much was required for religious topics to be supplanted by political and social ones” (Middleton 289).

In spite of experiencing the Great Awakening and its rapid sweep through the colonies, American thought, by the end of the eighteenth century, was still largely influenced by Enlightenment secularism, and in 1800 an estimated rate of only one out of fifteen Americans belonged to a religious society. As a result, fears of the establishment of secularism triggered a revival which became known as the Second Awakening. An area in western New York State, from Lake Ontario to the Adirondacks, the so-called “Burned-over District”, as named by the evangelist Charles Grandison Finney, was especially notorious for its fervent religious revival movements. The name was applied through analogy to forests devastated by fire, since this area was heavily evangelized during that period and said to have no “fuel” (unconverted population) left to “burn” (convert).

This area was precisely the place where the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints had its beginning. With the Smiths’ religious influences primarily family-oriented rather than church-oriented, members of the Smith family had been trained in Bible study and in prayer. Influenced by the current religious excitement, young Joseph Smith, then fourteen years old, felt a strong desire to affiliate himself with a church. Nevertheless, he felt deeply confused by the fact that although “various ministers had been united in their efforts when the revival commenced they disagreed sharply among themselves when the converts began to file off to the various congregations” (Hinckley 2). Smith mentions his impressions on the powerful religious turmoil in the so-called Burned-Over District at that time:

> Some time in the second year after our removal to Manchester, there was in the place where we lived an unusual excitement on the subject of religion. It commenced with the Methodists, but soon became general among all the sects in that region of country. Indeed, the whole district of country seemed

> affected by it, and great multitudes united themselves to the different religious parties, which created no small stir and division amongst the people, some crying, "Lo, here!" and others, "Lo, there!" Some were contending for the Methodist faith, some for the Presbyterian, and some for the Baptist.
> For, notwithstanding the great love which the converts to these different faiths expressed at the time of their conversion, and the great zeal manifested by the respective clergy, who were active in getting up and promoting this extraordinary scene of religious feeling, in order to have everybody converted, as they were pleased to call it, let them join what sect they pleased; yet when the converts began to file off, some to one party and some to another, it was seen that the seemingly good feelings of both the priests and the converts were more pretended than real; for a scene of great confusion and bad feeling ensued—priest contending against priest, and convert against convert; so that all their good feelings one for another, if they ever had any, were entirely lost in a strife of words and a contest about opinions. (Smith 1980: vols1, chapter 1- 1, 2)

Troubled by spiritual anxieties, Smith decided that he should continue to study the Bible on his own, and one day happened to be reading the Epistle of James I,v, which reads, “If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him”. This epiphanic moment led Joseph Smith to a grove where he could, in reclusion, pray and receive from God the wisdom promised in the passage and eventually discover which church he should join. According to Smith, the response to his prayer was a vision in which two personages standing above him appeared, one of whom called him by name and pointed to the other saying “This is my beloved Son.

Hear Him!" Smith claimed that during this vision he learned, among other things, that he should join none of the churches since none of them was a true church.

If, on the one hand, Smith's family reaction was supportive, on the other hand, the community's definitely was not. In fact, Smith's declaration of this vision represented serious departures from current theological assumptions: first, the negation of all other creeds and sects; second, the assertion of the existence of God and Jesus Christ as two distinct physical beings, rather than one spiritual one, the composition of the Christian godhead. As a result, the pattern for the rest of Joseph Smith's life was established: opposition, persecution, threats, violent attacks, and frequent incarcerations. Later, in 1823, according to the accounts of Mormon History, Smith translated[16] a document from golden plates given to him by an angel. This document, known as The Book of Mormon, became the cornerstone of the new religion. Finally in April 6, 1830, Smith established his church, soon gathering converts by the thousands.

iii. Persecutions and Migrations

Mormon history was powerfully marked by significant elements also common to ancient God-fearing peoples who, seeking to obey what they believed were divine commandments, left everything behind and undertook a trek in search of a promised land. The Chosen People were often guided by prophets such as Moses, who led the Israelites out of Egyptian bondage, or Lehi, who was, according to The Book of Mormon, a Hebrew prophet who led his family and followers from Jerusalem to a promised land in the western hemisphere about 600 BCE.; as well as the Puritan forefathers, who left their former land in search of a "promised land" where they could enjoy religious freedom. Following the prophet not only required a disposition for renouncing temporal stability, but also determination for facing opposition and persecution. However, for the believers, the exodus established both

the physical and spiritual path for the fulfillment of God's promises concerning His people as chosen, as the Scriptures illustrate:

> And the Lord said unto Moses, depart, and go up hence, thou and the people which thou hast brought up out of the land of Egypt, unto the land which I sware unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, Unto thy seed will I give it (Ex 33:1).
>
> And the Lord said unto me, Arise, take thy journey before the people, that they may go in and possess the land, which I sware unto their fathers to give unto them (Deu 10:11).
>
> And inasmuch as ye shall keep my commandments, ye shall prosper, and shall be led to a land of promise; yea, even a land which I have prepared for you; yea, a land which is choice above all other lands. (Book of Mormon, 1 Ne 2:20)

Like those ancient prophets, Smith claimed to have received sacred revelations concerning a land of promise. According to the book The Doctrine and Covenants, the passage below is a "revelation given through Joseph Smith the Prophet, at Fayette, New York, on January 2, 1831. The occasion was a conference of the Church":

> And I will give it unto you for the land of your inheritance, if you seek it with all your hearts.
>
> And this shall be my covenant with you, ye shall have it for the land of your inheritance, and for the inheritance of your children forever, while the earth shall stand, and ye shall possess it again in eternity, no more to pass away (D&C 38:19,20).

Misunderstood by the hegemonic religious groups and amid an environment of growing intolerance and persecution, Smith and his followers departed in search of a

“promised land” where they too could enjoy religious freedom. The exodus westward first reached Kirtland, Ohio, where significant doctrinal orientations were undertaken, the priesthood established, the first temple erected, and the official record of Church history begun. In addition, it was in Kirtland where church members were instructed to keep personal records.

By following the Puritan tradition of writing autobiographies, the Latter-day Saints managed to, at the same time, manifest their faith and, under its light, justify their actions. Moreover, both the Bible and The Book of Mormon were sacred books written by prophets who recorded their religious and secular histories. Not only did these books serve as a pattern for the Mormons but they also contained admonitions regarding the importance of record keeping.

> Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another: and the Lord hearkened, and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name. (Mal 3:16)

In addition, as Beecher argues, the injunction contained in The Doctrine and Covenants “Behold, there shall be a record kept among you” (D&C 21:1) “has been interpreted in practice to apply to Latter-day Saints individually as well as institutionally”.

Concerning content and style, Beecher states:

> Drawing on the literary tradition of the previous three centuries, early LDS biographers took as models the "life and times" forms, depicting the public achievements of Church leaders. Usually the works reflected the double value placed on Latter-day Saint individuality and community by merging the life of the individual with the history of the movement. Often didactic, these works were defensive in tone, tending to conceal as much as they revealed about the character and experience of the subject. Sensitive facts were either omitted or

> passed over lightly: a man's excommunication, his plural wives, an altercation with a fellow churchman, or an unsuccessful venture. Sometimes, of course, such facts were already known; in that case, the biographer's role often became one of explaining them away.[17]

Later, in 1978, the LDS prophet Spencer W. Kimball, declared that “Those who keep a book of remembrance are more likely to keep the Lord in remembrance in their daily lives. Journals are a way of counting our blessings and of leaving an inventory of these blessings for our posterity". [18]

Due to persecution and opposition, the Saints were forced to abandon the city and move to several places in Missouri, where they again faced intolerance and harassment. Finally, in 1839, Smith and his followers came to western Illinois, where they were kindly received. They drained a swamp in a place called Commerce, where the Mississippi river “makes a broad bend, giving the land on its east bank the appearance of a promontory”. There, they settled for approximately seven years and erected a remarkable city which they named Nauvoo, derived from the Hebrew, meaning “the beautiful location”. At first, Nauvoo “was an unhealthy place, so wet that a man had difficulty walking across most of it, and teams became mired to the hips” (Hinckley 64), but the Latter Day Saints progressively transformed it into the largest urban center in the state.

Besides the genuine hospitality and sympathy of common folk, one of the reasons the Mormons were so welcome lies in the fact that a political dispute was going on, and both the Democrats and the Whigs were eager to obtain the Mormon vote. The Mormon community benefited from this situation, gaining considerable political and legal autonomy, the right to establish a university and a city militia, called the Nauvoo Legion. Cultural and social life was very intense and, in order to meet public needs, civic groups built a music hall and cultural hall, and priesthood quorums planned their own meeting halls. Church-sponsored

construction of the Nauvoo house, a grand hotel, and the Nauvoo Temple gave Nauvoo's growth religious meaning. The temple was a central focus of Nauvoo religious life and the members of the church supported its construction with tithes of time and means. Meanwhile, the mission of preaching continued. Members of the church were called on proselytizing missions, some in the eastern states, others in Canada and in the British Isles. But the Mormons did not remain popular.

The reasons for Missourians' hatred for Mormons were various, as Limerick points out

> They had unsettling religious, economic and political practices; they were nonetheless prosperous, did not hold slaves, and could control elections by voting in a bloc. They were a peculiar people, seriously flawed to the Gentile point of view. Mormons were white, but the Missourians still played on most of the usual themes of race hatred. When the governor of Missouri suggested a war of extermination against the Mormons, he made one point clear: the absence of a racial difference could not keep white people from thoroughly hating each other (281).

And, not much later, "anti-Mormon feelings began to coalesce in Illinois". Resistance and prejudice against the Church arose once again, and neighborhood citizens "became anxious and jealous over the growing economic, political, and religious dominance of the Mormon city". Soukup adds that "Smith's increasing political activism there (he was the commander of the local militia, Justice of the Peace and a candidate for U.S. President) inflamed Nauvoo's non-Mormons, who saw the makings of a dangerous theocracy".[19]

Such a "tightly knit social organization"often caused Mormons to be seen as a threat and often "roused the hostility of neighbors" (Wade 268). Besides their "novel religion, their occasional experiments on communitarianism, their ability to vote in a bloc, their very

separatism, made them targets for suspicion and hostility" (Limerick 282). As pioneer Appleton Milo Harmon described in his journal:

> the tide of emegration in to Nauvoo had for a time been gradualy increasing. and had caused a Spirit of Jelousey to arise in the breasts of our eneymies they feard that if they left us thus alone all men would believe on us and the Mormons would take away their place and nation. and hold the balance of power. acordingly our old enemies renewed the attact and new ones Joined in the prececution until it became quite warm.[20]

As a result, in June of 1844, non-Mormons in the neighborhood counties attacked Nauvoo and arrested Joseph Smith, the prophet, and his brother Hyrum and two other faithful members of the church, Willard Richards and John Taylor. On June 27, 1844 a mob attacked Carthage's weakly defended jail and murdered both Joseph and Hyrum. Feelings of fear, grief, and desolation overcame church members. Shortly afterward, Brigham Young was officially supported as the new president and prophet of the church, and, through faith and spiritual experiences, church members´ "loyalties and confidence were transferred from Joseph Smith to Brigham Young and other members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles" (Petree 1999:34).

iv. The Great Trek Westward

Having lost their peace and being forced to flee the city, the members of the church abandoned their houses, their comfortable lives, their magnificent temple, and very often family and friends never to be seen again , and, following the instructions of their new leader, Brigham Young, the "American Moses", started their long journey to the Rocky Mountains. Taking into account the role of the trek in the Mormon experience, both as history and myth, Limerick argues that "to the Mormons, this relocation fit smoothly into their providential history: God´s chosen people had once again undergone persecution and then been rewarded

with a refuge and a homeland, a North American Zion" (Limerick 282-283). As Wallace Stegner remarked, "For every early Saint, crossing the plains to Zion in the Valleys of the Mountains was not merely a journey but a rite of passage, the final, devoted, enduring act that brought one into the Kingdom"(Bashore).[21]

Their journey started down Parley Street (Nauvoo) towards the Mississippi river, the so-called Street of Tears, the beginning of their Trail of Hope, where their experiences and impressions, once recorded in personal journals, currently stand as landmarks[22]:

Mary Field Garner describes the last minutes of preparation before fleeing across the Mississippi river:

> We hurried to pack some food, cooking utensils, clothing and bedding, which was afterward unpacked and strewn over the ground by the mob as they searched for fire-arms. Mother had some bread already in the kettles to bake. Of course she did not have time to bake, so she hung it on the reach of our wagon and cooked it after we crossed the Mississippi river.

George Q. Cannon reported on the importance of faith and described how challenging it was for the Saints to be expelled from Nauvoo. He reinforced the emotional burden brought on by the uncertainties and fears of the unknown future and hardships to come:

> Those of us who can remember when we were compelled to abandon Nauvoo, when the winter was so inclement know how dark and gloomy the circumstances of the saints were, with the mob surrounding our outer settlements and threatening to destroy us and how trying it was to the faith of the people of God. The word was to cross the Mississippi and to launch out into an unknown wilderness to go where, no one knew. Who knew anything of the terrors of the journey thither, or of the dangers that might have to be met

> and contended with? Who knew anything about the country to be traversed? Moving out with faith that was undisturbed by its unknown terror, it was by faith that this was accomplished.

Newell Knight depicts the emotional bonds that made Saints hesitate to step forward and wish not to have to go ". . . here we all halted and took a farewell view of our delightful City. . .We also beheld the magnificent Temple rearing its lofty tower toward the heavens . . . My heart did swell within me."

Priddy Meeks mentions the haste in leaving the place and the need to have enough courage to leave everything one had behind: "I had a small flock of sheep which I had not time to sell. These I left, together with my house and lot, the former containing my furniture and books"

Bathseba Smith's account depicts her caring concern with keeping her home tidy as usual, despite the fact that she was leaving the place forever. She also indicates her strong emotional connections with Nauvoo and the resolute decision to fulfill her "great destiny" based on the testimony of the Gospel:

> My last act in that precious spot was to tidy the rooms, sweep up the floor, and set the broom in its accustomed place behind the door. Then with emotions in my heart which I could not now pen and which I then strove with success to conceal, I gently closed the door and faced an unknown future, faced a new life, a greater destiny as I well knew, but I faced it with faith in God and with no less assurance of the ultimate establishment of the Gospel in the West and of its true, enduring principles, than I had felt in those trying scenes in Missouri (Madsen 213).

"There, in the vastness of the West, lay their hope for peace" (Hinckley 85). Under the guidance of Brigham Young, a strong minded-leader and an intelligent and decisive man,

the Latter Day Saints began the migration to the Great Salt Lake, a place "guarded by the mountains to east and north, deserts to the west and south, yet itself fed by mountain streams of melted snow" (Tindall 308). The choice of the Rocky Mountains as a place of refuge for the Saints was first indicated by Joseph Smith, who claimed to have prophesized on 6 Aug 1842 "that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains".[23] Studies of the West intensified after Smith's assassination. And all available material such as maps and printed works were extensively researched so that "they could determine the best possible place where they might settle" (Bashore). After such studies, the new leader Brigham Young sought divine confirmation on the issue and declared, as attested by other Mormon leaders close to him, to have seen the Salt Lake Valley in a vision before reaching it. Mormon historians report that "Upon first entering and looking at the Valley, Young's 'pre-vision' was confirmed and he said, 'This is the right place.' In that brief moment, he had received a personal spiritual confirmation that in the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains the Mormons would be safe from violence and persecution" (Bashore).

While, from a military point of view, the Great Salt Lake Valley protected by the Wasatch Mountains could be considered a privileged position, from a religious perspective it was largely considered as the fulfillment of an Old Testament promise found in the book of Isaiah "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord´s house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it" (Isa 2:2).

The march of the Saints began in February of 1846, under severe winter weather, with wagons loaded with the few possessions they could take with them, as described by Tullidge:

> To these homes, without lease or sale, they had just bid a final adieu, and with what little of their substance could be packed into one, two, and in some

> instances, three wagons, had started out desertward, for - where? To this question the only response at that time was, God knows (307-308).

Facing the devastating winter snow, material deprivation, frozen rivers to be crossed, and merciless encounters with death, the early group of Latter-day Saints struggled bravely against opposition even while they approached the mountains. Hinckley observes the great level of difficulties this group of people faced:

> Even under the best of circumstances pioneering a wilderness is a wearisome, laborious task. In the Great Basin of the West, it was an unending struggle against drought, Indians, difficult travel conditions, poverty, scarcity of water power, excessive freight rates on merchandising brought overland, crickets, grasshoppers, and crop failure. Tragedies were frequent in the fight to secure a foothold in this vast, forbidding country. (122)

Aware of the challenging conditions to be faced, Brigham Young not only trusted in God but also made meticulous preparations to ensure that the Mormon trek would succeed. Evidence of such preparation is that the trek has been acknowledged as "better organized and less arduous than most of the overland migrations of the time" (Tindall 308).

At that time, the increasing movement westward to the Great American Desert and the Rocky Mountains, reaching out toward the Pacific coast, was especially driven by the notion of America's Manifest Destiny. Interestingly enough, the declared Manifest Destiny, essentially based on the reassuring basis of democracy, equality and freedom, and supposedly based on necessity and benevolence, not only provided WASPs[24] with a sense of divine mission but mainly justified and promoted territorial expansion. Despite the mythical image of the Great American West depicted in movies, wherein the white man went west in big covered wagons claiming Manifest Destiny and where there were lots of cowboys and shooting going on, the movement west might be considered an epic movement of

colonization that proceeded with deep economic and physical changes, together with a significant philosophical change.;Not only the physical development of a new nation was taking place, but also the development of new ideas like democracy. At that time, democracy was still an in-between notion which fluctuated between ideological political theory and daily practice. Then, precisely "how democratic democracy was" (Petree 1999:22) remained an open question, since its notions challenged old assumptions and eventually resulted in turbulent questions concerning slavery, Indians, the Irish, Catholics, Jews and Mormons, as well as women's rights.

At the time the Mormon trek west began, frontier expansion to the west (and south) had already started (see Appendix 3 for wagon trails west). It could be asserted that Santa Fe, a remote seventeenth-century outpost of the Spanish empire, which was the capital and an important trading center for over 60,000 Mexicans and Indians in New Mexico, was one of the first targets of Manifest Destiny's spirit. In 1821, after Mexico achieved its independence from Spain, Santa Fe was overtly open to traders, and very soon pioneers organized themselves in caravans, aiming at mutual protection, and started their long wagon train journey west along the Santa Fe Trail. Unexpectedly, the most significant attainment of the Santa Fe traders was not simply pioneering a new trail, but their demonstration that heavy wagons could cross the plains and penetrate the mountains.

The Oregon Trail was the next important route in the movement west. Located beyond the Rocky mountains, the Oregon country territory was claimed by Great Britain and the United Sates, who agreed in 1818 to "joint occupation". But such an agreement proved to be only a legal technicality, since no previous efforts to occupation seemed to have occurred until the Methodist missionaries settled there and reported on Oregon's fertile soil, temperate climate and the great forests. Hence, by the late 1830s, the first emigrants started their journey along the Oregon Trail. In the early 1840s, like a contagion, the so-called "Oregon

Fever" spread among adventurous Americans, who made the trip in the first sizable wagon trains. By 1845, the mass migrations to the region carried over five thousand "overlanders", who came from all over the United States. Traveling in family groups, in "prairie schooners" (ox-drawn, canvas-covered wagons), the emigrants generally started their journeys in late spring and took about six months in their two thousand-mile-trek, at the rate of approximately fifteen miles per day. Not only were they challenged by the natural conditions of muddy or dusty trails, but they had also to cope with the burdens of contagious diseases, Indian attacks, and endless daily chores. But once in Oregon, stable communities were soon established (Tindall 334).

Another important nineteenth-century migratory trend was the California Trail, which "forked off from the Oregon Trail and led to the mountains near Lake Tahoe" (Tindall 336), in the mid-1830s. California was then part of the Mexican borderlands and was scarcely populated , mainly by mission friars and Mexican rancheros. California's economic activities were restricted to the hide and tallow trade, both much-demanded products for making shoes and candles. In order to store hides, agents were sent to California and, soon after, an enclosure guarding an entire village of settlers and shops was built. By 1846, California's population consisted of eight hundred Americans (here understood as ethnic Anglos from US), along with some eight to twelve thousand Californios.[25] As this territory was willing to cut ties with Mexico, as well as being subject to a tumultuous political dispute in which Britain and France were involved, it was anarchical much of the time. In admiration of the United States' balance of central and local authority, California residents did not offer resistance to annexation, in 1851 (Tindall 333-337). Meanwhile, after Texas' declaration of independence from Mexico, in 1836, the newly born "Lone Star Republic" pleaded for annexation to the United States.

The American Congress, however, was already harassed by abolitionist petitions, and the fact that Texas was a slave territory threatened internal political stability. Rebuffed in Washington, Texans focused on creating a separate nation, aiming at territorial expansion to the Pacific and at rivalry with the United States itself by developing commercial relations with France and Britain. Britain, which had abolished slavery since 1833, exerted an ever growing influence on Texas to embrace abolitionism as a condition for the protection it offered against Mexico. Such a connection between Texas and Britain not only provoked anxieties in the American government but also among Southern slave-holders, who sided with annexation. However, secret negotiations between the American government and Texas led to the completion of a treaty, sent to the Senate for ratification at the same time that a letter on Texas annexation reiterating the value of slavery was sent to the British minister. As a result, the annexation of Texas was understood by American citizens, particularly the northerners, as a means of expanding slavery rather than being in the national interest (Tindall 337-341).

In the intervening time, relations between America and Mexico were still controversial with fresh disputes over the frontier, since Mexico did not recognize United States' annexation of Texas. The American government's willingness to secure Texas and obtain California and New Mexico provoked a conflict that resulted in the Mexican War, in 1845. The war divided the nation, causing at the same time delirium and revolt. Both armies were ill-prepared and the war was in the end only a means for American government to require a treaty of peace avoiding a military reputation dangerous for the presidency. Texas entered the Union on December 29, 1845 (Tindall 344-347).

As mentioned before, the Mormon trek started in 1846, when the saints left Nauvoo towards the Rocky Mountains and the Great Basin, in search of a place where they could maintain their religious and cultural identity. Although the Mormon Trail shared common

experiences with others, it is acknowledged for its organization. The first movement from Nauvoo towards its final destination was divided into two segments, one in 1846 and the other in 1847. Since they had to leave Nauvoo earlier than planned, and in this case were ill-prepared, the Saints were exposed to the elements of a bad winter, which caused them great difficulties. Having crossed the Mississippi, the Mormons would follow primitive territorial roads and Indian paths in the first 265-mile-segment of their trail across Iowa to the Missouri river.

During this first trek, the group developed skills in moving *en masse*. Having been divided by Brigham Young into companies of 100, 50, and 10, they established semi-permanent camps, where they planted crops and built facilities to assist those who followed. During the second segment, which covered about 1,032 miles and led to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, the Mormons, in accordance with Young's plan for migrating west, were better organized, had better provisions and began the trek under optimal circumstances. Young's guidelines also included camp behavior and devotional practices to be observed during the journey. After crossing the Great Plains and going hundreds of miles along the north side of the Platte and North Platte rivers, the Mormon Trail crossed to the south side of the river and joined the Oregon Trail at Fort Laramie. Further ahead, at Fort Bridger, they endured what would be the most difficult part of their journey. Leaving the Oregon Trail they struck out on their own, following the Donner-Reed[26] party through the Wasatch Mountains. It took them fourteen days to travel "through the narrow, willow-choked canyons and tree covered slopes and rocky ridges of the Wasatch Range"[27], and by the time they reached the "promised land . . . their teams were jaded, their wagons worn" (Hinckley 109).

v. Establishing a Mormon State

As a faster, cheaper and easier alternative for European converts to travel to Salt Lake, handcarts were used from 1856 to 1860. They consisted of two-wheeled wooden carts,

generally 6 to 7 feet long, modeled after carts used by street sweepers, which could alternatively be either pulled or pushed by emigrants. They were large enough to span a narrow wagon track and had small boxes of 3 to 4 feet long and 8 inches high which could carry about five hundred pounds (often provisions and a few personal belongings). Although the Mormons were not the first to use the handcarts, they were the group who used them most extensively: almost three thousand Mormon pioneers with 635 hundred carts and 50 supply wagons made their trip with ten different handcart companies, all of which completed the journey successfully except for two: the fourth and the fifth companies. These two companies, also known as the Martin and Willie companies, left Winter Quarters very late, in August 1856, and under severe winter weather and famine, hundreds of pioneers died before rescue parties could reach them. From 1846 to 1869, over seventy thousand Mormons traveled by wagons and handcarts to the Great Salt Lake Valley.

Moved by religious impulse, the Mormon Trail is distinguished not only for its organization, but for the fact that it provided pioneers with a communal experience. Unlike other trails, in which individual families competed with each other, the Mormon wagon train was comparable to a city on wheels, in which people were united, supportive and cooperative. The Mormon wagon train counted on a social division of work, with a blacksmith, schoolteacher, etc. They were looking for a place where they could eventually establish a religious utopia in the wilderness, and believing that they were sent on a mission from God, they attempted to found a model society. Thus, both their sense of having a divine mission and their communal experience during the trail directly facilitated their efforts in the construction of their new city. In July of 1847, as soon as the Mormon pioneers crossed the Emigration Canyon, the last geographic obstacle between Big Mountain and the Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young declared “This is the right place. Drive on”; and on that very day,

pioneers started tilling the soil and planting crops. Shortly afterwards, the plans for Great Salt Lake City were drawn.

As the first pioneers reached the valley, the region was still part of Mexico and was only acquired in 1848 under the Mexican Cession. In 1849, Mormon settlers, willing to set up a government that would be recognized by the United States, proposed the creation of the State of Deseret (see Appendix 4). The name came from a word found in the Book of Ether, an integral part of The Book of Mormon, chapter 2, verse 3, which reads as follows: "And they did also carry with them deseret, which, by interpretation, is a honey bee; and thus they did carry with them swarms of bees, and all manner of that which was upon the face of the land, seeds of every kind". The word choice reinforced the previous concerns with industriousness and cooperation among the people. Brigham Young retained both religious and political leadership, since he was the President of the Church and the Governor of the Provisional State. In September 1850, the Utah Territory was created by Act of Congress and, in February of the following year, Young was inaugurated as the first Governor of the Utah Territory. On April 4, 1851, the General Assembly of Deseret first passed a resolution to dissolve the state and, then, in October, the Utah territorial legislature voted to re-enact the laws and ordinances of the State of Deseret.

In 1857, reports on the conduct of Mormons made President James Buchanan fight them because of polygamy, one of the "twin relics of barbarism" (the other being slavery), by giving Utah territory a new, non-Mormon governor. Anticipating that Mormons would resist the replacement of Governor Brigham Young, Buchanan ordered an army of some 2,500 men, under General Albert Sidney Johnston, to the Great Salt Lake City. The lack of formal notification of the administration's intentions caused Young and other Mormon leaders to interpret the army's arrival as religious persecution and to adopt a defensive posture, declaring martial law and issuing an order forbidding the entry of U.S. troops into Utah (see

Appendix 5). A local militia was sent to slow Johnston's progress across the plains by stampeding horses, burning supply trains, destroying bridges, and burning grass, while Young ordered settlers all over the territory to converge and to defend the capital. Other military measures were taken, including the “Sebastopol” policy, a plan named after a strategic Russian retreat during the Crimean War, according to which all Mormon settlements in Northern Utah were required to be abandoned and prepared for burning in order to prevent their enemies from taking over their property. Richard D. Poll (1985) remarks that “Memories of earlier persecutions were invoked to build morale and prepare the people for possible further sacrifices”. Meanwhile, further investigations and reports made Buchanan order the Army not to molest the city or its people, and the troops passed through the deserted city and took up quarters in Fairfield, forty miles to the southwest, where in July 1858 they established Camp Floyd. The confrontation, known as the Utah War, proved to be unnecessary since the alleged Mormon rebellion never occurred and Young soon relinquished his gubernatorial office and established a comfortable working relationship with his successor, Alfred Cumming.

In 1861, when the Civil War broke out, the army was called east, leaving Camp Floyd behind. During the American Civil War, the newly-formed Confederate States of America, which consisted of the eleven Southern States that had declared their secession, fought against the United States federal government. The Northern States formed the Union Army and, under the federal government, fought to keep the South. The dispute focused on the controversy whether to allow or forbid slavery to the new states in the West, which was introduced into Congress along with a serious disagreement over the imbalance between the federal government’s power and state power. As the South’s economy was dependent on slavery and farming, while the North depended on industry, the latter wanted an end to slavery. Although the South won initial battles, the North could muster a greater number of

soldiers and supplies, and eventually won a victory that kept the Union together. Over 600,000 soldiers died during the war and Lincoln announced his Emancipation Proclamation, according to which all the slaves in Confederate territory still in rebellion were freed. In 1865, after the war was over, the Thirteenth Amendment put an end to slavery altogether.

vi. Transportation and Communication

Since North America was a territory of immense proportions, communication and transportation counted on necessary and influential agents to provide the nation with unity and cohesion. In April 1860, the Pony Express was created as an attempt to provide the fastest mail delivery between the East and West coasts. Following the route previously established by the Oregon and the Mormon Trails, the Pony Express ran day and night, summer and winter, and counted on approximately a hundred and sixty-five stations, one of which was set up at Camp Floyd. The same route was followed by the telegraph, which was completed in October 1861, and marked the end of the Pony Express. The Transcontinental Telegraph service provided fast communication between the East and the West through Morse code and operated until May 1869, when it was replaced by a multi-wire system constructed with the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railway lines, which followed the telegraph route. Creating a mechanized transportation network, the Transcontinental railroad provided the West with beneficial changes for the economy, since it led to the rapid cultivation of new farmlands and an acceleration in the population rate. The railroad was completed in 1869 at Promontory Summit, Utah and replaced the use of wagon trains with a modern transportation system, which ultimately put an end to the Mormon's pioneer period, since from that moment on crossing the plains by wagon train was no longer necessary.

vii. Women´s Sphere

If the nineteenth century is notable for both philosophical and power-relation changes, it is equally so for the changes in the women's sphere of action, which, in the early

nineteenth century, was essentially confined to the domestic realm. At that time, women had no right to vote, preach, or hold office and very few of them had access to formal education beyond the elementary level, since that was considered inappropriate to woman's destiny in life (Tindall 319). Although some women argued that education would make for better wives and mothers, not many women were ready to demand equality on the issue. Women's colleges were more focused on the amenities and "embellishments", like music and arts, and it was only in the West that women could benefit from coeducation, with state universities in the lead.

In 1841, Catherine Beecher, a founder of a women's school, published *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, also referred to by historians as the "cult of domesticity", which recommended that women restricted their activities to home and family and claimed that young women should be trained for housework and child-rearing. At that time, married women had no legal right to property, even their own clothes, or rights over their own children, and obtaining divorce was difficult. Distinction between gender roles finally confined women to the home and a controversy developed over whether the home "became a trap for women, a prison that hindered fulfillment" or offered them a domain of independence in which they might exercise a new degree of initiative and leadership.

In 1840, unsatisfied with their status, American women progressively started organizing themselves for women's rights via the right to participate in discussions concerning the anti-slavery movement. At the same time, they discussed their need to organize themselves for their own emancipation.

In Nauvoo, in 1842, a small group of Mormon women met to sew shirts for the Nauvoo Temple workmen. Organizing themselves as a mutual assistance association, they sought Smith's approval for their proposed Constitution, which he praised and alternatively offered to expand, organizing the sisters under the priesthood and following its pattern. The

organization was formalized in March 17, 1842, and was called the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo. A presidency consisting of a president and two counselors were elected and ordained by priesthood leaders. The women were instructed by Smith to keep records of the decisions of the presidency and its proceedings, which would serve as the group's Constitution. Other officers were appointed; a secretary and a treasurer, and still others still could be appointed as necessary. Open to new members' admission according to standing members vote to give them full fellowship, by 1844, the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo had over a thousand members.

At first, the role of the Mormon women's association was restricted to timely assistance to the poor, through donations of cash, commodities, housing or labor, but women were further invested by Smith with the responsibility of "saving souls", and instructed in the same gospel principles as the men were. Virtues such as humility, charity and unity were emphasized. Mormon women's meetings and consequently their sphere of activities were thus broadened.

It was in 1852 that plural marriage, or polygyny, was first publicly acknowledged by church leaders, although the practice had already been instituted under the direction of Joseph Smith, who claimed to have received the law as early as 1831. Joseph Smith, when studying the Bible, particularly the age of the Patriarchs, was "struck with the favor in which the Lord held the several Bible Patriarchs of that period, notwithstanding they had a plurality of wives" (Smith, vols. 5, p. xxix). Smith then decided to inquire about marriage in general and about the plurality of wives in particular. As reported in Doctrine and Covenants, he learned that plural marriage was commanded by God in ancient times and also that obedience to the same law would one day be required by the Church. (D&C 132: 1-4, 28-40). Although being aware that the introduction of plural marriage would cause severe criticism and tension not only inside his family, but also within the Church and from outside, Smith declared "The

object with me is to obey & teach others to obey God in just what he tells us to do". And he added "It mattereth not whether the principle is popular or unpopular. I will always maintain a true principle even if I stand alone in it" (Bachman).[28]

Plural marriage was the Church's most controversial and least tolerated practice and was chiefly responsible for establishing the Latter-day Saints as a "people apart". The practice, although incorporated for a brief period of time, had a profound impact on the group's self-definition. Joseph Smith himself and the members of the Church, like their Puritan ancestors, faced challenges in accepting and experiencing the practice. According to Lorenzo Snow, Joseph Smith once "described the battle he waged in overcoming the repugnance of his feelings regarding plural marriages" (Bachman).[29]

The law of plural marriage was "far from involving license" and "was a carefully regulated and ordered system. Order, mutual agreements, regulation, and covenants were central to the practice" (Bachman). Bachman adds that, according to The Book of Mormon,

> Though the Lord will command men through his prophets to live the law of plural marriage at special times for his purposes, monogamy is the general standard (Jacob 2:28-30); unauthorized polygamy was and is viewed as adultery. Another safeguard was that authorized plural marriages could be performed only through the sealing power controlled by the presiding authority of the Church (D&C 132:19).

Smith only mentioned the revelation to a few trusted friends, and only in 1841 did he instruct leading priesthood brethren of the Church concerning plural marriage and their responsibility to live the law. The practice of plural marriage was restricted to some "worthy men", and "the exact percentage of Latter-day Saints who participated in the practice is not known, but studies suggest a maximum of from 20% to 25% of LDS adults were members of polygamous households"[30]. If such a disruptive innovation challenged current assumptions

and functioned as the stimulus for anti-Mormon persecution, the new law was also internally disturbing, especially for women, requiring from them resolute efforts in attaining spiritual strength to overcome jealousy and selfishness. Not surprisingly, marital relations appear in nineteenth-century Mormon women's journals as a major concern, and their impressions of this social experiment are often recorded. Some of the women referred to their experience in plural marriage in a rather resentful tone, expressing their anxieties over physical and emotional distance, others in a quite approving manner, since many women considered the system not only tolerable but also beneficial. Martha Cragun Cox wrote about her relation with two sister wives stating that "[We] loved each other more than sisters, children of one mother love" and remarked that they "enjoyed many privileges that single wifery never knew", including the sharing of responsibilities in housekeeping and child care (Godfrey 15).

While on the trails, Mormon Women pioneers, like their American counterparts, endured an unending labor routine, which included washing, cooking, sewing and finding food, all under rather primitive conditions. Tindall calls attention to some specific diary entries of women from the Oregon Trail, which well depicts their daily routine, "I have done a washing. Stewed apples, made pies and rice pudding, and mended our wagon cover. Rather tired". The next day she wrote, "Baked biscuits, stewed berries, fried meat, boiled and mashed potatoes, and made tea for supper, after baked bread. Thus you see I have not much rest". With little or no rest, as some of the diarists claimed, such difficulties during their journey brought even more challenges for them to deal with, such as family tensions and a "powerful nostalgic yearning for home" sometimes made them regret having started (334-335).

Once settled in the West, the pioneers set about founding new and stable communities, and the previous experiences of the trail together with the opportunity of establishing a new place contributed to and even promoted the enlargement of women's

sphere of activity. Believing that their role was to “carve out a new world”, one Kansas woman wrote:

> The outstanding fact is that the environment was such as to bring out and develop the dominant qualities of individual character. Kansas women of that day learned at an early age to depend on themselves – to do whatever work there was to be done, and to face danger when it must be faced, as calmly as they were able (Tindall 487).

Of course, such a belief was not restricted to Kansas women; on the contrary, it was shared by many other pioneer women, including the Mormons, who due to husband absenteeism, felt the need to earn their own money and organize themselves for economic cooperation. As time passed, and woman’s movement introduced some new ideas on women’s role and sphere of action, Mormon women too thought about their own reality and were anxious to expand their domain, which embraced church, community and professional achievements. Experiencing some singular ventures, Mormon women got involved in the formation of cooperatives, buying, storing and selling grain, farming silk, and collectively supporting the medical education of women as doctors and nurses, and eventually in the establishment of their own Deseret Hospital. Mormon women also played a remarkable role in the press, acting as editors, business agents, composers, and writers of poetry and prose. They also founded an official newspaper of the Relief Society, *The Woman’s Exponent*. This semi-monthly newspaper was published from 1872 to 1914 and was edited by Emmeline Wells, who was a friend of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (prominent leaders of the national suffrage movement) and herself a sympathizer of the movement (see Appendix 8). Along with a strong defense of plural marriage, *The Woman’s Exponent* served the purpose of helping women to understand the importance of their political participation by means of the vote. Emmeline Wells wrote in *The Woman's Exponent*, Volume 1, Number 1:

> Millions of intelligent women are deprived of the vote simply because nature qualified them to become mothers and not fathers of men. They may own property, pay taxes, assist in supporting the government, rend their heart-strings in giving for its aid the children of their affections, but they are denied all right to say who shall disburse those taxes, how that government shall be conducted, or who shall decide on a question of peace or war which may involve the lives of their sons, brothers, fathers and husbands.[31]

Paradoxical as it may seem, Wells also actively defended plural marriage and once stated that "The world says polygamy makes women inferior to men -- we think differently. Polygamy gives women more time for thought, for mental culture, more freedom of action, a broader field of labor... and leads women more directly to God, the fountain of all truth".[31] Indeed, because Mormon women could neither rely on the constant presence of their husbands nor on their financial support, since they could have more than one family to assist or because they were often sent to serve missions away from home, Mormon women's sphere of action was less restricted and their communal roles more respected than non-Mormon women's. This, contrary to stereotypes, not only impelled Mormon women into taking responsibilities outside the home, but also provided them with self-reliance and independence and made possible extraordinary achievements among them. This is well illustrated by Wells assertion, "All honor and reverence to good men; but they and their attentions are not the only source of happiness on the earth and need not fill up every thought of woman. And when men see that women can exist without their being constantly at hand... it will perhaps take a little of the conceit out of some of them"[31].

During the years of Civil War, women were even more exposed to what once had been exclusively male domains. Driven into new public affairs, women became farmers or

plantation managers, clerks, munitions plant workers and schoolteachers, and their lives were deeply transformed in one way or another.

Polygyny remained as a major issue concerning the Mormons. During the 1870s and 1880s, the territory was severely punished by a number of repressive laws. In 1890, Wilford Woodruff, the fourth president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, signed a Manifesto officially banning polygamy from the church. The said manifest applied non-retroactively so that no more plural marriages would be performed. It was only on January 4, 1896, after the Mormons formally abandoned the practice of polygyny and included the decision in the Utah Constitution, that the state of Utah was annexed to the United States of America.

For America, the nineteenth century was a time for expansion. Geographical frontiers were surpassed, as were symbolic ones. Despite all inherent dangers and challenges, the newly embraced territories offered both the country and women new possibilities, resources, variety, and richness. Women's role, including that of Mormon women, was now to pioneer and settle themselves down in the new terrains apart from their homes.

CHAPTER 3

REM(A)INDERS

> "Our experience of the present very largely depends upon our knowledge of the past" (Connerton 2).

"Why hath this lady writ her own life?" This impelling rhetorical question, posed by Margareth Cavendish in seventeenth-century England, continues to echo and enlighten the discussions about personal writings today. Indeed, in approaching the life writings of Mormon pioneer women in nineteenth-century America, some other questions are inevitably suggested by Cavendish's: Who did they write for? What role(s) did life writing play in their lives? How do their personal writings reflect their experience both at the individual and at the collective levels? What contributions did their personal writings bring to present LDS community? How should personal writings, as a distinct literary genre, be approached?

As Beecher (2000: xiv, xv) states, in writing her own life, Cavendish's hope was that her text would both reveal and preserve her identity. Although, unlike Lady Cavendish's, the life writings presented in this study were not meant for publication, they too reveal and preserve these women's identities and stand as both remainders and reminders – since with the passage of time they are ultimately what lasts, the sources that give access to and make the unveiling and (re)construction of the past possible.

i. Testimonies / Witnesses

LeGoff (1992: 95, 96) claims that the so-called functional places, represented among others by autobiographies – and here I propose that they should embrace other sub-genres of personal writing as well, such as journals, diaries, letters – supply material for history, as long as those writings are transformed into testimonies that provide the perception of a multiple time. Differently from the general records of official history, multiple time seems to operate through superposition.

In his book *História, Memória e Literatura: o Testemunho na Era das Catástrofes* (2003), the Brazilian historian Marcio Seligmann-Silva states that the witness should be understood not only in the legal and historical sense – often referred to in literary studies – but should also be interpreted as a survivor, as one who has undergone an extreme, radical situation, which somehow signified overcoming death, problematizing the relation between language and the "real" (Silva 8). In his reflections upon testimony, Silva calls attention to the aporias between the processes of remembering and forgetting and how they develop in the debate between memory and history. He declares that "to remember and to forget are two dynamic and inseparable factors" (Silva 15). Resistance and preservation are, thus, separated by a very blurry line. In fact, as Nietzche maintains,

> Joy, good conscience, the fortunate act, trust in what is to come--all this depends, for each individual as well as all peoples, on the existence of a line that divides the clear and visible from that which is dark and cannot be clarified, on what one knows how to forget and knows how to remember at the right moment, on what people feel as a strong instinct when it is necessary to feel in a historical or non-historical way...the ahistorical as well as the historical are equally necessary for the health of every individual, people, culture (Silva 60-61)[32].

Believing that the practice was essentially a commandment of God, Latter-day Saints leaders have continually advised Church members on the importance of keeping personal records. In fact, there are a reasonable number of references to records kept on earth as being complemental to records kept in Heaven, namely the Book of Life. Malachi 3:16, for example, mentions the Book of Remembrance: "Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another: and the Lord hearkened, and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name". The Book of

Remembrance not only aimed at recording the genealogy, the history of the ancestors, but also intended to promote spirituality and literacy, and to enlarge their memory.[33]

Joseph Smith declared in one of his epistles to the members of the Church, later compiled as section 128 of The Doctrine and Covenants,

> And further, I want you to remember that John the Revelator was contemplating this very subject in relation to the dead, when he declared, as you will find recorded in Revelation 20:12—*And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.*
>
> You will discover in this quotation that the books were opened; and another book was opened, which was the book of life; but the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works; consequently, the books spoken of must be the books which contained the record of their works, and refer to the records which are kept on the earth. And the book which was the book of life is the record which is kept in heaven; the principle agreeing precisely with the doctrine which is commanded you in the revelation contained in the letter which I wrote to you previous to my leaving my place—that in all your recordings it may be recorded in heaven (D&C 128:6-7).

Modern LDS prophets still encourage the members of the Church to keep family and personal records, containing, among other things, their histories, spiritual experiences, and evidences of God's love and goodness. As Spencer W. Kimball asserted

> We renew our appeal for the keeping of individual histories and accounts of sacred experiences in our lives--answered prayers,

> inspiration from the Lord, administrations in our behalf, a record of the special times and events of our lives. From these records you can also appropriately draw as you relay faith-promoting stories in your family circles and discussions. Stories of inspiration from our own lives and those of our forebears as well as stories from our scriptures and our history are powerful teaching tools (Kimball 1982:3).

Kimball also reinforced the importance of personal record keeping as a means of bearing witness when he declared, "those who keep a book of remembrance are more likely to keep the Lord in remembrance in their daily lives. Journals are a way of counting our blessings and of leaving an inventory of these blessings for our posterity" (1978:76).

ii. Audience

Once the main objective for Mormon pioneer women to write their lives is set – to obey a commandment from God – another relevant question arises concerning the audience whom the authors of diaries and journals address. As Virginia Woolf once asked: "whom do I tell when I tell a blank page?" (Mallon 33).[34] Mallon asserts that "no one ever kept a diary for just himself" (Mallon xvi) and asks

> Who is the "you" that's made its way more and more often into these pages in the last few years, this odd pronoun I sometimes find myself talking to like a person at the other end of a letter? Sometimes, when I am trying on the right-hand leaf of a notebook I catch sight of a spelling or grammatical mistake I made on the left one the night before, and I correct it. For "you"? I can say without a trace of coyness that I have no idea who "you" is. I don't know if "you" is male or female, met or unmet, born or unborn, tied to me by blood or accident. But I do know that "you" has come to stay. What's more, I now

> realize that he or she has been hovering around the books from the beginning (Mallon xvi).

He goes on to say that, eventually, "an audience will turn up", that the diarists count on the fact that someone will be reading and they will be talking; and once talking, the author is alive (xvii). Petree defines three different audiences for Mormon women writers. The first is obviously herself, as many other women writers of personal literature (Petree 1999:44). The second audience would be God, as the act of keeping records was a divine commandment. As she asserts, writing "under the eyes of God" brings interesting unfoldings:

> First, it must be true. She must represent events, feelings and associations as they really are, to the best of her ability. Second, she must always keep in mind her role as an example in the kingdom of God, and she must therefore try to learn to become what she envisions a daughter of God to be. Third, she must reconcile what is, her current status of strength and endeavor, and what should be (Petree 1999:45).

"Following the Puritan tradition of testimony bearing and lasting testaments" (Beecher 2000:xv), the third audience appointed by Petree is the succeeding generations of her own posterity, as "Books of Remembrances are passed down in family lines, copies made for each descent". As a matter of fact, her writings are affected by the knowledge of the fact that they will be passed down through generations, and that her descendents will not only have access to what she writes but will also "judge her, and to some extent themselves as part of her, by her life" and might have "their own decisions in life situations influenced by hers".

Nevertheless, having God as her second audience prevents her from glossing over, sugarcoating or pretending;

> And indeed she would not want to, because she knows that her posterity will encounter the same vicissitudes as she does. She will want them to see the

> trials, the temptations, the tedium; she will want them to overcome these so that they may succeed in living godly lives; and she will want them to be proud of her so that both she and they can answer God's judgment affirmatively (Petree 1999: 45-47).

In this sense, as Mallon declares, for a religious personal writer, confession would not only consist in an antidote for sin but also a deterrent to it, and the compromise of writing one's own life very much influences and guides one's action, since every action would have to be mentioned in the diary later (Mallon xiv).

Throughout the reading, the reader establishes a rather intimate relation with the writer. As Mallon states, "one cannot read a diary and feel unacquainted with its writer. No form of expression more emphatically embodies the expresser: diaries are flesh made word" (Mallon xvii). In addition, due to the open-endedness and incompleteness of personal writings, special strategies are required of readers so that they can acquire a better understanding of the texts, and therefore of the narratives. As Maureen Ursenbach Beecher states,

> These are the daily jottings of mothers, wives, daughters, or the women's mature attempts to set their lives in order, to explain themselves not to the world but to their children's children in the Puritan tradition of testimony bearing and lasting testament. In loose sheets or bound notebooks, they are as imperfect as the lives they represent, as incomplete as a peek through the keyhole, as unfinished as mortality (Beecher 2000: 1-2).

Much like a poet, who can only suggest every nuance of a situation or experience, and because of the very nature of the act of writing, which is symbolic in itself, these women made some personal choices, whether intentional or not. While in poetry overdetermination in the use of language is a matter of rhetoric, in personal writing it is rather connected to

psychological reasons, “consciously or unconsciously, all life writers make choices between the self revealed and the self concealed” (Beecher 2000:xix). As Petree (1999:43) points out,

> Journal writers employ their own shorthand abbreviations, use key words which enable them to record certain events without committing them to the printed page, and intentionally omit essential information, either for the sake of brevity or on the assumption that any readers will be privy to background that provides understanding.

In personal writing, as in poetry, through word choice the text conveys the most information with the least number of words the author is able to use and manipulate. The role of excavating the metaphors and extracting the meaning from between the lines belongs to the reader. The choices of how to tell her story, which details to include and/or to exclude, how to interpret the details, and what language to use are the writer’s. From this point of view, literature and history mingle, and the history cannot be seen as pure and detached from the narrative in which it is encapsulated.

iii. (Hi)stories

As a consequence, distortions and manipulations – since “consciously or unconsciously, all life writers make choices between the self revealed and the self concealed” (Beecher 2000: xix) – even new perspectives conferred through the passage of time, and personal maturation inevitably influence life writings. As Beecher states, “in personal writings truth is a matter of purpose and point of view”:

> Personal texts thus are the fictions we create in order to make our lives acceptable to ourselves and our imagined readers. Our memories are often flawed and distorted, as people discover when they share their version of a particular event with that of a sibling or a spouse. In addition, by omission, by evasions, or by outright untruths we reshape events to our liking . . . Within

> every text, I believe, is imbedded a deeper truth, a reality the researcher may try to reconstruct (Beecher 2000: xviii).

Beecher points out that each recounting of the same event may well be different, since they depend upon the choices made by the personal writer, who, in attempting to recreate the past, "selects only those bits which seem to fit a particular audience, a specific occasion, a definite purpose, a significant moment" (Beecher 2000: xix). Those selections usually suit the persona the personal writer is trying to present and convey the view she wants the other to have of her. As Berggren explains

> Telling an [autobiographical] story involves imaginative activity comparable to that involved in writing a poem. The facts of a life are given, but the appropriate way of imagining the self is not. The autobiographer must decide, consciously or unconsciously, how to present him – or herself – as hero or victim, as unique individual or as representative of a group, as defined principally by childhood experience or as self-creator.

In fact, the presence of manipulation and distortion has also been acknowledged by the thinkers referred to in this research. Halbwachs recognizes that in the act of reconstructing the past, distortion is not uncommon for the sake of introducing a greater coherence (Halbwachs 185). LeGoff declared, "the recognition that the historical fact is constructed and that documents are not innocent has thrown a light on the manipulations that manifest themselves at all levels of the construction of historical knowledge" (LeGoff xviii).

iv. Writing: the Only Home

As asserted by many, the act of writing played a rather significant and decisive role in the lives of personal writers. To Virginia Woolf, writing a diary "could be therapeutic relaxation", as well as a way of her "getting closer to her own feelings", a contact which, as she admits, is enhanced through the passage of time: "we don't have complete emotions

about the present, only about the past" (Mallon 33). Petree also asserts that for LDS women, writing their lives was not only a form of entertainment, but also a quiet gesture of defiance against authority, and, more significantly, a means of catharsis. By analyzing previous diary entries, they were able to evaluate more objectively their personal conduct and growth against set standards of piety and propriety (Petree 1999:44). Mallon adds that some diarists have used their writings "to record journeys of the soul, plan the art of the future, confess the sins of the flesh, lecture the world from beyond the grave" (Mallon xvii).

One distinguishing aspect the personal accounts analyzed in this work share is that their authors underwent important, and sometimes traumatic, experiences – both as individuals and as members of a recent religious movement – in their search for establishing a place of their own. As former Mormon women, Patience and Mary Jane experienced challenging changes in their own lives, some of which were the geographical moves: not only did both women take part in the Mormon exodus westward, but each of them faced other difficulties in establishing a physical place of their own throughout their lives. Other changes, not less challenging and at the same time of a more essential nature, involved the cultural innovations they faced, since they were part of the very beginning of the church – they were not only pioneering the west but also paving the way for a new religious female identity. Besides their literal meaning, which often refers to the coerced physical movement of a person or persons away from their home, the terms "dislocation" and "displacement" gain in Mormon women's personal writing analysis a symbolic connotation, which relates as well to the destabilization of the self and implies sociological and psychological effects.

If, on the one hand, due to the immediacy of the meanings related to the word "home" – which are, according to Rosemary George, "the private sphere of patriarchal hierarchy, gendered self-identity, shelter, comfort, nurture, and protection" (1996:1) – we are led to think of home "usually represented as fixed, rooted, stable – the very antithesis of

travel"; on the other hand, we could think of more subjective dimensions of home, as a symbolic stance of the self, ultimately the "locations in which the self is 'at home'" (George 3).

Nevertheless, home is rather a controversial concept. Davies points out that "home is often a place of exile for the women, as are, sometimes, community and nation" (1010). George adds that

> Home is a place to escape to and a place to escape from. Its importance lies in the fact that it is not equally available to all. Home is the desirable place that is fought for and established as the exclusive domain of a few. It is not a neutral place. It is community. Communities are not counter-constructions but only extensions of home, providing the same comforts and terrors on a larger scale. Both home and community provide such substantial pleasures that have been so thoroughly assumed as natural that it may seem unproductive to point to the exclusions that found such abodes (George 9).

Establishing a connection between fiction and the notions of home, George asserts that "fictionality is an intrinsic attribute of home" (George 11) and puns with the titles she uses for her prologue and epilogue. Introducing the subject matter, and examining "the encoding, elaborations and subsequent revisions made in the many discussions on homes", she names her prologue as "All fiction is homesickness" and, in her epilogue, she subverts the idea as she concludes, "if roots are a conservative myth,[35] then all homesickness is fiction". Along the routes they follow – both the geographical and the so-called "journeys of their souls" (Mallon xviii) – Mormon women reflect upon their search and struggle to be rooted, for establishing a place to belong to – a home for their self. As Adorno claimed "knowing in a contingent world, that homes are provisional, constructed . . . consequently the only home is writing".[36] And their writing is precisely what provides them not only with a

means for remembering, as a function of memory – a process that, as Paula Gunn suggests, heals – but also for re-membering, which, means bringing back all the parts together – a process of boundary crossing (Davies 1994:1006).

The strong intersection between the private and the public spheres of Mormon pioneer women provided their life writings with intriguing dimensions of their individual and collective identity. Their writings reflect the range of roles and duties they are sometimes supposed to, but at other times willing to perform, and have encouraged discussions of women's involvement in political and social nineteenth-century life. If, on the one hand, domesticity was one of the main characteristics of Mormon pioneer women, on the other hand, they had a prominent role within community life. Proselytizing missions and death sometimes forced such women to deal with the absence of their husbands, and therefore to supplement the family income in some way. This included activities such as school teaching, midwifery, trade, and weaving. Moreover, as Godfrey states,

> The emphasis on economic cooperation pushed Mormon women into some unique ventures, such as forming women's cooperatives and buying, storing, and selling grain; but for the most part of the sisters' economic activities were much like those of their American counterparts (Godfrey 6-7).

Nineteenth-century Mormon women's awareness of the expansion of their sphere of action was increasing, as Godfrey describes:

> Latter-day Saints and Americans at large had prescribed separate spheres and roles for men and women: woman's sphere was the home, and her role was that of nurturer and housekeeper or homemaker or manager. As the nineteenth-century woman's movement challenged these assumptions, Latter-day Saint women, too, considered whether or not the home was their only legitimate sphere of activity (Godfrey 13).

Mormon women's involvement in public life increased considerably during the last third of the nineteenth century. Active defense of plural marriage, the organization of a mutual assistance society, known as Relief Society, which is understood "as a formalization of work commonly performed by women in the family or community", and an involvement in the women's suffrage movement, were some of the activities that "increased opportunities for women to plan and conduct meetings, organize programs, balance budgets, and speak publicly" (Godfrey 17).

v. A Distinct Literary Genre

Personal writings are strongly marked by the immediacy and fluidity conveyed through the typical flexibility of handwriting – which print cannot reproduce (Beecher 2000: x). Another remarkable aspect is that there has been a rising interest in personal writings and an increasing demand that they should be understood and analyzed as a distinct genre under their own critical parameters. As Beecher argues,

> Some of the manuscripts defy analysis by any of the criteria by which I was taught to recognize good writing. Simple sentences, run-on sentences, or sentence fragments appear frequently. So too interjections, dangling modifiers, and common expressions characteristic of the spoken language, often spelled as they were pronounced. But at times these naïve writings have the same power to move me that I find in a Hopkins sonnet or a John Donne sermon. The literary canon must expand to allow them place (Beecher 2000: xiv).

Moreover, as Petree asserts, personal writing stands not only for the epistemological foundations of the writer but for that of the culture of the past that it stands for, since it is representative of literary and cultural norms, working gender roles, socio-cultural influences on personal relationships, and psychological impulses that the authors perhaps neither defined nor cared to understand (Petree 2002:3-4). The juxtaposition of revealing and concealing

through rhetorical strategies is a tendency of the writers, who manage to convey intimate fears and personal concerns. By elaborating on local history, such writings succeed in reflecting upon and revealing global history. Petree (2002:2) declares that journals and diaries are historical not only in the sense that they only come to light after the death of their author, but also because, as mentioned before, personal writers, motivated by their purposes for writing as well as by their audience, make a conscious attempt to remain accurate and truthful; aspects that should be considered in the analysis. Thus, as Petree (1999:1) declares, "women's literary traditions are prompted by their historical cultural roles, and it is impossible to understand or appreciate women's literature without giving attention to their history [ies]".

Among the reasons indicated by Petree for discussing historical personal literature as a distinct genre is the narrow and finite *oeuvre*. Sometimes, such texts are either destroyed or undervalued; other times, they, as frequently dismissed by publishers, are printed only in limited editions by family members. In addition, personal writings deserve to have a critical approach different from those employed for fiction because of the purposes and resulting features of their texts. Their aim is basically to record personal experiences rather than "to persuade, to enlighten, or to delight". Such recordings may either be the detailing of "work-a-day efforts, simple statements of fact, occasional terse comments on people or places", or the ones on experiences that have "touched [her] deeply enough to evoke monumentalizing through words" (Petree 2002: 8). Thus, the evaluations of tone and style, grammar and syntax, diction and voice, as well as the use of figurative language and rhetorical techniques employed must then be altered to accommodate and emphasize the deep human experiences expressed in personal literature (Petree 2002: 1, 2), since the main interest is rather on the "vitality of [this] hastily written, unedited, rushing [diary entry]" (Petree 2002: 8).

The personal writings analyzed in this work belong to distinct sub-genres. As Professor Petree clarifies in a personal correspondence (14 Aug. 2005), while diary and journal entries are often disconnected from each other because of the nature of what is recorded, autobiographies, on the other hand, are constructed in one sitting (or at least several consecutive sittings) and records, from memory, events as the author is able to recall them, sometimes using documentation such as diaries, letters, etc. Typically, a diary is shorter and contains more mundane information than a journal. A diary might include, for example, the daily temperature, rainfall, household tasks, etc., without comment. A journal would provide, perhaps, that kind of information but also some commentary and observation, some reflection about what's occurring, not just a list. Maureen U. Beecher (2000:xvi) introduces the image of the quilt to relate daily accounts and autobiographies:

> Each recorded moment, each diary entry, is a piece saved from the fabric of a woman's day. Ragged, incomplete, misshapen – only its color and its pattern are left to show how it fits with its mates. A diary or a journal can be seen as a jumble of unconnected pieces tossed together into a box and pushed under the bed.
>
> Having survived the great demands of her life, a woman might in her later years pull out her box of swatches and arrange them into a full quilt top . . . a woman could now create a work in which every piece connected artistically and permanently to its neighbor and every block had its partner; emergent patterns become fixed, that is part of the whole. Each piece that the collector still liked, that is, or would acknowledge as hers. That is an autobiography. Its intricacy or simplicity tells more about the woman at the time of its quilting than it does of the parts at the time of their origin. It uses the stuff of the past as raw material out of which the present is ordered and represented.

Both diaries and journals are assumed to be spontaneous and contemporary. Even that is compromised, though by the fact that often the diary keepers and/or their families went back through and recopied or rewrote what they had written, confusing autobiography and journal-keeping. Jane Tanner always did that, but whether Patience did that or not is unknown. Tanner employs both rhetorical strategies: in Fragments, a book already published about her, she gives her life history up to the time she is sitting down to write an autobiography. The rest of her work is diary and journal based.

vi. From Documents to Monuments

As mentioned in the chapter On Memory, Foucault and LeGoff claim that the document proves to be not merely "objective, innocent raw material, but expresses past society's power over memory and over the future" (Le Goff xvi) and that it eventually acquires the status of a monument. Directly connected to the notion of memorial and to the act of reminding, the concept of a monument is essentially related to everything that might evoke the past and perpetuate memory, including written artifacts (Ferreira). As Foucault declares, while, traditionally, history "undertook to 'memorize' the monuments of the past, to transform them into documents and to make these traces speak, although they are often non-verbal, or silently express something other than what they say", recently, history aims at regarding such documents as monuments. This shift implies the subversion in history's *modus operandi*:

> in the place where one used to decipher the traces left by men, where one tried to recognize the image of what they had been, it now deploys a mass of elements that tries to isolate, group, make pertinent, to put into relationships, and to constitute as wholes (Le Goff 177).[37]

The literary artifacts written by these women in the form of personal records become monuments to their own lives: "these journals stand as evidence that monuments need not be

in stone . . . [these women] made monuments for themselves, using materials they could control – words, pen, and ink" (Petree 1999:227). Their experience was monumentalized, preserved and eternalized through the words they not only wrote but rather lived.

One cannot acknowledge the singularity with which the Mormon microculture reconstructs past and reveres its pioneer heritage without recognizing personal writings – of course, not only the ones here analyzed – as a valuable source for the knowledge and information needed for such a reconstruction:

> Women's journals are gleaned for information and details which are used in erection of the visible monuments; it is through the first-hand writing of people who lived the pioneer experience that the kitchens and parlors and offices can be restored (Petree 1999:227).

The rising interest in personal writings among Mormon people have resulted, among other things, in the publication of the well-known series The Life Writing of Frontier Women, which makes such accounts available to a greater number of readers, other than the aging family members who happen to keep the originals, or the historians, who were once the only readers but were not necessarily the author's descendents:

> The journals were once read only by historians and then hidden away, safely stores in dark vaults, metaphoric perhaps for the women writers themselves, once carefully pedastalized (sic) and then hidden away in the protective solitude of their homes" (Petree 1999:227).

Nowadays, pioneer personal accounts not only are accessible to a wider audience, but also stand, monumentally, as landmarks which indicate paths, enlighten lives, and enliven the souls of those who happen to read them. They contribute to the (re)construction of the pioneer past and also to the (re)construction and maintenance of a collective memory and sense of group identity.

CHAPTER 4

MARY JANE MOUNT TANNER'S ODDS AND ENDS

> "an account which I think will interest [my posterity], and give them an idea of the changes and vicissitudes we had to pass through in the early settlement of Utah, and also in the early rise of the Mormon church"
>
> Mary Jane Mount Tanner

i. A Sketch of Jane Tanner's Life

Mary Jane Mount Tanner was born in February 27, 1837 to Joseph and Elizabeth Bessac Mount, in Ohio, where her parents joined the church. Among the first group of Mormon emigrants, the Mounts crossed the plains in 1847 in covered wagons.

In 1855, in Salt Lake City, Mary Jane met Myron Tanner, a man eleven years older than herself, who was "charmed by the literary tastes and poetic instincts of this refined and intelligent woman" (Godfrey 307), and in the following year they got married. The couple moved to Payson, Utah, but, in 1860, due to Myron's prosperity in business they decided to move to Provo, where they settled permanently. Myron and Jane had nine children, three of whom died in early childhood.

In 1866, Myron took Ann Crosby as his second wife. She was then a twenty-year-old English girl converted to Mormonism, and for her, he provided a separate home. Myron and Ann had eight children, three of whom died – two babies and one eleven-year-old girl. Ann proved to be fond of drinking whiskey, which as Jane asserted in a letter to her aunt Mary, was rare among Mormons,

> It is rare for women to drink. I do not know of but one case. They are English. She was young and pretty, but her mother and older sister came out a few years after she was married and they used to drink in the old country. They led

> her into it and she is gone in spite of all Myron could do to save her (7 Oct. 1883).

Mary Jane Mount Tanner's life is strongly marked by the intersection between her private and public spheres of action. Her time was divided between her growing family and never-ending drudgery of domestic chores and her responsibilities as a Relief Society president. She reports the time-consuming household activities of cooking, washing, ironing, housecleaning, soap making, butchering, making pillows, and sewing, as well as on seasonal work like fruit canning and preserving. She also gives an extensive account of her busy social life and mentions attending theater, conferences, lectures, school exhibitions, quilting meetings, picnics, and holidays. As a Relief Society leader she was also involved in assisting the poor and needy people, visiting the sick, and laying out the dead. Her involvement in public affairs is also reflected in her registration as a voter and through her active participation in the so-called "indignation meetings".

Among all such activities and responsibilities are her dreams of writing, one of the most striking and revealing themes of her personal writings. For Jane Tanner, writing (especially poetry) would be a way for her to achieve recognition and fame in the "literary world". Her obsession with writing, as well as her frustrations in finding time to write, also shows some of her more intimate conflicts and anxieties in conciliating her various distinct roles.

Jane describes herself as

> a sincere believer of the cause which I have espoused, and an earnest worker in the kingdom. Weak in constitution but strong in spirit, with more ambition than strength to carry out. A lively disposition which has been somewhat saddened by sickness and sorrow. Of medium height and slender build, my

> average weight being 110 lbs. Complexion, neither blond or brunet, but fair skin with black eyes and hair.[38]

Through Mary Jane Mount Tanner's personal writings, one obtains a fascinating overview of nineteenth-century American society, from the perspective of a devout and involved Mormon polygamous woman. In her journals we find "careful historical documentation" coexisting with private meditations, contemplations, catalogues, records and comments (Petree 1999:150).

> Her personal history is clear, chronological, concise. It is written in a semi-journalistic style that includes short paragraphs and provides specific dates, places and names. For the most part, she avoids the formulaic hyperbole of sentimental nineteenth century rhetoric, and has a neat ability to write carefully constructed sentences which convey good imagery in compact form (Petree 1999:157).

Through her accounts, we not only share pieces of history but also understand their effects on the lives of the community and individuals. As Jane declares, since she was not the only one to record the "troubles and persecutions of the times", her intention was not to write general history but to record "such things as come under my personal observation" (Petree 1999:161).

The life writings of Jane Tanner shed light upon many intriguing questions of the nineteenth-century western United States: the raising of a family within a polygamous setting, the conciliation of family needs with public responsibilities, the power of disease and death, the colonization and progress of the country, the woman's question, and the establishment of a collective and an individual identity.

ii. Particulars of Jane Tanner's Personal Writings

a. Editorial Methods

Concerning the editorial methods adopted in the transcription of the microfilm of the original manuscript, Petree clarifies

> I have preserved in every instance Jane's spelling, punctuation, paragraphing, capitalization etc. The original document, painstakingly hand-copied by Jane in much he same way that a modern author might type his or her own record, is comparatively easy to read. There are some, but not many, corrections in the original; I preserved them as well . . . words or marks that I am unable to decipher without a good degree of confidence, I use a question mark in parenthesis —(?)— to indicate my uncertainty. Jane's spelling was consistent but not always in conformity with modern usage. She was, however, inconsistent in doubling letters to add suffixes when forming adverbs, and she always spelled polygamy as poligamy. I have retained her spelling in every case.

Misspellings have therefore been preserved.

b. Style and Content

As one would expect, Jane Tanner's literary skills are reflected in her personal writings, which embody both her personal experiences, with inherent anxieties, feelings and aspirations, but also historical experience, focusing on the effects on individuals' lives. As she states, "the persecutions of the 'Saints' is a matter which has passed into history, but one can scarcely form an idea from general history of the various effects of these changes in individual life and character" (Petree 1999:155). Her writings are noteworthy for their "description, historical accuracy, careful control, and conscious objectivity or subjectivity tempered with light humor and self-directed irony" (Petree 1999: 154).

Although Jane Tanner has published a book of poetry – Fugitive Poems – and has also written her memoirs, the texts analyzed in this study consist mainly of three volumes of journals, which she calls “Diary”, as it marks the beginning of her formal diary keeping. The typescript was created by Professor Sandra Petree from the microfilm copy of the original manuscript, which is available at the Manuscript Division, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah, in Salt Lake City. As Petree observes, the first volume begins in the middle of a ledger, which suggests that Jane Tanner probably kept some sort of personal record prior to the diary itself, and also suggests that paper was a valuable commodity that demanded sparing use at that time.

c. Organization and Time Span

The journals begin on September 15, 1872 and end on December 31, 1885. There is a time lapse between the first volume, which ends on November 11, 1879 and the second volume, which starts on January 1, 1883 and ends on March 23, 1885. The third and last volume starts on April 10, 1885 and ends abruptly on December 31, 1885, and consists primarily of a travel narrative of her trip back East. This final volume starts in

> a new ledger in the waiting room of the Provo train station as she embarked. The ledger is 220 pages long, and Jane’s trip ends on page 205. Except for a few comments about her homecoming and smattering of family events following her trip, this is the end of Jane’s extant personal journals (Petree 1999:211).

The last volume carefully names the towns and train stations, and describes the scenes along her way. She treats the reader with vivid depiction of buildings, streets, and manners, as well as with a detailed account of her disappointments in encountering hostility, insults and prejudice among non-Mormons.

d. Tone

Her tone may vary according to the subject she is reporting and obviously seems to be “highly influenced by the nature of her reminiscence”. A rather formal and melodramatic tone can be easily sensed when she deals with personal tragedies, diseases, deaths and funerals and also whenever she philosophizes on the course of events. In her entry dated December 31, 1884, she reflects upon her accomplishments in the previous year. Her anxieties about the dullness of routine and the passage of time give the entry a rather melancholic tone.

> . . . in looking on the past year I see little to be proud of. But little accomplished beyond the ordinary routine of life. Will it always b so. and shall I never have anything to record but the monotony of everyday. with no great object gained, and no great end attained. The golden hour of life are passing and by and by age and infirmities will gather around us, and we will look back and wonder how we could have passed along and accomplished so little.

Pleasant experiences and personal triumphs, on the other hand, cause her writing to be less formulaic, even light-humored, with self-directed irony (Petree 1999:154; 159). On June 20, 1879, she reports on her weariness, but this time much more light-humoredly than before. Despite her physical exhaustion, one can easily sense through her tone a feeling of fulfillment.

Went visiting yesterday at Mrs. Martha Bullock’s. Aunt Lucy Smith is up from Sal Lake City and we have to visit all around with her. We were all tired out talking. It was so late before got any dinner we got faint and could not talk and some of us laid down. When I came home I told Jane and she told Marion and his father, and how they did laugh at me. I am tired of visiting and feel as if I did not want to go out again in a long time. Marion asked me to go to the party tonight but I said No. I had visited enough to night to last awhile. Finished

my uslter. It looks nice. Seth's boys talk of going home tomorrow. Mary tanner is married to Henry Nebeker. She and Eddie called here today (June 20, 1879).

As shown in the epigraph to this chapter, Jane had an audience and a purpose in mind. She also feared that in fifty years the struggles of the pioneers of Utah would have passed from memory. Through her personal writings, Jane records and monumentalizes historical facts which had been "connected to her own experiences". She claims her writings to be a legacy to her children and a way for her name to be held in honorable remembrance among them.[39]

iii. Ordinary Accounts of Extraordinary Value: Themes of the Journals

Jane Tanner's life writings are overwhelmingly pervaded with meaningful accounts which reflect the mentality and history of the Western United States in the nineteenth century. There are innumerous entries which not only allow readers access to the past, descriptions, and historic accounts but more significantly provide them with a glimpse of its effects on the community and individuals' lives through intimate meditation and philosophizing. In fact, Jane Tanner's contributions distinguish her as a local historian, whose roles are "to synthesize the common heritage and project it as a common hope for his own locality" and more significantly

> to integrate this purely local aspect of his mission with ever-enlarging concentric circles of group consciousness, until his own local history is integrate wholesomely, logically, and beneficially, with the ever-expanding realms of history which ultimately encompass the story of the world and of man (Fife 1963:317-318).

Fife goes on to add that although the balance between the particular and the universal is what any historian must constantly strive to realize, it is however, impossible to achieve. Jane Tanner's narrative challenges Fife's view of the unattainability of such a

balance, for they naturally merge the individual with the community, the particular with the general (Petree1999: 250).

In this section, some relevant themes of Jane Tanner's personal writings – which are meaningful not only because they are significant to her own life in particular, but also because they prove to be fundamental for the understanding of the nineteenth-century Mormon women's (and sometimes their American counterparts') collective existence – will be selected. The sources of the journal entries will be quoted and analyzed for the purpose of illustration. Many of the entries depict the tangible circumstances of their reality, others, by their very nature demand a more subjective interpretation.

One important consideration is that her accounts often reflect her fascination for writing, her aspirations toward gaining recognition within the literary world and very often they express her frustrations in finding time for writing – notice that when she refers to writing, she means writing poetry rather than keeping a journal.

a. Domestic Drudgery and the Passage of Time

Hard work was imposed on both women and men on nineteenth-century American frontier. Jane Tanner constantly reports on typical domestic activities, and on the weariness resulting from them. In the following passages, she reports on the dullness of routine and how the time consuming daily activities arouses in her anxieties of emotional nature, as they relate to the passage of time. Her tone is often melancholic and dramatic.

> I must write a little in my journal tonight. It is hardly worthwhile to write in it daily. Breakfast, dinner, supper, washing, ironing and sewing, with now and then an item of gossip and the record is made (March 12 (?) 1878).
>
> What a small world to compromise so much; I am always busy and yet seem to accomplish so little. I wonder if I shall go down to my grave with nothing accomplished but the routine of work from one week to another. Nothing to

> leave behind me. No record to tell that I have been. No improvement in my moral or intellectual condition. No rest for mind or body. Just one dull round of toilsome labor to keep soul and body together, or accumulate the drop th perishes and fades away; and when we are gone there will be a little mound and a slab, perhaps, to say, “He was but is not.” (August 2, 1878).
>
> I sometimes think I might do well if I had time, but I cannot study or read to any profit. It is work, work, and what is accomplished when it is done. The same old routine, all to be done over. So it goes, year in and year out (September 1, 1878).
>
> We do a little, plan and consider a little and the time is gone and how little is accomplished How small is our strength for what we are striving to do (January 29, 1879).
>
> I fear I shall not be able to do it. and yet I have dreamed of it so much. It is little use dreaming I interferes with our labors; and labor is all we should look for in this life Labor for what? Why just for the sake of labor. If I could see something ahead, something to be attained, I could labor cheerfully. My young days are gone and old age is creeping along (February 18, 1885).

This passage refers to her dream of traveling back East to see her relatives, especially her aunt Mary.

Some other passages portray the constant preoccupation with the passage of time.

> Another day has gone by and is numbered with the past. One more leaf is written and the page is about to be turned, and we know not what the next may reveal (August 25, 1878).
>
> The old year has passed away as so many preceeding years have done, leaving its record of good and ill. Leaving its trace upon nations as well as upon

> individual life. Many of our old friends have passed from among us, and their faces will be seen no more on the busy streets or in the home circle. New generations are springing up around us and little feet are fast pressing on to fill the ranks of life. Nations are struggling on, big with the weight of their destinies. Art and science develop, while civilization spread their influence from land to land. A new year has entered the arena to make its mark on the cycle of time (January 1, 1883).
>
> Christmas has come again, as every year it comes around and marks us one year more. There was a time when I waited for it eagerly thinking the time went only too slowly For it was a season of mirth and gayety (December 25, 1883)

The entry continues with reminiscences of her youth. She recalls balls and meditates "with such different eyes", recognizing some changes in manners since that time. She comments that at that time, people would stay up late, while "now the balls close at twelve oclock". Modesty in dress was another change she acknowledges, "Young ladies too dress much more sensibly than they did in those days. We no longer see low necks and short sleeves and gauzy dresses in the ballroom, Thanks to dame fashion, much as she chased".

b. The Power of Disease and Death in the Nineteenth-Century American Frontier

Diseases and deaths, funerals and burials are recurrently referred to in Jane Tanner's journals. As a matter of fact, they were intrinsically connected to nineteenth-century life. Epidemics and health treatment limitations took the lives of many. Jane Tanner mentions several diseases that haunted individuals and the community, among which she cites diphtheria, pneumonia, chicken pox, whooping cough, dropsy, typhoid fever, and heart disease. Many women died while giving birth, and Jane herself reports on suffering from

childbed fever and recurrent headache and fatigue. Toothache and colds were also objects of concern during the nineteenth century.

From the very beginning of her journal and throughout her narrative, one can find accounts of diseases, deaths and the consequent commotion they caused on individual and community's life. The nature of the subject sustains the melancholic and dramatic tone of the meditations presented.

> It is a long time since I opened my journal. The child I cared for so tenderly is now a little angel in Heaven. I staid by it all the time I was able and tried all that lay in my power to keep the little one with us to conform its mother in her widowhood (March 30,1874).
>
> Bro. Joshua Davis buried three of his grandchildren today. Henry's child, Emily Buckners and Rachel Graham's All buried from his house. hey died of diphtheria Several more are sick (February 4, 1879).
>
> Mr. Graham Rachel Davi's husband died last night, and was buried today. It is hard for the young wife and mother to lose her babe and then her husband. Hard to see she nature of the disease prevents people from going to visit the living or pay the last respects to the dead. I wrote them a letter of condolence, but felt afraid to express my sympathy in any more substantial way. Diphtheria is such a fatal disease and we are advised not to expose our families to it (February 13, 1879).
>
> Nina Beebe Coltrin died this morning leaving a baby a few hours old. The news gave me quite a shock. It is dreadful to see so many young women die and leave young children (January 30, 1883).
>
> I went to a funeral on Monday. The child of Mrs. Hawley, a granddaughter of Mother Billings was buried. On Tuesday Father Barrett was buried. After a

> long and painful illness the poor old man has gone to rest and we all felt that it was a blessed release. I did not feel able to go to the grave yard, but came home. Today we have a telegram from Freeman Tanner saying his baby was dead, and Myron wants me to go up to Payson to the funeral. There is such a gloom it seem all funeral (March 7, 1883).
>
> Mr. Bullock has just sent for us to come out to his house to attend the funeral of their baby tomorrow. A good many people are sick (February 2, 1884).
>
> Thee is so much sickness, scarcely a family but has some one sick (February 10, 1884).

The next entry, dated March 18, 1883, reports on Jane's visit to Payson where she attended the funeral. It was in Payson that Jane's two sons were buried and her visit to the graveyard activates a series of reflections on life and death and strongly suggests the power of faith in life after death. The passage reads

> My two little boys lie in the Payson Burrying Groung It will be twenty five years next Aug since we laid our little Myron there John was buried nearly three years later. Nearly a quarter of a Century! What changes have passed while our little ones were sleeping. I could not think as I leaned on the delapidated fence that surrounded the little graves, now overgrown with noisesome weeds of the possibilities of life had they staid with us. They would now have been stalwart men, one 26 and the other 22 years old. Married perhaps with families around them, but to me they are still the sweet babes on my bosom, and I thank God they were mine, and they are mine, for I shall meet them again and fold them in my arms as of old.

The passage is then interrupted and a new disposition of words – suggesting verses that are irregularly indented in the subsequent lines – reveals the following:

Fare well sweet ones a little while

And then this bitter parting

Will all [the word *soon* is crossed out and *all* written over it] be

o'er and we shall smile

Far beyond its smarting.

c. Development in the West and in the Country

As mentioned above, Jane Tanner moved to Utah in her childhood days. A ten-year-old girl when her family joined the first group of pioneers to cross the plains in covered wagons, she witnessed many of the changes in the development of the West. In 1873, the railroad arrived in Provo, the city where Jane and her husband settled. The semi-frontier community then showed streets and walks unpaved and boasted a thriving, semi-weekly newspaper, The Utah Enquirer. Jane offers her readers vivid descriptions of the advancements in transportation, communication and urban structures. Sometimes, especially when making descriptions during her trips, her tone gains brightness and vitality. She describes the scenes with the immediacy of an ongoing record. The verb tense – present – also gives the reader the sensation of experiencing the trip, through her eyes and words, which often share the rhythm of the locomotive. Led by the flow of her thoughts, Jane recollects the past, which reflections turn her tone into one of contemplation.

> It is conference today but I rose early and started for Salt Lake on the train. I had been trying so lon to go I would not wait any longer for fear of storms. It is a beautiful morning and the sun rises in splendor over the frosty hills. As I pass the point of the mountain and look down into Salt Lake Valley I see a covered waggon toiling up the hil and my mind goes back to the times I have traveled the same road in the same primitive style. We did not dream once that we should hear the shriek of the locomotive among these lonely hills. But

here we are rumbling along on the early train, the sun gladening the dearth with his splendor, and the beautiful undulating valley dotted here and there with farms and towns spread out around us like a grand panorama. We pass fences, trees, and telegraph poles, that seem flying past us in a crazy sort of way. We stop at Draper for the other train to pass and I open the door to look out, the air is so refreshing. We stop again at Sandy, and the guard kindly brings me a cup of tea from the eating house where people are taking breakfast. It proves to be sweetened water gently diluted with skim milk, but it is hot and I eat some cake with it and feel refreshed. At Cottonwood the car stops. I look out of the window and see a dirty looking stable and a cow quietly feeding outside. A few leafless trees form the background. On the other side I catch glimpse of a low adobie house. Soon we stop a moment at the Germania smelting works. Black, dirty and ugly. Smoke and steam are puffing out of the chimneys Sunday though it is. Men are moving about in a lazy sort of way, and some little boys are standing on the edge of the pond stoping to look at the train before they go on with their skating. Passing there I try to locate the cañons. I see Mill Creek with its yawning mouth, and rocky sides covered with snow, and my mind reverts to the long ago when I was a careless, thoughtless child; and I lived, with my parents, far up in the cañon, shut in by these great gray rocks that almost seemed to hide th elight of day, and the tall trees made the day gloomy and the wolves howled at night and our home was desolate and our hearts were desolate, and we were hopeless and hungry and the snows of winter almost buried us in. But God sent His beautiful sunshine een there, and the snows melted, and nature put on her green mantle. We came down to the valley where the wheat grew and ripened,

> and we pulled the first yellow ears and shelled them with our hands and blew out the chaff with our breath and ground it in the coffee mill and made bread, and ate and were happy again. But here is Salt Lake, with its great swelling, pulsing tide of humanity. We pass some neat little houses, with here and there a time worn cabin. A white mule stands staring at us with sleepy eyes, and the streets frow broad and pleasant. A little snow is on the ground, just to remind us, s the sun shines on it, that all that glitters is not gold. The guard shouts Salt Lake as the train stops. I take a street car and go to Aunt Lucy Smith's (December 1, 1878).

A year earlier, she had also recollected her past days, when her family first came to Utah. Her recollections were triggered by her reading a book on pioneer Mormon Women. The entry reads

> It is Monday and I arose as usual, assisting with the work and helping wash until three oclock. I sat down to rest and read in Tulledge's new book called "The Women of Mormondom." It carried me back in immagination to the various scenes through which we had passed in colonizing this country, and I was led to reflet on the goodness of God to us as a people in bringing us through the trials which had called forth almost superhuman energy and strength of endurance. I know that the colonization of Utah is a marvel to the world, but how much more would they marvel if they knew the various perils we had passed through and the hardships we encountered, and which we never could have born but for the hand of an allwise providence (December 17, 1877).

In May of 1879, Jane is invited by Myron to go to Salt Lake City, where President Wells would be released from jail after his confinement “for contempt of Court, he having

refused to answer some questions asked him while on the witness stand in a polygamy case". The event had a great importance within the community and was much commemorated with flags, banners and music, for people wanted to pay "honor [to our] veteran leader" (May 5, 1879). Jane reports on the bewilderment the event caused among the non-Mormons: "Outsiders can hardly understanding the meaning of it. They had telegraphed to Camp Douglas to have the soldiers ready in case of an outbreak. We are hardly prepared to fight with so many women and children out so they need not be afraid" (May 6, 1879).

The next day, through Jane's description the reader can almost see the growing 1879-Salt Lake City. Her tone is light-humored with some poignant assertions:

> I get up this morning somewhat weary after yesterday's excitement. After breakfast Miss Hyde takes me to the depot. The city looks very pleasant in the morning sunshine. Everything is quiet and shows no traces of yesterdays excitement Business houses are beginning to open and people are hurrying to the depot. The cars are filling and I pass through three before I find a seat everybody looks happy and talks of the times and the things that interrest them. It is a time long to be remembered. The Tribune is spiteful and insulting as ever. I think an immersion in Salt Lake would hardly wash away their sins. If it was tried I would recommend a lengthy one were it not for spoiling the salt market. The vallies look lovely in the morning sun with their variety of foliage, and one cannot help contrasting the general appearance of the country and the mode of traveling with what it was twenty five years ago . . . A sollid looking rock house gives one an idea of comfort if not of superfluity. A variety of buildings meet the eye all sudgestive of the taste or ability of the owner. Utah Lake spreads its silvery surface in the sun, broken by the breeze which sends it rippling and sparkling from shore to shore. Farms

> dot the country here and there as we near Provo and show the industry and prosperity of the people. Here we are at the depot and a living tide ours out of the cars. Myron meets me with the team. He stops at the Factory and I drive home. Sister Clark came with me from the train. Jennie makes me some dinner. I am so weary I hardly know how I shall go to work after my holliday (May 7, 1879).

In April 1885, Jane eventually departs on her long-dreamed of trip back East. She reaches New York City on April 20, and is shocked with the distinct features of the city and its innovative lifestyle. She reports, “the streets are packed with vehicles of all kinds, and paved with rock, and the noise is so great that we can hardly speak to each other. Ever thing is so strange I should not know how to get along if my cousin had not come for me”. In a further entry, she observes the urban traits of the city and expresses her astonishment of the housing, and the resulting astounding patterns of life the metropolis imposes. Her description is sharp and her tone is critical:

> A large proportion of the people in these large citties rent homes. Houses are built in suits. Some consist of cottages of two stories and a basement. Some are built in flats. These flats are houses five or six stories high. Each suit of rooms occupies one floor and people live one family above another. This is the French style. The price of each flat raises according to the height. People are unwilling to rent to families who have children. The first question asked is, Have you children? Are they boys or girls? If girls have they beaus. Do you keep servants: If these questions are asked and answered satisfactorily, and you can pay the price demanded, you may rent the house if it suits you. If you have too large a family or your family does not suit them you cannot rent the house. It is hard for a family with children to rent a house. A young

> couple commence housekeeping and when a baby comes they are liable to have to move if their rooms are so situated as to anoy others with a baby in the house. This makes it unpleasant for people to raise families among the medium or poorer class or any class in fact that does not own their homes. Pianos and sewing machines are an objection. It must cost great effort of patience and good will to live so closely packed together. Every effort is made to secure good order. The streets are kept clean men go around to sweep and cart away the dirt. The side walks are paved with flagstones and the roads with cobbles. This makes traveling hard and noisy. Men cart off all the ashes, and rubbish but no garbage is alowed in it as the dirst is used to fill up waste places, and anything liable to decay would produce sickness or malaria. Every precaution is used to preserve health, consequently the waste from the table must b burned as there is nothing to feed it to.

In the entry of May 20, 1885, Jane provides her reader with an extensive description of New York, mentioning the “Bedloes Islands where the famous Barthaldi Statue is to be placed”, the Trinity Church, the business center of the city – the Stock Exchange on Wall Street, of which she declares

> We go up stairs and look over the balcony. Here we see a vast scene of excitement exhibited below. It is a large room and men have chairs and telegraphs an telephones and everybody is talking Everybody trying to be heard above the rest and the din and roar are indescribable It is a perfect "Babel." Here are what is called the "Bulls" and "Bears" of Wall Street Here fortunes are lost and made in a day. Money exchanges hands. Men go in rich and come out poor or go in poor and come out rich.

She also visits and gives a careful description of Central Park, the Art Museum, and the west Gallery.

d. Church History

Jane Tanner provides insightful accounts of the progress of the Church. In her memoirs, she recollects the notorious exodus from Nauvoo, when she was only a child. Her reminiscences maintain a childlike perspective as she offers them to her reader.

> It was a long time ago, but I can seem to see even now as my mind goes back, the little company of wanderes as they wound slowly along the long train teams creeping as it were day by day. We started out on the prairie, those who got out first waiting for the rest to come.
>
> I think I shall never forget that long lonely day, waiting on that vast undulating prairie that stretched as far as the eye could reach, covered with grass and flowers. It must have been a lovely scene that bright spring morning, but I hardly think it was properly appreciated by the little band who were so bravely leaving home, friends, country and kindred, to take their toilsome march across the rocky mountains. The oxen were detached from the waggons and feeding lazily among the green grass, knowing nothing of the future that lay before them, or that before many months their bones would, many of them, whiten on the desert sands. My childish heart knew as little as they of the hardship that lay before us. My pale delicate mother watched the teams while my father bussied himself assisting or counseling those who were starting out. No doubt her heart failed her on that long weary day as she sat in the bright spring sunshine, watching shadows and thinking of all she was leaving behind and wondering what the future held in store for her.[40]

The strong communal priorities set over the individual ones are also alluded to as she reports on an episode the children got involved with when wandering far from the camp for berry-picking. As a consequence, the imposition of a new law prevented children from roaming far from camp.

Years later, in recording her daily life, Jane briefly mentions some significant aspects of the Mormon microculture and the great efforts made in order to reproduce the cultural life left behind as they moved westward. Activities such as reading, musical skills, drama, recitations and the acquisition of secular knowledge have extensively been cultivated within the Mormon community ever since its early days. In 1875, the first of a system of schools established by the church, the Brigham Young Academy[41] was founded. Enrollment rapidly grew from twenty-nine to over four hundred students in 1883. In her entry of January 28, 1884, Jane reports on a fire that destroyed the Academy.

> "So goes Monday so goes all the week." I had hoped to make a better record today than last Monday but, so far, it is a worse one. Bessie was out last night when we went to bed and left the lamp turned down. We waked in the night and saw it still burning and wondered where Bessie could have staid. We supposed she had slept with some of the girls and were feeling vexed. Presently, much to our astonishment, she came. When we asked her where she had been she said, watching the Academy burn down. We were very much astonished, and wondered how we could have slept and not heard any of the excitement. We could not sleep any more and Myron got up. Mary Jane came to help wash and Grace and her went to washing. I went down with Myron to se the ruins. He went away with Bro. Smoot and some others, and I drove around to Marion's Bro. Callet had sprained his foot jumping out of the window while assisting to save things from the fire. There was a meeting

> called at the meeting house for the purpose of deciding what should be done. I took Bro. Callet up to meeting then came back and called on Mrs. James White. Mr. White and Mrs. Holdaway and Jennie all rode up to see Frank Newel. I came home about eleven o clock and found Bessie had gone to the meeting and Emma had gone to bed sick. The wash was not done up and every thing was in confusion. I hurried and straightened things about and got dinner. When the dinner work was done and the washing finished we got the buggy and went down to see them pulling down the academy walls. The woodwork was entirely burnt out and the blackened walls stood there, in danger of falling on people. A great deal of the furniture and property from inside the house was saved. The piano and both organs were taken out and the chemical instruments from the laboratory The ground was covered with the debris from that and the adjoining houses which were pulled down to keep them from catching fire. providentially there were no other houses burned. The fire was thought to be the work of an incendiary (January 28, 1884).

In her entry of April 1, 1883, Jane mentions the now well known Mormon Tabernacle Choir, which remains not only as an icon of the Mormon community but also as a renowned institution of American culture.

> This is a fool's day and he children are making the most of it. School is out and Grace will stay at home. I want the girls to study their music now. The Tabernacle Choir from Salt Lake came last Saturday to hold a concert at the Provo Meeting House.

On January 23, 1889, Jane reports on one important achievement of women of the church: the construction of a building for their own organization. The entry is short, but meaningful for every generation of Mormon women.

> There was a mass meeting today to see about building our Relief Society house. Being interested in it I felt obliged to attend. The people seemed interested and donated liberally $601,75 were donated. It will cost about $1,000. Went to the concert in the evening.

e. Being a Pioneer Mormon Woman

- **A Member of the Relief Society**

The Relief Society has been playing a meaningful role in Mormon women's lives since its beginnings in Nauvoo. Providing Mormon women with a formal structure, the female organization gave them significant responsibility and authority. Various circumstances, such as men's absenteeism –for proselyting missions or because some were engaged in plural marriages and had to assist more than one family –led Mormon pioneer women to have a less restricted sphere of action than their other American counterparts. Being organized in a formal society allowed them to initiate cooperative enterprises for making and marketing homemade goods, raising silkworms, establishing a grain storage program with local granaries, and helping finance the medical training of midwives and women doctors. Moreover,

> with the support of ward units, the central board established the Deseret hospital (1882-1895). Assuming a new political role, the Relief Society sponsored a series of "indignation meetings" to voice women's opposition to proposed antipolygamy legislation. After Utah women were enfranchised in 1870, the Relief Society encouraged women to vote. Then they actively campaigned for woman suffrage after they were disfranchised by the federal government in 1887.[42]

Being a member of the society, on the one hand, imposed on Mormon women many responsibilities they were strongly expected to perform, such as visiting and assisting the

poor, the sick, widows and the orphans, helping to fit out the missionaries, laying out the dead, organizing the sisters, and promoting activities on public celebrations and manifestations. On the other hand, it gave them many opportunities of self-improvement, social interactions, and political activity. Jane Tanner reports on several of these, for example, “preparing the minutes of our Society meeting for coppy and getting our report ready to send to press” (March 1, 1874). Another entry, dated of February 11, 1876, describes another of her duties,

> I have been busy all the week helping to fit out the missionaries for Arizona. The Relief Society was called on to assist the Bishop and it makes us considerable labor. We did all we could to get Jessie Harding and wife ready and thought we had the job nicely off our hands, when wwe were informed that another party wished an outfit. Polly Ann Carter of our Ward is going to be married to William Whipple of the Second Ward, and go to Arizona with him. We got her a few things and means from the treasury, and some donations from the people. I gave something that I thought would be useful, and could, no doubt, collect more if I were able to get around.

In helping people coping with death, she writes, “Mrs. Fish’s baby died on Thursday morning last. They are very poor and as R.S. president it devolved on me to attend to dressing it” (September 16, 1883).

There are also several references to socials. Quilting meetings and picnics are often the object of her accounts. The passages that follow are only a few samples of such records, which vary little.

> Our picnic is over and that seems all that is worth recording. It passed off as such things usualy do, with a great deal of hard work and confusion, but withall quite satisfactorily. The children had a nice time and we did all we

> could to make them happy as it was especialy for the Sunday Schools Thee are 181 children belonging to the SundaySchool of our Ward (January 22, 1878).
>
> Relief Society quilted here on Thursday. We put the quilt in the adobie house and set the dinner in the large room. The day passed pleasantly Friday and Saturdy we finished the girls dresses. Yesterday the word came that Mr. Gillard, the sick man I have called on, was dying. I did not go down, but made arrangements for some to watch with him (March 16, 1879).
>
> We are preparing to celebrate the twenty Fourth. We want a banner for the Relief Society. Sister Pratt and I have undertaken to make it, but it takes a long time for neither of us understand cutting the letters. Sister Maria Lyman is visiting us. she will go to Payson on the evening train.
>
> Sunday (July 20. 1878).
>
> We are obliged to work today to finish our banners. Sister Hiner [?] came in to see if we had any wearing apparel in the fashion worn in 1847. as they are getting up a company to represent tht time. We finished our banner and it looks nice. On one side is the inscription Faith Hope and Charity. On the other, Third Ward Relief Society, made in red and gold letters. The banner is a white center with a blue border (July 21, 1878).

- **Seeking Singularity Within a Plural Marriage**

The most controversial issue with respect to the nineteenth-century Mormon community is plural marriage or polygamy, as it is always referred to. In fact, the more appropriate denomination should be polygyny, as the practice always concerned the plurality of wives. Far from being a promiscuous practice, plural marriage fulfilled three different purposes. First, as already stated, the Saints comprehended the practice as a commandment

from God; second, it accelerated the growth of the Mormon population[43]; third, it was a way of providing for the widows and single women, for only a few prosperous men were allowed into the practice.

Women involved in plural marriage shared the same assumptions as men and had to "give their husbands their permission to take additional wives". Notwithstanding, they too suffered the effects of the practice and some of them "expressed their anxieties over the physical and emotional distances that resulted from involvement in plural marriage". They had to cope with jealousy but they "struggled to attain a spiritual witness that the principle was divine" (Godfrey 15). For that reason, women engaged in public defense of the practice.

Once Jane Tanner visited her friend, sister Hyde, whose husband kept and took charge of the jail. There she happened to meet a prisoner girl confined for bad conduct. She describes the girl as "a delicate frail looking girl, who despite the effort of her freinds had taken to a life of shame". Jane then reflects upon the non-Mormons view of the practice, "the gentiles talk of polygamy, but practice a system so degrading, that brings for its fodl oves (sic) only shame and destruction for mind and body. Physical and spiritual death" (December 7, 1878). In a letter she wrote in defense of Mormonism sent to Mrs. H. H. Bancroft, of San Francisco, Jane declared,

> there is no accounting for or directing the dispositions of men and women, and many live unhappily together, where there is but one wife. I believe it is given for the regeneration of mankind. There are no healthier, or better developed children, than those born in polygamy. I cannot recall a single instance, as far as my observation extendes of idiocy, malformation, or deformity among those born in poligamic relations. (It is a blessing to needy women) . . .
>
> It is thought to promote jealousy, but I believe it allays it:for our ladies certainly have unbounded faith in their husbands, which I am told, by those

> having opportunitios for observation, the Gentile ladies who visit among us have not.[44]

Jane strongly believed that the practice was a divine principle and often expressed her certitude

> I have lived fifteen years in polygamy, which is a severe trial to our fallen nature, but God has sustained me, and I feel to rejoice that I am counted worthly to suffer for Christ's sake, that I may receive a glory and exaltation in the celestial kingdom of our God.
>
> I know that it is for the purification and exaltation of the human family, and I would not turn back that leaf of my history.[45]

It seems relevant to clarify the hostile attitude of non-Mormons towards Mormons and their religion. On August 29, 1852 when the practice of plural marriage was publicly announced, church leadership claimed it to be a right and declared

> the constitution gives the privilege to all the inhabitants of this country, of the free exercise of their religious notions, and the freedom of their faith, and the practice of it. Then, if it can be proven to a demonstration, that the Latter-day Saints have actually embraced, as a part and portion of their religion, the doctrine of a plurality of wives, it is constitutional. And should there ever be laws enacted by this government to restrict them from the free exercise of this part of their religion, such laws must be unconstitutional[46]

However, polygamy was still considered immoral, barbaric and deplorable and a considerable amount of anti-polygamy literature was written. One of the most striking accusations referred to the oppression and degradation imposed on women under polygamy. In 1862, President Lincoln signed the anti-bigamy bill, known as the Morrill Law which "struck at both polygamy and Church power by prohibiting plural marriage in the territories,

disincorporating the . . . Church, and restricting the Church's ownership of property to fifty thousand dollars". After that, several bills aimed at strengthening the anti-bigamy law, among which was Wade, Cragin, and Cullom.[47]

Federal intervention brought fear, anxiety, and indignation to the community, which felt that their situation was used to reinforce the claims against their community, their husbands and fathers, and ultimately their leaders and their religion; Mormon women decided to publicly defend the practice. For this purpose, they organized themselves, participated in public manifestations, and expressed their own view of the practice. As a Relief Society leader, Jane Tanner held one of the so-called "indignation meetings". Through Jane's accounts, we follow the unfoldings of the events. In the following passage, one has an idea of the breadth of the movement among Mormon women.

> I go thome Friday evening and was busy Saturday putting thins in order. Sunday was so cold I did not get to meeting. sister Pratt, my counselor in the Relief Society, came in the afternoon, and said we were expected to hold a meeting in our ward expressing our sentiments in regard to poligamy, and the action Congres is trying to take against us. The rest of the wards had held them, they were called indignation meetings. (December 16,1878).

A committee was elected and representatives were sent to the East to speak for the Mormon women in defense of plural marriage.

> She tells me that Sister Emeline Wells and Zina Williams start tody for Washington to represent the Mormon Ladies. They will, no doubt, create a sensation. the gentile ladies are sending a delegation. It is quite amusing to watch the proceedings (January 2, 1879).[48]

Back from the East, the committee reports on their visit to Washington. The Government comes up with a proposition. Jane reflects on the impact the banishment of the

practice would provoke. Her tone oscillates from ironic to bitter and the reader can sense the effect of the meeting on Jane's mood.

> Attended the Relief Society quarterly conference today. The reports were given in the forenoon, and in the afternoon Sister Wells gave us a very interresting account of her visit to Washington. Said they spoke of polygamy and of appropriating three million dollars for the care of the families that would be broken up through abolishing it What exceeding generosity: Three million dollars for homes, happiness an honor! Children deprived of their fathers, and wives of their lawful protectors Lives blighted and hearts broken, and a few paltry dollars given to patch up the wounds. Enough probably to support them comfortably for a year and what then, labor, privation, and hardship. We will thank them for their kind intentions and decline the three millions. Sister Zina Young made some excellent remarks, followed by Sister Snow. I am very tired and nervous tonight (February 28, 1879).

- **Establishing a Home**

Torn between her domestic responsibilities, and her public duties, Jane Tanner powerfully felt the need to maintain a private life. As a Mormon woman, she was expected to properly assist and care for her children, and she did find pleasure, joy and gratification in performing her role as a mother. Throughout her journals, we can easily sense the importance her children had in her life and she considered it a blessing to raise a large family. At times, when Ann – Myron's second wife – proved to be incapable of looking after her children because of her drunkenness, Jane welcomed the children and cared for them with love and affection.

Nevertheless, Jane cultivated a dream: that of writing and becoming known in the "literary world". She frequently expresses her most intimate anxieties as she faces difficulties

in finding time for writing – almost always related to writing poetry rather than her life story. Jane desperately struggles for balance and conciliation between her duties and personal aspirations throughout her life.

> Have been washing today and feel very tired. Have not written in my journal for a long time. Finished my story and determined not to touch the pen again until I had done some sewing. there is such a fascination in writing, when I give way to it that I should do little else if family cares did not oblige me to (June 24, 1878).

In 1879, Jane reported on the frustrations and compensations of being a "family woman".

> I thought of the twenty best years of my life passed in the drudgery strain and wory of raising a family. Lightened much by love and affection. How dreary and unendurable it would be were it not for the sweetness of mother love which brightens our lives and lightens our toil through all the long yeas of our bondage. And what is our recompense? Whatever time or circumstances may bring. We see our children growing up around us, taking their places in the world. If they fill places of honor we are proud and content. If places of care and wory, poverty or disgrace, then the heart mourns, ,and there is no rest and we look back to the days when their tripping feet were always leading them into dirt and mischief and realize that those days were the happiest. I seem to be gaining a little freedom now and rest. I can go to meeting or elsewhere if I am able and my heart is continualy planning a work to be accomplished just a little ahead. I have not written any all summer except a few letters and my diary but now I am a little stronger and hurry to get my work done, that when

> the winter days come and the children are at school I can take up my pen again and enjoy the time as I feel inclined (Oct 12, 1879).

The next entry was partly cited in the section iii. a of this chapter. It ends as follows

> I shall thank God if I have a record that will show for me in the great day of settlements. If I have trained the immortal minds that have been given me, to bring them up in the fear of the Lord, that I may say I have improved the tallents Thou gavet me. I have habored dilligently to train my chidren in the way they should go to eradicate the seeds of evil from the gardens of their souls and plant good seed to spring up and bear fruit; and direct them in the ways of life everlasting. Then my life will not be wasted even though no other record is mde. But how much toil and care, how much weary waiting beofre it is accomplished. (August 2, 1878).

In the first part of the entry, she complained about the routine and toil that imposes limitations on her intellectual aspirations. The word “record” certainly alludes to written records; moreover, in the first part of the entry she mentions “nothing to leave behind me. No record to tell that I have been”, which would be accomplished if her desire of having “a name of note in the literary world” (September 15, 1872) were realized. In a later entry she declares “ I amancious to write for I feel that the gift is given me and if I improve it I may yet gain a name that will be held among the honorable of the earth” (May 21, 1878).

As time goes by, Jane keeps reporting on her desire of writing, simultaneously acknowledging the importance of not neglecting her family affairs.

> As I grew stronger and reflected on life and its duties I thought perhaps there were more capabillities in my life than that occupation demanded. Teach we ever so wisely or well there is time needed to make our teaching effective. Whatever talent or genius I might possess certainly leaned toward literature,

> and I found it a pleasure and profit to devote a portion of my time to study and improvement in that line. My inclination led me so forcibly in that direction that such time as I could spare, without detriment to my family cares, was spent with my pen or my books (January 29, 1879).

One last passage seems essential for the revelation of another important role writing played in Jane's life. The entry is quite long (I will quote it partially) and the tone is contemplative, bitter, and at times ironic, in which she sharply exposes the duality of her feelings

> Rode up to Sister John's yesterdy with Mr. Swartant [?] and went with her to meeting. Had a very interesting meeting. Sister Smoot made some very interesting remarks. Mrs. McEullen [?] and I went to dinner with Sister John's. I met many freinds. I think it is good to meet and get acquainted with our sisters in the gospel, and hear them bear their testimony. It strengthens us in faith and good works. Some spoke of house-hold labor interfering with the higher duties of life. I would ask myself if he higher duties of life do not consist in performing faithfully the duties of wife and mother. They take our time and strength and if well performed leave but little time for other labor. And who shall say that she who has labored through the wearisome course, holding fast even unto the end shall not have her reward. She will surely have a reward in her children if her labors have been rightly directed and she has trained their immortal minds in the way of peace and righteousness. But if she has neglected her duties and let the weeds grow until the seeds are sown broadcast, she may raise a crop that no after years can eradicate. And is it not just possible that in seeking after "higher" duties she may neglect these smaller ones and "the enemy may enter in and sew tares while all sleep." I may be

> weaker than others. The routine of daily care takes all my time and strength, strings every nerve to its utmost tension. I have no interest in pollitics, no time for study, no strength to judge or comprehend matters outside of my immediate sphere of action. I have many dear freinds whose society I would like to enjoy, but if they come in I am so weary and stupid I can scarcely entertain them. I want rest, rest from the weary of care and perplexity. It is breakfast dinner and supper. Sweep, dust and make beds. I could not do it without the little girls and yet they worry and vex me. I have nothing to show for today. My labor done poorly and slowly done and that is all. My head aches and I am nervous and weary. It looks like rain. I hope it will I think it would cool the air and we would feel better. Myron is opposed to my writing. Thinks it hurts me. So I only keep up my journal and it is realy all I feel able to do. Drudge and worry, day after day, weak and worn out, mind and body, but that will not hurt me (August 5, 1879).

With home a space of conflict – an internal conflict – "a place to escape to and from"[49], in writing Jane would find the only home for her "self", the only place where she could really excel and succeed in "adding something to [her] store". She felt the need to improve the talent she was given and longed for the chance to "riase the mind above the dull routine of daily life, and seek for intelligence and wisdom, for all that is lovely and interesting" (September 15, 1872). Often she mentions her feelings of loneliness, inadequacy and inferiority. She writes

> I feel as if I had no one to go for advice . . . I feel my strength fail me and my sense of ignorance and inferiority overpass me utterly. Where can I turn or how lift myself from the bonds that hold me down. I cannot take the course of study necessary to develop my faculties (July 17, 1879).

This was not the first reference to the imprisonment imposed on her self. Earlier, in a moving entry, dated March 17, 1879, Jane gives us a metaphor that would later be explored by Kate Chopin's novel The Awakening, published in 1899: the caged bird. On January 29, 1879, Jane acknowledges the passage of time and digresses on the consequences of not "nerving the brains to action". She writes, "but when our narrow minds and puny strength are compared to theirs [Webster, Irving, and Scott – those whose names stand comspicuous in the worlds history] we feel our weakness and like the captive bird which beats its wings against the wires".

On March 17, 1879, Jane again uses the metaphor of the caged bird to express her feelings of confinement and restriction.

> I am too weak to read or study with profit. It is said that woman to write successfully must have an experience of her own. What experience have I or what can I have, bound down and hedged in by weakness and helplessness. I try to break the chains and escape from my prison, to revel in the joys of liberty with freedom of thought and range of vision that may give to my understanding and intellectual faculties a field to labor in, but I soon fall back panting and helpless like the bird that beats the wires of its cage, only to ruffle its feathers and bruise its wings. Yet in a quiet way I have done much work. There is a subtle instinct that leads me on, a spirit that will not rest.

The fact that she considers writing a way of escaping from the dullness of routine and the only manner of her exerting her talent is once more asserted. She seems hopeless and weak, but cannot give in. Even if her efforts will result only in bruised wings, she suggests that her "subtle instinct" will advance her, she will remain restless and unquiet and will probably continue to struggle for her freedom.

As her entry dated August 5, 1879 continues, Jane resents the fact that Myron condemned her writing and "criticized severely the sorrowful cast (as he calls it)", accusing it of hurting her.

> The bostle [?] of life demands it, and necessity keeps me up, but oh how I long for rest. For time to think and strength to say and do things which it is a pleasure to accomplish. It would seem such a rest, such a throwing off of the burdens of life. But that might hurt me, give me a headache or something. I am bound hand and foot. If I ever get into the light or rise to any purpose it will be through opposition and discouragement, and I know that I cannot. I have not strength the bonds that hold me though seeming only gossamer are strong as chains of steel, and I fret my poor wings against the bars only to fall back weaker and more hopeless than ever. I should not fret when so many momentuous questions are at stake, nor weigh my ideal sorrows when so many real trouble are before us. But what to me if empires rise and fall. I cannot stay them in my weakness. In my littleness I would hide my diminished head while the worth of the nations pass on.

The recurrent references to bonds, wires, and the caged bird allude not only to her imprisonment, but more significantly symbolize the entrapment of the women of her generation, whose movements were restricted by society. In Jane's case, writing would do for wings, wings that would set her free, and wings destined never to rest.

CHAPTER 5

PATIENCE LOADER ROZSA ARCHER'S RECOLLECTIONS OF PAST DAYS

i. A Sketch of Patience's Life

Patience Loader was born in 1832, in Aston Rowant, Oxforshire, England. She belonged to a large family, and was the fourth of thirteen children. Her father worked as the head gardener of Sir Henry Lambert. Patience begins her writings asserting the religious environment, in which she and her siblings were raised,

> as long as I can remember did My parents teach me to love and fear god and keep his commandments Never can I remember being put to bed without having to kneel at My dear Mothers knee to say my prayers and to ask God to take care of Me through the night we was taught the Lords prayer and to pray for father and Mother Brother^s^ & sister^s^and friends and taught this as our duty and taught that we was depending on God our heavenly father for all we was blessed with and we was taught to thank him for all blessings (Petree 2005:8).

Her parents belonged to the Church of England and raised their children under strict religious upbringing, observing Sunday as a holy day that demanded attendance at church and to Sunday school. Apparently, in those days Patience did not approve much of such a practice, since she felt socially restricted and tired. She declares

> I realy fealt religion a burthen to be bound to go all day to meeting and twice in the week I realy thought it was to much of a good thing. at that time I was fullof life and rely fealt I was buriying My days to live such a life thay almost thought it a sin to laugh and thay considered it awfull to think of going to a theater thay was boath old and settled down but I was young and realy wanted to see alittle enjoyment besides religion (Petree 2005:18).

Such vitality was also reflected through her endeavors of working to earn her own living. At the age of seventeen she asked her parents for permission to work. After their first objections, they finally agreed and gave her their consent. From this time on, Patience lived in various places in England and had several different occupations: she worked as a rooming-house maid, seamstress, cook, and housemaid in the London Burlington Hotel. Among her activities she mentions both toilsome ones, such as cleaning, washing, and cooking, and more delicate tasks, such as sewing and waiting on the sick. In the United States she also had a variety of different occupations: she sewed, ran a boarding house, and cooked in the mines of the American Fork area.

She was living in Highbury, in the outskirts of London with the Hendersons, where she "engaged to take a situation" to do "needle work and wait on [Mrs. Henderson] and her daughter" (19) when she first heard of the Mormons. At that time, she learned from Mrs. Henderson that her father and mother had joined the Mormons. When she finally managed to visit her family, she met two missionaries, who came to her parents' to teach, but she emphasizes that she "did not pay great attention to their preaching"(29). The next day she accompanied her father to Br. Archer's. At Br. Archer's she met a missionary from Utah, who did not please her much since he tried to convert her to Mormonism. Patience reports that "at that time I did Not want to be troubled so much about religion" (31). It was only later that Patience felt "the necessity of baptism for the remission of our sins and true repentance and obedience to the gospel of Jesus Christ would bring everlasting joy and happeyness" (31, 32). Considerably unbalanced between "two spirits to contend with the good and the bad" (32), Patience, very much influenced by the fact that she not only valued but was also very fond of cultural and social events, expresses her feelings in relation to joining the religion.

> I did not feel that I realy could settle down to live a religious life as the world beleivd allways going to religious Meetings and gatherings and there faces

> allways looking so Sad and Searious and thay think ^it^ a sin to sing a laughable song or go to a dance or Theater this way of living was so contrary to my Nature that I could not think of living this way and mope my life away . . but I found the Latter day Saints [crossed out did not] doctering was verey different to the religion of the [below the line] world and I could see that in the Gospel of christ there was true happeyness and true enjoyment and before I left My parents roof I was led by the Spirit of God to chuse the good part and I went fourth and was baptised [crossed out and] into the Church of Jesus Christ and in two days after returned back to London rejoicing ^but^ in a different way to which I had intended to rejoice when I left London two weeks previous to my going home (32).

Patience joined the church in 1854 and in December 1855, with part of her father's family, she emigrated to the United States on the John J. Boyd ship. While onboard, Patience experienced the strength of the community in the lives of the members of the church. Since the immigration ultimately represented the fulfillment of a divine command, careful arrangements and directions were both assigned and observed by both the leaders and immigrants so that proper assistance was provided at both the spiritual and physical levels (for further information, refer to Appendix 6 .)

Once in North America, Patience and part of her family joined the infamous Martin Handcart Company, which left Winter Quarters very late, in August 1856. The company faced various difficulties, including severe winter weather and famine, and subsequent illnesses and deaths, including her father's, who was buried on the trail. Despite delicate health, Patience managed to reach the valley.

In the summer of 1858, Patience met John Rozsa, a Hungarian immigrant, who was serving as a sergeant of the Tenth Infantry of the US Army under General Albert Sidney

Johnston (refer to section v of the historical chapter). Patience and John Rozsa were married on December 8, 1858, and she moved into Camp Floyd. There she faced several difficulties, including displacement and loneliness. In her own words, Patience reports

> [O]f course I fealt quite loansome at times in my New home away from all my friends I was very confortable and my husband was very kind and did every thing he could do to make me feel as happy as I could he new this was anew life to me to come to live in a Soldiers camp (100).

In 1861, with the outbreak of the American Civil War, the army was removed to Washington and Patience promised to follow her husband, who feared parting from his wife and son – John James Rozsa, born at the beginning of 1860. She reaffirms her vow to him

> For you have awife that will go with you as far as I can go knowing you must obey orderd of course I feel sorrey to leave my folks but will keep my promise to you and go to Washington with you Idont suppose I will be able to go any further with you if I can I am willing to go whare ever your lot is cast and share in whatever hardships you may have to endure (105).

In a subsequent passage, she restated her devotion to her husband as she replies to the captain Duddly's advice of her staying in Leavenworth for her own protection and well being,

> I told the Captain that I had left all my friends to come with my husband knowing when I left My folk^s^that he was going into the war and I came with him to go as far as I could go with him and I begged for him Not to leave me in Leavenworth but take me along with the company to Washington that I did not want to part with My husband until I was obliged too I told the Capitain that I knew I would have to be left some day before long when the time came

> for him to go in the field but I hope that he would let me go with my husband to Washington with my hard pleading (111).

As the war was over, they returned to Utah, but John's health was then extremely fragile and he died on the way back, leaving three boys and Patience pregnant with her fourth child, Amy Rosalie.

The dramatic end of their love story did not coincide with the end of Patience's trials and hardships. Indeed, they were prolonged with her responsibility of raising their children as a widow. Taking their first boy with her, Patience worked as a cook in the Miller Mine in the American Fork in order to provide adequate support for their children.

Although Patience's life writings ended in 1872, family members provided information on other important events of her life. In 1873, taking her children with her, she took a position as a cook for the Deer Creek Mine. She made great efforts in teaching her children the value of work as she assigned them jobs and paid salaries which they saved and used to provide clothing for themselves the next fall.

In 1877, at the age of fifty, Patience married John Archer, the man she visited with her father in England. They adopted another daughter, Ruth, who was born in 1901. In 1898 and 1899, at the age of 71, she served as a ward Relief Society president and was a treasurer for the City of Pleasant Grove. After her second marriage, it was no longer necessary for her to work outside her home and they "were happy companions" until he died in 1909, at age 86.

Patience Loader Rozsa Archer died on April 22, 1922, and is buried in Pleasant Grove, Utah.

ii. Particulars of Patience's Personal Writings

a. Editorial Methods

Professor Sandra Petree prepared Patience Loader Rozsa Archer's manuscripts for publication under the title Recollections of Past Days, which is an integral part of the series The Life Writings of Frontier Women, published by the Utah State University in March 2006. I will now enumerate some of the methods adopted in the edition of the manuscript, following Professor Petree's own description of her work, as cited in the introduction to the manuscripts.[50] Minimal interference has been made in the original writings – only enough to facilitate readability of the text. The editorial procedures include the addition of a few breaking points in places where "Patience herself shifts subject or verbalizes movement from one point to another in the narrative". Brackets mark the insertion of capital letters at the beginning of these breaks.

Punctuation is rather idiosyncratic, since "Patience uses dots that look like periods but that do not end sentences, and colons that seem randomly placed", as well as "pairs of dots which look like partial ellipses but which do not represent omissions". Nevertheless, all of such marks have been reproduced as exactly as possible.

Superscription of letters – the final s for instance was superscripted in the formation of plurals and also as an indication of the possessive – as well as above-line insertions are marked by the use of ^^. Strikeovers are also preserved.

Determination of intentionality in capitalization is problematic, since the use of capital letters was rather inconsistent. The letters m, w and j appear larger than other letters, even when in the center of a world, and "the objective word me seems often to be capitalized, in much the same way as the conventional first person subjective I".

In this work, quotes will be reproduced exactly as they are presented in Petree's version. Idiosyncrasies, such as misspellings, capitalization, punctuation, etc, will be preserved.

b. Style and Content

Sometime after 1887, Patience undertook the responsibility of recording her life story. Her writings very much allude to the efforts employed in the construction of an autobiography: the lack of interruptions, such as paragraph or sentence breaks somehow convey the continuity and breathlessness of the act of storytelling, which enriches the text with fluidity and vitality. Patience not only provides important details such as names of people, places and dates, but also reports on meaningful aspects of the mentality of the period through a rather straightforward narrative.

Petree (2005: 3-5) points out that her selection of voice was probably influenced by the voice of other writers to whom she would have had access, such as previously published Mormon autobiographers and canonized authors, especially the writers of sentimental fiction. As a result, the voice of the nineteenth-century sentimental heroine is sensed as Patience reports on socially disturbing situations when her virtue, fragility, and vulnerability are disclosed.

Her life story not only covers many of the important facts of the general history of the nineteenth century like the Victorian age and the American Civil War but also mentions specific relevant events of Mormon and Western history: the converts' immigration, migration to the West, the handcart companies' experience, and the Utah War. More importantly, her writings offer an overview of the impact and effects of such historical events on the lives of normal individuals, precisely through her accounts of her own and her family's life.

The first half of Patience's narrative is devoted to her first remembrances and mainly describes her family emigration experience as members of the Martin Handcart Company. Cold, starvation and death are important topics, and dramatic accounts are given in her words. The second half of her storytelling begins with her early settlement in Utah and reports on community life, new acquaintances of hers, and important historical events – such as the Utah War, and the American Civil War – as they significantly influence her own life.

c. Organization and Time Span

While Jane tanner's personal writings (discussed in chapter 4) consist mainly of journals, in this chapter another sub-genre – autobiography – will be examined (for further clarification on the distinction between the sub-genres, refer to note 10 to chapter 2). Whether or not Patience recurred to other kinds of personal writings –such as letters and diaries – is uncertain; nevertheless, her narrative is detailed and full of intense descriptions.

Her autobiography is written in three notebooks – the first of which a writing tablet, which bears the only clue for the date of the writing, since it is imprinted "copyrighted 1887"– and some 335 handwritten pages, which begin with her giving the background of her family and origins. From her first recollections as a young English woman, her records flow uninterruptedly until their abrupt end in 1872.

d. Tone

Throughout her narrative, Patience establishes a relationship of confidence and sympathy with her reader. Through a straightforward and objective discourse, honesty and frankness are sensed by her reader, whether she expresses positive feelings or feelings of doubt, fear, pain and resentment. Patience's attitude towards her life and hardships are always positive and proactive. She is usually witty, never bitter or self-pitying. Patience is undoubtedly a devout woman, who often expresses her faith and dependence upon God's mercy, and whose character is largely determined by her name. Once the company reached

Devil's Gate, she herself puns on her name as people crowd for obtaining a piece of wood to make themselves a fire and alleviate the cold of the winter. As many of the families were taking more than the one assigned piece, Br. Grant who was in charge of knocking down log huts and splitting the logs into pieces told them not to be greedy since some of the people still had not got any. Patience reproduces the conversation:

> He said there is one sister standing back waiting very patinly and She must have some I called out Yes brother grant My name is Patince and I have waited with patience he laugh and said give that sister some wood and let he go and make afiar (Petree 2005:80).

iii. Ordinary Accounts of Extraordinary Value

a. "Bound for the Great Salt Lake"

Patience left Liverpool on December 13, 1855. Her family party aboard the John J. Boyd ship consisted of eleven people – four of Patience's siblings remained permanently in England, her sister Ann had already married John Dalling and was living in Salt Lake City and her other two sisters would join the family later in the year.

A strong sense of community was not only encouraged but also promoted during the overseas trip. Church leaders in charge of immigration were responsible for special arrangements in order to assure appropriate environment and behavior aboard the ships. Church historian Andrew Jenson (1892) wrote an article on the "Mode of Conducting the Emigration" (see Appendix 6) in which he reinforces that "spiritual and temporal comfort and happiness of the emigrants have ever been the principal aim on the part of those charged . . . with the superintendence of the business". Jenson's article not only exemplifies some of the temporal instructions given to prospective passengers – procedure, embarkation schedules, price of passage, amount of provision allowed were informed through printed circulars – but also reports on ecclesiastical arrangements that helped in keeping the order and provided the

Saints with unity, security, decorum, and internal peace. A committee, consisting of a president and two counselors – all of whom were priesthood officers who had previously traveled the route or at least had been to sea – was appointed by the president of the Church in the British Isles, "They were received by vote, and implicit confidence was reposed in them".

The next step would be the division of the ship into wards or branches[51] under the leadership of priesthood officers. Saints observed certain regularity in their daily routine, from the time of getting up, to the time of retiring to bed, they were expected to clean their respective portions of the ship, throw the rubbish overboard, offer prayers as a group, exercise on deck for preserving their general health. Aside from the group activities, Latter-day Saints immigrants were free to occupy their spare time with various duties and amusements of their choice. Meetings were held on Sundays and lectures on various subjects offered in order to promote and "improve the mental capacities of the passengers".

Skeptical of the Mormon doctrine, in 1863, the great English writer Charles Dickens boarded the Amazon – a ship of eight hundred Latter-day Saints bound for North America – to write an essay for The Uncommercial Traveller, with the title "Bound for the Great Salt Lake" . His first intentions, he declares, were to "bear testimony against them if they deserved it, as I fully believed they would". Dickens remained aboard until the ship was ready for sailing, and observed and reported on Saints' activities, behavior, and policy. His remarks approve of the conduct of the Saints and attest to the importance of personal writing in the lives of the Mormons.

> But nobody is in ill-temper, nobody is the worse of drink, nobody swears an oath or uses a coarse word, in every corner where it is possible to find a few square feet to kneel, crouch, or lie in, people, in every suitable attitude for writing, are writing letters . . .

. . . these people are so strikingly different from all other people in like circumstances whom I have ever seem, that I wonder aloud, ‘What WOULD a stranger suppose these emigrants to be!’

I looked about me again, and saw the letter-writing going on with the most curious composure. Perfectly abstracted in the midst of the crowd; while great casks were swinging aloft, and being lowered into the hold; while hot agents were hurrying up and down, adjusting the interminable accounts; while two hundred strangers were searching everywhere for two hundred other strangers, and were asking questions about them of two hundred more; while the children played up and down all the steps, and in and out among all the people's legs, and were beheld, to the general dismay, toppling over all the dangerous places; the letter-writers wrote on calmly. On the starboard side of the ship, a grizzled man dictated a long letter to another grizzled man in an immense fur cap: which letter was of so profound a quality, that it became necessary for the amanuensis at intervals to take off his fur cap in both his hands, for the ventilation of his brain, and stare at him who dictated, as a man of many mysteries who was worth looking at. On the lar-board side, a woman had covered a belaying-pin with a white cloth to make a neat desk of it, and was sitting on a little box, writing with the deliberation of a bookkeeper. Down, upon her breast on the planks of the deck at this woman's feet, with her head diving in under a beam of the bulwarks on that side, as an eligible place of refuge for her sheet of paper, a neat and pretty girl wrote for a good hour (she fainted at last), only rising to the surface occasionally for a dip of ink. Alongside the boat, close to me on

the poop-deck, another girl, a fresh, well-grown country girl, was writing

> another letter on the bare deck. Later in the day, when this self-same boat was filled with a choir who sang glees and catches for a long time, one of the singers, a girl, sang her part mechanically all the while, and wrote a letter in the bottom of the boat while doing so.

As he proceeds, Dickens once more is surprised by the intensity of writing activity among the Mormon emigrants.

> Surely, an extraordinary people in their power of self-abstraction!
>
> All the former letter-writers were still writing calmly, and many more letter-writers had broken out in my absence.

The strong bonds of the community and their unusual organization and harmony are often remarked on throughout his essay. In the following passage, Dickens transcribes his conversation with the captain of the ship, who comments:

> . . . They came from various parts of England in small parties that had never seen one another before. Yet they had not been a couple of hours on board, when they established their own police, made their own regulations, and set their own watches at all hatchways. Before nine o'clock, the ship was as orderly and as quiet as a man-of-war.'

In the following excerpts, the same bonds are asserted.

> By what successful means, a special aptitude for organisation had been infused into these people, I am, of course, unable to report. But I know that, even now, there was no disorder, hurry, or difficulty.
>
> Towards five o'clock, the galley became full of tea-kettles, and an agreeable fragrance of tea pervaded the ship. There was no scrambling or jostling for the hot water, no ill humour, no quarrelling. As the Amazon was to sail with the next tide, and as it would not be high water before two o'clock in the morning,

> I left her with her tea in full action, and her idle Steam Tug lying by, deputing steam and smoke for the time being to the Tea-kettles.

While Dickens maintains and in a sense restates his skepticism towards the Mormon faith, he finishes his essay acknowledging the fact that his first intentions were frustrated and he recognizes the powerful setting of their community.

> I afterwards learned that a Despatch was sent home by the captain before he struck out into the wide Atlantic, highly extolling the behaviour of these Emigrants, and the perfect order and propriety of all their social arrangements. What is in store for the poor people on the shores of the Great Salt Lake, what happy delusions they are labouring under now, on what miserable blindness their eyes may be opened then, I do not pretend to say. But I went on board their ship to bear testimony against them if they deserved it, as I fully believed they would; to my great astonishment they did not deserve it; and my predispositions and tendencies must not
>
> affect me as an honest witness. I went over the Amazon's side, feeling it impossible to deny that, so far, some remarkable influence had produced a remarkable result, which better known influences have often missed. *
>
> * After this Uncommercial Journey was printed, I happened to mention the experience it describes to Lord Houghton. That gentleman then showed me an article of his writing, in The Edinburgh Review for January, 1862, which is highly remarkable for its philosophical and literary research concerning these Latter-Day Saints. I find in it the following sentences:- 'The Select Committee of the House of Commons on emigrant ships for 1854 summoned the Mormon agent and passenger-broker before it, and came to the conclusion that no ships under the provisions of the "Passengers Act" could be depended upon for

> comfort and security in the same degree as those under his administration. The Mormon ship is a Family under strong and accepted discipline, with every provision for comfort, decorum and internal peace.'

The considerable time lapses between the document cited by Dickens, his own essay, and Jenson's article, suggest that those traits were common to the various Mormon emigrant ships. Nevertheless, all of such arrangements did not prevent that hardships and challenging events from taking place, although they surely contributed to allaying their effects on individuals' lives, either through physical, emotional or spiritual support provided by the leadership and by faith. Although not very extensive, Patience's accounts of her experience aboard mention physical discomfort and the occurrence of sickness and death.

In the following passage, Patience describes her impressions and sensations as she experiences her first moments aboard the John J. Boyd.

> [W]e mooved out alittle way that evening Never will forget the first night on ^the^ ship there was five hundred dainish saints three german and two Itelean and one french family two scotch familys and five English familys Charlse Savage had charge of the german a french saints as he could talk there lanwage and Elder Canute Peterson was Presedent over the whole company he was avery kind and fatherly Man so good and kind to all . we past aterrable Night : not much sleep for any one that first night and we was orderd to go below we could not get aberth the first night So we had to lie down on the floor as best we could : I began to think we would smother to death before Morning for there was not abreath of air I made my bed on a large box I had abig loaf of bread in asack this I used for my pillow to make sure of having bread for breakfast this was not avery nice thing to do to sleep on my bread : but it was

> very little sleep I had but I rested My body for I had had along walk before I got on the ship I was very tiard
>
> [A]t twelve oclock the guard come around to see us all with his lantern I told him I was very glad to see him came with the light for we had been in darkness up to that time he sais how is it Miss you are not asleep I ask him if he thought I could Sleep in aplace like this I ask him if we would have no better acamedations ^than^ this all the way to New York he sais don't feel bad tomorrow we will be able to give you aberth up above and I will try and give you aplace where you can get more fresh air then you will feel better the guard said he was sorry for us but it would be better for us all in afew days (42,43).

Storms, sickness and death inflicted a great deal of suffering on the Saints. The voyage lasted eleven weeks and Patience reports sixty-two deaths. She describes the agony and pain of those who had to "bury" their relatives in the sea – undoubtedly a test for the faith of many.

> [W]e had agreat deal of sickness on the vessel sixty two deaths in all it seemed asevere trial to have to burey our loved one^s^ in the sea My brother buried his little girl Zilpha it did indeed seem verey hard to role her in ablanket and lay her in the big waves and see the little dear go floting away out of sight there was one Danishe brother and sister thay two sons all the children they had boath died and was buried in the sea the Eldest was eleven years old and the younger Nine I think this was very savere trial for this poor Brother and sister thay was faithfull good latterday saints thay was welthey people and had been the means of Several poor familys coming to Utah but the loss of there two only children seemed allmost more than thay could endure I never saw them after we got to New York .

> [W]e had averey hard voiage crossing the sea but we had ^a^ verey nice compay of saints good and kind (46, 47).

As Dickens pointed out, a positive attitude was cultivated among the Saints and it proved to be right even under the most arduous situations. Patience reports on the John J. Boyd rescuing the crew of a shipwreck. The men were injured and would remain in the John J. Boyd until she reached New York. If, on the one hand, it represented extra help, on the other hand, it meant a shortage of provisions and water. Patience remarks

> . . . it was ablessing to [crossed out to] us the Captain of our ship had not men enough to work our vesel he had ofton had to call on some of the breathren for help . and it was Said if thees Men had Not come to our assistance that we would never got to New York (45).
>
> [A]llthrough such along and hard journey crossing the sea in taking thees other men on board prooved to us another blessing there was more help to work the vesel and we had amore pleasant journey after thay came to us : but through thies men coming on the ship we [crossed out was] became short of fresh ^97^ [101] water and we was only alowed one pint of fresh water p^r^ day and that was for drinking we had to wash in Salt water and cook our potatoes in salt water I said well one good thing we will not have to use any salt to our potatoes and we are all willing to share our fresh water with those poor Men that lost everything and have come to help us I fealt to bless those poor Men (46).

b. Land Ho!

In February 1856, as soon as the John J. Boyd landed in New York, President John Taylor[52], and Brother Miles met the immigrants to make arrangements to accommodate those who could not afford to rent their own rooms, and to instruct the others[53]

> [I]n the Morning Presedent John Taylor and brother Miles came to visit to make enquirey to findout who had Money and who had not those that was able to go out and rent rooms for themselvs had to do So and those that need help had aplace provided for them and provisions provided for them and provisions provided for them My father and Myself went to Williansburg and rented three rooms we bought asecond hand cook stove a table and two or three chairs and we was soon comfortably settled for four Months (49).

Patience and her family provided their own place in Williamsburg and soon took positions – her father as a gardener, her brother as a shoemaker, she and her sister Maria as seamstresses, her sisters Jane and Sarah as nannies, her brother Robert, a ten-year-old, went to school. Doing well, the family was making plans for buying an outfit to cross the plains to Utah the following year. Instead, they were instructed by Liverpool leaders that they should anticipate their journey and leave for Iowa and join the handcart company. The following extract reports on the family's astonishment with the news:

> Sometime in May we received orders from Liverpool to be ready to start on our journey to leave New York the begining of July and go to Iowa [<u>crossed out</u> and] to join the handcart company to cross the plains by handcart this was aterrable great suprise to us all at first we fealt we never could undertake to pull ahancart from Iowa to Salt Lake City and My poor Mother in delicate health she had Not walked amile for years and we girls had never been use to out door work (50).

At first, Patience and her mother tried to convince their leaders in England to reconsider the instructions, writing a letter to her brother-in-law, who worked with Franklin D. Richards in the church office – from where the orders for them to join the handcart

company were dispatched. They also sought advice from President Taylor, who expressed sympathy, but nonetheless advised them to follow their leaders' instructions.

> [O]ne day I went to PresedentJohn Taylors ofice on business he Said well sister Patience when are you going to Utah I told him that we had came to the conclusion to Stay in New York untill the next Year as we was all working and we thought we could Make enough money to buy agood outfitt by the next year he thought that was avery good plan then I told him My father had orders come from the ofice in Liverpool from Presedent F. D. Richards to get ready at once ^to^ leave New York and get up to Iowa camping ground to meet a company of saints that would go by handcart to salt Lake City and that araingments was made for My father and his family to get our handcarts at Iowa and go with that company that expected to start on there Journey sometime in July . Br Taylor was quite suprised when I told him he seemed to feel sorrey for us he knew that My father had only we fourgirls to help him as Mother was avery delicate Woman unable to take a journey by handcart across the plains I ask Br Taylor if he would like to have his girls pull ahand cart across the plains he Said no . but Patience I cannot say anything about the Matter as you are under the Councel of Presedent Richards You will have to go acording to councel but at the same time I don't think you will be able to go any further than councel bluff^s^ this season you will be to late starting councel bliffs he said is two hundred and seventyfive Miles from Iowa City and when you get there you will find out how you feel if you can stand the Journey or not but My opinion is that you will have to stay there untill Next Spring

The paragraph ends with Patience's digression on his advice, "and that is what we should have done it would have been the saving of hundreds of lives good men and women faithfull Members of the Church . ," (50,51).

Not only was the assigned task extremely demanding, but it caused Patience emotional distress. In the following passage, she expresses her disappointment, humiliation and melancholy.

> I fealt the worst out of all the family I could not see it right at all to want us to do such <a> humeliating thing to be I said harnest up like cattle and pull a handcart loded up with our beding cooking utencels and ^our^ food and clothing and have to go through different town^s^ to be looked at and Made fun off as I knew we would be it was very hurtfull to ^my^ feelings Yes I will say and to my pride in My Young days such away of traveling was very humelating to my feelings and I did not ^think^ it was necessary Make people pull ahand cart when by waiting another year we could have bought good teems and wagon but we was still waiting for further order^s^ from Liverpool before we Made any moove to leave New York (51).

c. "Faith in Each Footstep": Deprivation, Cold, and Death Along the Journey

Despite such laments, since Saints believed their leaders to be invested with divine authority and, most of the time moved by faith, they obeyed their instructions. Patience and her family left New York on July 3, 1856. At that moment their saga began. The handcart companies exceptionally faced deprivation, cold, hunger, disease and death. They also shared the same tests as their Mormon counterparts: they experienced the pain of a non-physical nature – prejudice, insults and the like.

From the very beginning, in Davenport, Patience's family was ridiculed. The episode contributed to increasing feelings of rejection, displacement, and ultimately exile.

> [W]hen we arived at Cleveland we took the train for Chicago we arived there quite late at night we went to the Hotell for the night had Supper went to bed got up early in the Morning had breakfast and took the train for rock Island ariving there we found we had to cross the river on the steem boat as the railroad bridge had been destroyed we landed at Devenport sometime in the Morning agreat croud - gatherd around us casting slurs at us and asking father if he was going to take his fine girls to Utah and give them to Brigham Young for wives thay said that old fellow had allready got plenty of wifes told father he had better stay at that place with his girls for girls was scarce in that neighbourhood and there was lots of Men that wanted wives this was the roughest place we came too on our journey from New York My father let them talk and we girls would not speak or Notice them at all and that seemed to enrage them thay said we was aproud lot of girls not to speak to afellow the boys told thees men to stop there insults to aquit respectable family as he believed we was he told them to leave the place but thay did not go untill thay got ready : the boss called father to his room and told him we would have stay there untill the next Morning before we could leave for Iowa and he advised father to take us to anice retiard place ashort distance from the depot and camp for the day and for us to return in the evening and that he would see that we was protected through the night so we did as he requested us to do we spent anice comfortable day ummolested (54).

Soon, on the plains, the Saints begun to experience what would later turn out to be "one of the greatest tales of the West and of America".[54] Patience reports on her sister sick

with mountain fever; that night, the same sickness killed another sister, who left a newborn baby, three other children, and her husband.

As the company advances, there is an unexpected encounter with five Indians, who did them no harm – except for making fun of them pulling the handcart (61). However, Patience gives a dramatic depiction of the next few hours.

> [A]fter the Indians left us we traveled on for an hour or more we came to aplace were some folks had camped the fiors was still burning and we thought it was whare our company had camped but ^not^ know then that Indians had been camping there we had dinner there I warmed some grewel for my sick sisters after dinner we girls thought we would take alittle walk out from camp while father and Mother rested alittle : we had not gone far from camp when we came to four or five newly made graves and we picked up awomans green sun bonnet which we recanized as belonging to sister Williams who left with Mr Babet three days before we left ^the^ camp at Cuttlers Park Mr Babbet was aman that had come out from Salt L City to the states to purchas good he had a train of some five or six loaded wagons with teems and teemsters he came into our camp he sais if we had any letters to send into the City to firends that he would take them for us as he would reach there long before we would he also said that he could take two pirsons along with him free of charge as he had plenty of room in his light spring wagon and this Sister Williams husband had allready gone to Utah the year previous and She had ayoung baby she told Mr Babbet that she would like to go with him he waited in camp untill Morning Many wrote letters and gave to him to take to there friends in Utah and Mr^s^ Williams started with Mr Babbet for Utah with the antisipation of geting to the valley before the cold weather came poor dear woman ^never^

> dreaming of the sadd fate that awaited her and Mr Babbet and his Men teemsters : at the very place we came too camp for dinner was were this murder was committed by the Indians may be those Indians we meet was some of those that had helped in the murder and robery of Babbes train of good We Saw whare wagons had been burnd as there was wagon tire^s^ liing around near the graves there was only one Man teemster left to tell the ^sadd^ news he said Babbet was shot in his wagon the woman the Indians put on ahorse and took her away with them but he did not know what became of her child and we found the green sun bonnet it was good for us that we did not all this when those Indians stopt us in the road we would surely have thought that we would have to share the same fate as Babbet and his company shared but thank God our lives was spared and again I will acknowledge the hand of God to have been over us that day (61,62).

Time goes by and shortage of food afflicts the handcart pioneers with physical weakness. Patience's father ends up very ill and weak and dies at the end of September 1856. The description of her father's burial is moving.

> this was asevere trial here we had to rap My dear father in a quilt all we had to lay him in no nice casket to lay him away in comfortable but put into the grave and the earth thrown in upon his poor body oh that sounded so hard I will never forget the sound of that dirt beign shoveld anto my poor father^s^ boday it seemed to me that it would break every bone in his body . it did indeed seem a great trial to have to leave our dear father behind that morning knowing we had looked upon that sweet smiling face for the last time on earth but not without ^a^ hope of Meeting him again in the Morning of the resurection for he had been afaithfull servant of God and bore testimony to the truth of the

> gosple of Jesus Christ nombers of times and we know if we his children follow his example that we will Meet our dear father again and be reunited with him to dwell in unity and love allthrough eternity and as our dear Mother and we girls traveled that day it was a verey Sorrowfull day and we all greeved greatly (68).

The family certified that the grave dug by the brethren was deep enough "so that the wolves could not get to him and we all fealt to thank and ask God to bless our breathren for there kindness to us in our great Sorrow and bereavement" (69).

The crossing of rivers also provided striking episodes of their epic and illustrates the strong bonds that united the people. In the beginning of October, under the first snow storm, the Saints had to cross the Platte River. Patience's mother was helped – a brother took her on his mule. Patience and her sisters started pulling their handcart and soon realized that

> the water was deep and very cold and we was drifted out of the regular crossing and we came near beign drounded the water came up to our arm pits poor Mother was standing on the bank screaming as we got near the bank I heard Mother say for God^s^ Sake some of you men help My poor girls Mother said she had been watching us and could see we was drifting down the stream several of the breathren came down the bank of the rever and pulled our cart up for us and we got up the best we could (70).

After that, they were given molasses and bread which "was a great treat" to them and gave them "new strength to travle on" (71).

At this point the winter was a severe trial on pioneers and worsened their health and the scarcity of food and water aggravated their situation – food was rationed.

> [A]s soon as I could get get [sic] some wood chopt I tryed to make afire to make alittle broath as I had an old beef head I was allways on the look out for

> anything that I could get to eat not only for Myself but for the rest of the family we got of the skin from the beef head chopt it in peices the best I could put it into the pot with some Snow and boiled for along time about four oclock in the after noon we was able to have some of this fine Made boath I cannot say that it tasted very good but it was flavord boath with Sage brush and from the smokey fire from the green ceder fire so after it was cooked we all enjoyed it and fealt very thankfull to have that much it would have tasted better if we could have alittle pepper and salt but that was aluxury we had been deprived of for along time (72).
>
> I dont know how long we could have lived and pulled our handcart on this [crossed out I or 1] small quantity of food . our provisions would not have lasted as long as thay did had all our breathren and sisters lived but nearly half the company died and caused our provisions to hold out longer (76).

Patience includes many of her peers' stories in her narrative. Among recurrent themes, such as starvation, frostbite and death, one can find reports of abnegation, despair, and compassion.

On November 3, 1856, as the company, searching for refuge from the winter storms, crossed the Sweetwater River between Devil's Gate and Martin's Cove, one of the most extraordinary demonstration of the community's bonds was made. The ice was broken by the cattle that had been crossing with the wagons, and the handcart pioneers would have to wade, but

> three brave Men there in the water packing the women and children over on there backs Names William Kimble Ephrem Hanks and I think the other was James Furgeson those poor breathren was in the water nearly all day we wanted to thank them but thay would not listen to My dear Mother fealt in her

> heart to bless them for there kindness she said God bless you for taking me over this water and in such an awfull rough way oh . D_m that I dont want any of that you are welcome we have come to help you Mother turned to me saying what do think of that man he is arough fellow I told her that is Brother William Kimble I am told thay are all good men but I daresay that thay are all rather rough in there manners . but we found that thay all had kind good hearts this poor Br Kimble Staid so long in the water that he had to be taken out and packed to camp and he was along time before he recoverd as he was child through and in after life he was allways afflicted with rhumetism : (81).

The rescue of the handcart companies was a demonstration of the power of communal organization, effective leadership and cooperation among community members

> [W]hen the word came to Presedent Brigham young ^on^ Sunday he was in the Tabernacle in Meeting those days the people use to go from the settlements by teem to attend meetings and when the word came that there was handcart company and wagon company back on the plat river with scarcely any provisions and that Many was dieing with hunger and cold Brigham Young told the people this Message had come to him and he also called on all the Men to take there teem^s^ and Wagons and gather up all the food and clothing thay could get and start out at once and not to come back untill thay found the people he said that if thay did not go that he would go himself and he started out himself with the breathren he got as far as the big Mountain he took cold and the breathren prevailed on him to return back home : then he gave order^s^ for every body to go to work and bake bread and gather up all the clothing and quilts all thay could get together and every teem and wagon that could be got was loaded and Sent out every day the road was kept open by

> teems coming to us every day with provisions and clothing of some kind (85,86).

As the pioneers arrived in the valley, they were kindly received and accommodated. Patience soon found a place to stay and started working – first by sewing clothes for herself and then shirts and dresses for the couple who hosted her as a way of repaying their kindness.

d. Wars

As wife of Sergeant John Rozsa, Patience agreed to move into the enemy's base. Once more, she left stability behind – her friends, her family and Church – to live in Camp Floyd where Johnston's Army was settled. Although she does not assert it directly, to her, a young Mormon woman in the 1850's, it represented a cultural and emotional shock. The surroundings, more specifically Fairfield – the nearest town to the camp, "was the home of camp followers who drank and fought and raged and practiced prostitution" (Petree 2004:6), as visitors can learn when they visit the local cemetery, where "unmarked graves of prostitutes and victims of gun battles are buried, beside modest granite markers for stalwart members of the Mormon community whose descendants still live there" (Petree 2004:6, 7). However, feelings of isolation and displacement are sensed as she tells her life story

> [crossed out aftl] [A]fter the ceremoney I went to My New home in Camp Floyd there was allready asumptious supper provided for us by some of My husbands friends of his own company and company oficers was preasant to the supper thay all received me very kindly after Supper was over we spent avery pleasant evening together there was about twenty to supper I must acknowledge some little bashfull and loansome as there was not one that had ever seen before only My husband in the course of the evening some of the company said that the Mormon girls was good Singers and ask me if I could Sing for them I told them that I wish to be excused that I would Sing for them

> some other time but they beged of me to sing them just one good old Song and as Mr Rozsa ask me to sing Annie Lawrey I did So but that did not Satisfie the Company after atime they requested me to Sing again and my husband Said there was one Song that he would like me to Sing to his friends and that was the brides farewell as that was afavorite Song of his I told him I would try to sing at the best I could under the circumstances as I had just left all my own dear sisters & brothers and my dear Mother had got Marred and left them all and all thees things came to my Mind and it seemed it would be a hard task for me to sing that touching old song neverless I told My husband I would try it . so I did and I sang it through better than I thought ^I would^ and the company gave me great praise thay thought the words was beautifull and very appropriate for the occasion I told them it was . . but the words came home so close to my feelings that it was a hard task for me to sing it all thay thank me for singing to them and said that they would not ask me to sing to them again that night then I beged to be excused said I was tiard as it was geting late (98, 99).

In another passage, she declares

> [O]f course I fealt quite loansome at times in my New home away from all my friends I was very comfortable and my husband was very kind and did every thing he could do to make me feel as happy as I could he knew this was anew life to me to come to live in a Soldiers camp (100).

Patience gives some important information on the rules imposed on married soldiers' wives and acknowledges the affection and devotion of her huband.

> one day he sais now you are acknowledgd as alaundress in the company and will be aloud government rations then you will have to take your share of the

> companys washing every week and see that there cloth are properly washed for them every week they will bring on Monday Morning and thay will came for them on Friday : Why I said am I expected to do all that washing I told him that I never had been use to do but very little washing in my life and was not able to work so hard he told me that I did not have to do that washing that he would do that himself if we could not hire some women to come and wash for us but he told me that ^if^ there was any of the Men Marred in the company that was the rule for those Marred folk to attend to the washing of the company s washing four Man are aloud to bring there wives into the quarters and draw rashons for them with the understanding that they are expected to see and get this washing done if thay dont do it themselvs and every Man Shall pay them one dollar pr Month for one dozen peices and government furnishes all the soap I was not able to do any washing So My husban would get up at one or two oclock in the Morning and get all the washing done by Nine o clock in the Morning this was is first experence in washing but we could Not hire a woman there was no help to be got for several Months then when we did get awoman we had to pay two dollars x fifty cents pr day and later I was able to hire [crossed out an] a woman and paid her twenty dollars a Month and board and gave her the privelege of going out two days in the week to work for others after she had done my washing and iorning[.] (100,101).

Patience and John Rozsa dreamed of a new life but the outbreak of the Civil war threatened their plans.

> we would ofton talk over the time when he would not be asoldier any longer and would look forward to the time when we would be living in our own little home and could be free to do as we please and My husband would be afree

> man and could go to See his friends without asking for apass for afew hours the Milletry laws are very strict and thees laws was all new to me for I had never had any experence of asoldiers life before I was marred to Mr Rozsa he prooved to be amost devoted husband and father to his wife and children but our happeyness did not last very long the next summer 1861 the war broak out between the North and South and orders came for the troops to leave Utah an go down to Washington (102).

Their relationship was based on mutual respect and collaboration, and was somewhat a love story, which explains her decision – after her traumatic experience in the Martin Handcart Company – of following him to Washington as the Civil war broke out. Such a decision implied that she would have to cross the plains twice again. In the following excerpt, Patience restates her vows to her husband

> [T]he orders came for the troops to leave camp on the 22 of July 1861 . the week before my husband and Myself & baby went to Pleasant Grove to bid good bye to My dear Mother brothers x sisters and friends thay all fealt very bad that I should leave them and go to Washington DC. . . . when the order^s^ came he ask me if I would go with him I told him yes he said Patience I can never leave you and My child my dear little Son I told him not to fear me . for you have awife that will go with you as far as I can go knowing you must obey orders of course I feel sorrey to leave my folks but I will keep my promise to you and go to Washington with you I dont supose I will be able to go any further with you if I can I am willling to go whare ever your lot is cast and share in whatever hardships you may have to endure I ask him if he rememberd what I promised him before we was Marred that I would go with him for five years were ever he may be called to go if I was able to travle and

> it was to aplace were a woman / could go . that I would go with him No Matter how hard the Journey may be (105,106).

On the trail to Washington, Patience reports many inconvenient episodes: a confrontation with Indians; a terrible accident resulting from the destruction of a railroad bridge over the Missouri Platte River – as women and children were crossing the river on a raft used as a ferryboat, the embarkation was hit by a log and the ropes broke. Many were severely injured and seven people drowned. During the journey, Patience again is a victim of prejudice and insults and decides to retreat and travel inside the baggage car.

Patience gives a detailed account on the day the troops arrived in Washington. Her description depicts the effects of war and the somberness of the historical moment.

> [T]he day we arrived in washington is aday that I will ever remember we was ^camped^ all in the street for several hours it seemed every place in the whole city was occupied My husband came to me after he had attended to his company . he said Patience I dont know what to do with you nor were to take you too . I said cannot I go with you and your men No he Said our Men I expect will have to stay in the street all night he said he did not think there was room to pitch tents and thay will have to sleep on there blankets but the Captain sais we must find some place for the women and children it seems that every place is occupied for hospetals for sick and wounded Soldiers that are fetched of the battle field
>
> we was campt infront of large Hottell very soon we Saw them bring out quite anomber of poor sick and wounded Soldiers onto the balcony after while ^all^ we women and children was told to go into that Hottell thay had cleared out two large rooms for us to go in there was about adozen beds were thees poor wounded men had been and we was told we could use those beds and we must

> do the best we could as that was all the room we could have those beds was good nice beding Sheets and pillow slips all looked white and clean but to think that poor sick men had been occuping those beds and the beding not changed for us poor tiard out women tiard as I was I did not feel that I could get into that bed I . said to afriend Mr^s^ O Brian I cannot undress and get into that bed she and Myself and children was told that we could occupe / one bed I sat up all night with my baby Mr^s^ OBrian put her two children to bed and laid on top of the bed herself (127, 128).

Numerous subsequent passages relate to prejudice, insults and the religious intolerance she found in the East. As a consequence, she often reports on her feelings of displacement and fear. Her continual dislocation aroused her desire of having a home of her own "I was tiard of Mooving from place to place . . . I was anxious to get home and settled in our little home" (142).

Patience and Rozsa then decide to go back to Utah but his health is debilitated, after his return from the battlefield and he dies from consumption on his way back to Utah. He is buried alongside the trail.

> [T]hay did not burrey my husband untill the Next Morning Magor McClintock had a six foot grave dug and head boards with his name birth and date of death placed on his grave Magor McClintock said that my dear husband requested him to burey him deep down So that the Wolves could not scrach him out of his grave I ask the Magor not to have any guns fird over his grave neither did ^I^ want that the band Should play over him I fealt that would be to much for me to endure . my greif was so great that I wanted to be as quiet as possible to part with my husband was allmost more than I could endure . to be left alone with my three baby boys to care for and raise without the help of my there

> dear kind father this seemed to much for me in my condition but thank God he blessed me and gave me strength day by day to endure my severe trial and after many hardships in traveling this long journey I arived home in Salt Lake city about July 21 1866 . . (151).

e. A Grand Woman

Soon after her husband's death Patience's second son, Frank, also dies. From this point on, Patience had to provide for her family needs. She decides to build them a house. Taking her oldest son, she then goes to the Miller Mine, in American Fork Canyon, to work as a cook for some fifty to sixty men. She describes the isolation miners had to endure. Due to the winter, they were kept in the mine for months, and communication with the outside world proved to be a major problem, as she describes

> [B]ut here we had to stay snowed in for three or four month no way geting away as I found after I got there that the company was ^not^ going to keep the road open for hauling all winter it cost to much money and the road would not be open untill late in the spring this was adissapointment to me I had left my other two children with my mother and if I was needed home to them I could not get home . Captain Pooley the Boss asured me that if anything happened to my Mother or my children that he would promise me that I should be taken home if it took all the Men to take me there that the road Should be opened for me
>
> [W]e use to get new^s^ about every two or three weeks Mr Robenson came up the gulch and fired a gun to give notice he was there then arope was thrown down to him which he fastoned around his waist and the men helped him up to the house we was all anxious to get news from home at least I was and the men that had familys (161,162).

Although Patience's autobiography does not tell her story to the end of her life, according to further information, she undertakes a position in the Deer Creek Mine, with her three children accompanying her. In her second marriage, she finds companionship, support and happiness. She serves as a ward Relief Society President and is in her own time a celebrity and an icon of the Martin Handcart Company, being invited to speak about her experience. Patience remained faithful to her religion to the end of her days and, despite her hardships, she always acknowledged God's hand and protection over her life. Patience cultivated a positive attitude and proved to be a woman of strength, of faith and, of course, a woman of patience. Her ordinary accounts are extraordinary not only for monumentalizing her own life but the lives and experience of those like her and for setting an example for future generations.

CONCLUSION

Almost two centuries after the birth of Mormonism – despite early religious intolerance and persecutions – the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has consolidated and shows an impressive growth not only in North America but throughout the world (12,560,869 members). The pioneer legacy has been appropriated by the LDS members and propagated all over the world.. The Book of Mormon has been translated into 104 languages, while the basic church curriculum text is available in 185 languages.

As Austin (1995) states, "Mormons have always been a people driven by the need to tell their story". Narratives and commemorations of various kinds convey and maintain Latter-day Saints' historical past, their values and their collective memory. Every "place of memory" (Le Goff 95) of the Mormon culture – pageants, plays, films, books, sacred music, lectures, museums, archives, libraries, edifices, monuments, and celebrations – makes the past present, and proclaims the importance of the pioneer heritage in the lives of the Saints and their American counterparts. The church, while a social institution, plays a major role in the maintenance of historical memory, since it both stores memories and provides interpretations for them. This process enables individuals to gather as a people to "remember in common" the deeds and accomplishments of long-departed members of the group through commemorations and festive meetings (Halbwachs 25). As we have seen in chapter 1, participation in commemorative meetings is in fact what promotes the present generation's self-consciousness, since it counterposes its present to its own (re)constructed past, preventing the past from disappearing in the haze of time (Halbwachs 24). In an evident struggle against forgetting, and for the sake of preservation, in the Mormon culture every "place of memory" joins the places of history and fills and feeds the apparent voids between periods of effervescence and ordinary life (Halbwachs 25).

As seen in Chapter 4, Jane Tanner's Journals provides the reader with a perspective of a local historian, integrating the local aspect of her mission with ever-enlarging concentric circles of group consciousness. Her narrative expands from particular to general aspects of nineteenth-century western American society, integrating her personal life history within broader "realms of history which ultimately encompasses the story of the world and of [wo]man" (Fife 1963: 317-318). Through her life writings, detailed descriptions are given and relevant historical facts are related as well as their effects on community and individuals' lives. From Jane's standpoint, through her meditations and philosophizing, the reader gains access to the past and to contemporary mentalities – both Mormon and non-Mormon. Jane Tanner not only reports on her own life, routine, and distinct roles she was expected and willing to perform, but, more importantly, she leaves a legacy of LDS womanhood within the realms of home, church and community, established through service, faith, charity, intellectual development, and social and political involvement.

As seen in Chapter 5, through Patience Loader's voice, Recollections of Past Days unveils various important historical facts as well as their effects on the author's life. From the vicissitudes Patience as an emigrant pioneer had to endure at various stages of her life: her joining the so-called "gathering of Zion"; her dramatic experience as a member of the Martin Handcart Company; her life as a wife of a sergeant of the enemy's army and later of the civil war; her widowhood and challenges as a mother of four; her labor in the mining area of the American Fork. Her life story parallels and reflects the history of the colonization of the American West and, more globally, the history of the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century. The vitality and fluidity of her narrative make of her life writing an icon of the Mormon woman's pioneer experience and allow the reconstruction of the Mormon historical past for the recuperation and preservation of the LDS collective memory.

Personal writings fit the group that LeGoff names as “functional places”, and once transformed into witnesses, they furnish the material for the reconstruction of the past. Specifically in regard to its pioneer legacy, Mormon life writings have a significant value, as they at the same time store memory – on which history draws and nourishes in return – and seek to preserve the past in order to serve the present and the future (Le Goff 99). Their contribution to the reconstruction and maintenance of a community’s collective memory is undeniable.

> All the knowledge used in reconstruction of the Mormon past comes from such personal writings. Women’s journals are gleaned for information and details which are used in erection of the visible monuments; it is through the first-hand writing of people who lived the pioneer experience that the kitchens and parlors and offices can be restored (Petree 1999: 227).

Not only are these writings important in recovering what Petree calls “visible monuments” but they are also fundamental for the establishment of continuity of cultural, moral and religious standards of the community, contributing to the conveyance of the group identity. As Austin (1995) declares, personal writings

> have played a vital role in our Mormon culture and heritage. They speak to us, hold a mirror to our spiritual experience, and help us construct definitions of what means to belong to the Mormon community and have a testimony of the gospel . . . these texts constitute the primary mechanism for the transmission and reproduction of Mormon Culture

Life writings, while historical documents, contribute at the same time to the rescue and the establishment of a collective memory, which provides community with cohesion and a sense of identity, since individuals appropriate the group collective memory and relate to it as their own (Halbwachs 24). Indeed, all over the world, members of the church – no matter

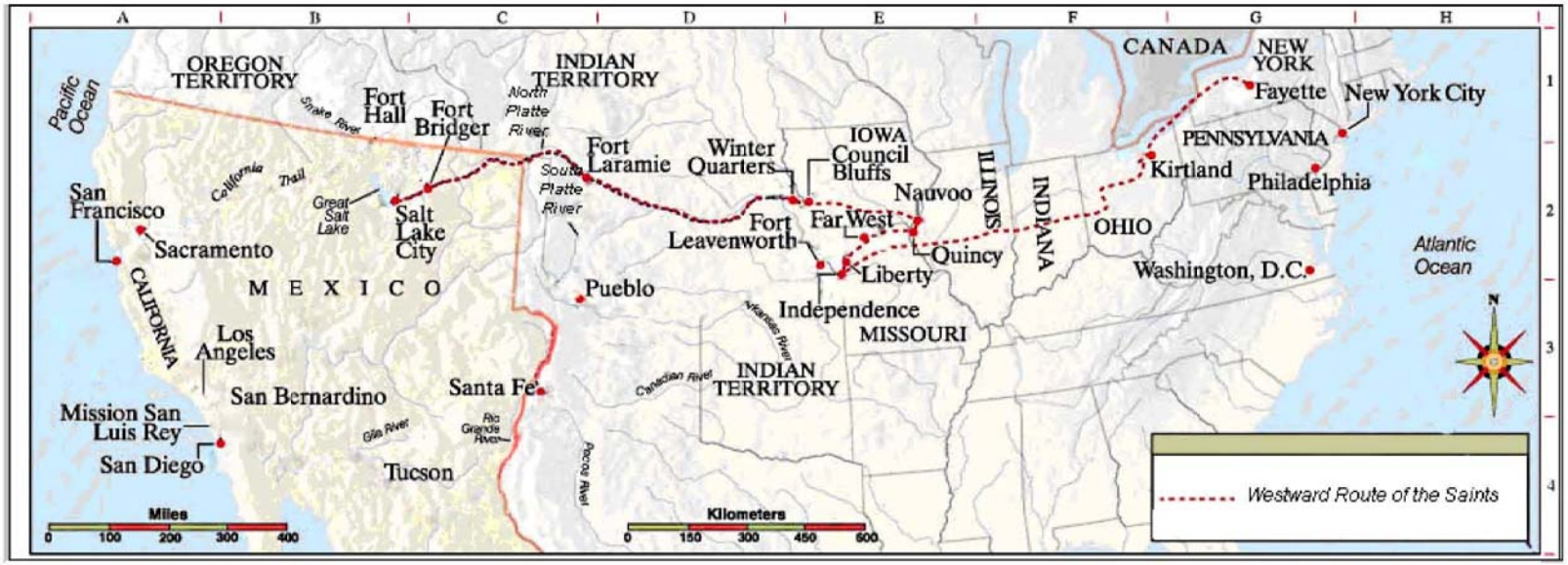
what their nations, cultures, or races – share a sense of identity that can be attributed to their adoption of a common "psychological ancestry" connected to the Mormon pioneer heritage. The constant influence and quasi omnipresence of their pioneer forefathers through reminders of various kinds – whether visible or invisible – together with shared transmitted traditions that assure certain values and norms of behavior, provide a common background for the Latter-day Saints.

The Mormon pioneer experience provides the Saints with a sense of identification and belonging. It is a mirror that reflects present-day Mormons in another time. Whether their bonds to the pioneer experience are established by blood or by culture, individuals who partake in the Mormon culture have in the pioneer legacy a reference for the Mormon interpretation of self. Mormon pioneers' personal writings serve to reconstruct the historical past, convey collective memory, transmit tradition and build a sense of identity.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX 1

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF THE CHURCH



APPENDIX 2

AMERICAN PROGRESS

Painting by John Gast (circa 1872).

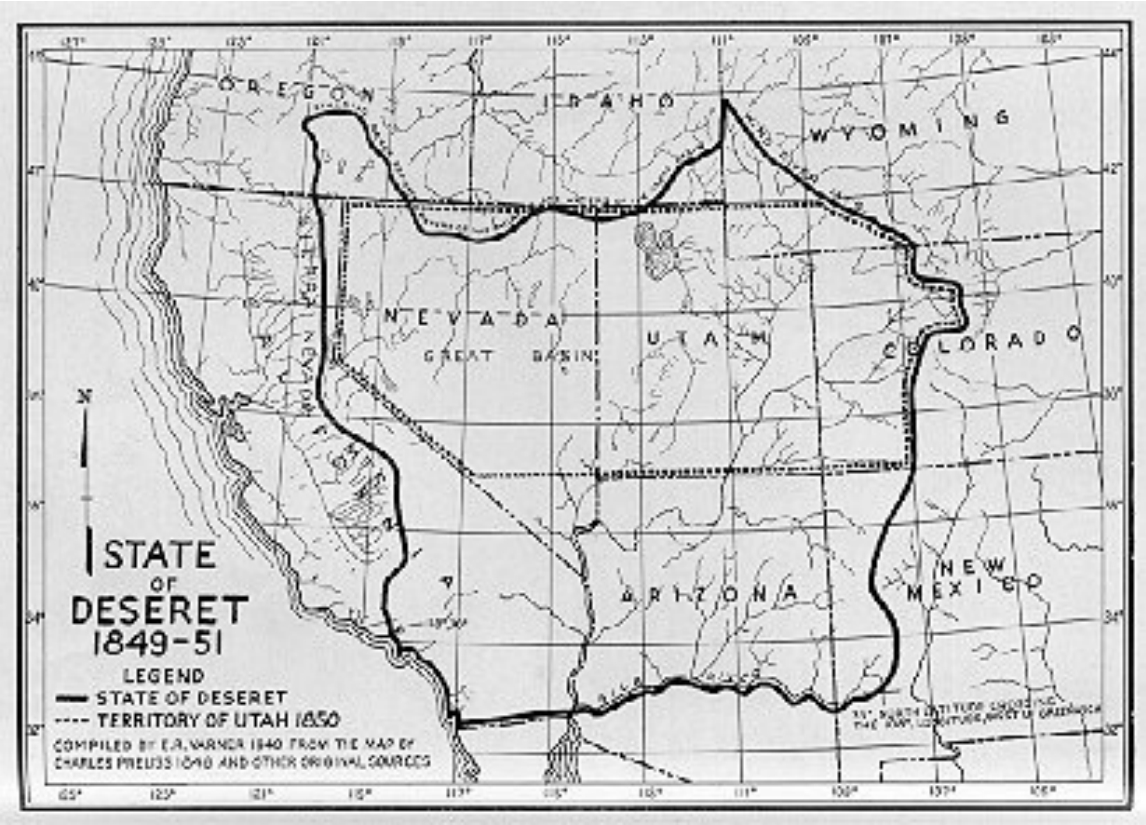
This allegorical representation of America's Manifest Destiny doctrine depicts the Lady Columbia, a personification of the United States in the 19th century, carrying the light of culture and "civilization" westward - both concepts are symbolized by the book and the telegraph wire she carries. The painting brings in itself the idea of movement from east to west (right to left) and allows the reader to perceive subliminal issues to the territorial expansion. As westward expansion proceeds, the Mississippi river and the cities in the east are left behind. Wild animals, buffalo and American Indians flee as Columbia approaches, first represented by the first settlers from the trails, and immediately followed by the railroad and the telegraph she strings as she advances.

APPENDIX 3

WAGON TRAILS WEST

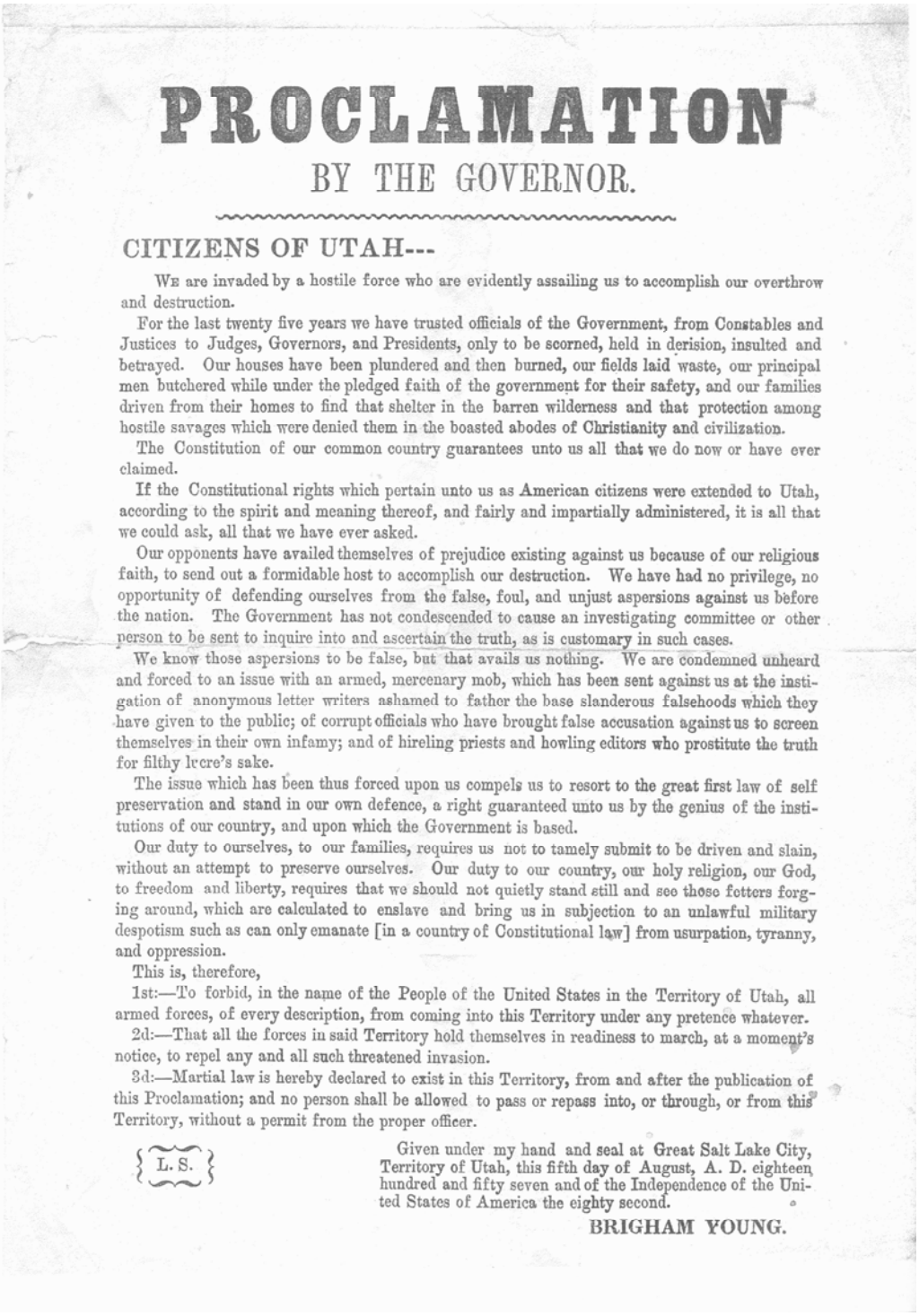
APPENDIX 4

STATE OF DESERET (1849 -1851)



Map of the proposed State of Deseret (1849 -1851) and of the actual territory of Utah (1850 - 1861).

APPENDIX 5



PROCLAMATION

BY THE GOVERNOR.

CITIZENS OF UTAH---

We are invaded by a hostile force who are evidently assailing us to accomplish our overthrow and destruction.

For the last twenty five years we have trusted officials of the Government, from Constables and Justices to Judges, Governors, and Presidents, only to be scorned, held in derision, insulted and betrayed. Our houses have been plundered and then burned, our fields laid waste, our principal men butchered while under the pledged faith of the government for their safety, and our families driven from their homes to find that shelter in the barren wilderness and that protection among hostile savages which were denied them in the boasted abodes of Christianity and civilization.

The Constitution of our common country guarantees unto us all that we do now or have ever claimed.

If the Constitutional rights which pertain unto us as American citizens were extended to Utah, according to the spirit and meaning thereof, and fairly and impartially administered, it is all that we could ask, all that we have ever asked.

Our opponents have availed themselves of prejudice existing against us because of our religious faith, to send out a formidable host to accomplish our destruction. We have had no privilege, no opportunity of defending ourselves from the false, foul, and unjust aspersions against us before the nation. The Government has not condescended to cause an investigating committee or other person to be sent to inquire into and ascertain the truth, as is customary in such cases.

We know those aspersions to be false, but that avails us nothing. We are condemned unheard and forced to an issue with an armed, mercenary mob, which has been sent against us at the instigation of anonymous letter writers ashamed to father the base slanderous falsehoods which they have given to the public; of corrupt officials who have brought false accusation against us to screen themselves in their own infamy; and of hireling priests and howling editors who prostitute the truth for filthy lucre's sake.

The issue which has been thus forced upon us compels us to resort to the great first law of self preservation and stand in our own defence, a right guaranteed unto us by the genius of the institutions of our country, and upon which the Government is based.

Our duty to ourselves, to our families, requires us not to tamely submit to be driven and slain, without an attempt to preserve ourselves. Our duty to our country, our holy religion, our God, to freedom and liberty, requires that we should not quietly stand still and see those fetters forging around, which are calculated to enslave and bring us in subjection to an unlawful military despotism such as can only emanate [in a country of Constitutional law] from usurpation, tyranny, and oppression.

This is, therefore,

1st:—To forbid, in the name of the People of the United States in the Territory of Utah, all armed forces, of every description, from coming into this Territory under any pretence whatever.

2d:—That all the forces in said Territory hold themselves in readiness to march, at a moment's notice, to repel any and all such threatened invasion.

3d:—Martial law is hereby declared to exist in this Territory, from and after the publication of this Proclamation; and no person shall be allowed to pass or repass into, or through, or from this Territory, without a permit from the proper officer.

{ L. S. }

Given under my hand and seal at Great Salt Lake City, Territory of Utah, this fifth day of August, A. D. eighteen hundred and fifty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty second.

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

On August 5, 1857, in response to Federal intervenience, Brigham Young, Governor of Utah and Prophet of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, wrote a proclamation to citizens of Utah. In defense against the approach of Johnston's army, this proclamation was posted throughout Utah Territory declaring martial law and forbidding any person to pass in or through the territory without permission from an authorized officer. Copy of original document made in Salt Lake City, July 31, 2005. Courtesy Ranleigh Johnson.

APPENDIX 6

MODE OF CONDUCTING THE MIGRATION

By Church historian Andrew Jenson.
(This article first appeared in the LDS periodical, *The Contributor*, Volume 13 (1892) pages 181-185).

The object of the Latter day Saints' emigration being the fulfillment of a divine command and not a pecuniary speculation, the spiritual and temporal comfort and happiness of the emigrants have ever been the principal aim on the part of those charged from time to time with the superintendence of the business. Consequently, from the first we find that arrangements were made to assist the emigrants from the time they left their native homes and until they arrived at e places of their destination. Experienced elders were sent with the vessels to superintend the voyage, in connection with the masters, and again in making the long and tedious journey over the plains and mountains. The time selected for embarkation in the beginning was from September until March or April, and later, when emigration to the Valley was commenced, from January to April which enabled the emigrants to arrive upon the frontiers between April and June, early enough to cross the plains and the mountains before winter set in, and the mountain passes filled with snow. While the emigration was only as far as Nauvoo or Council Bluffs, these circumstances did not of course interfere, the only object then being to pass New Orleans before the summer and sickly season commenced. The duties and responsibilities of all charged with the oversight any of the business were proportionally less than they were afterwards when he entire journey to the Valley had to be ranged for at once; yet they have always been sufficiently onerous, and have required the best faculties and judgment of the Elders and others engaged. The following will explain the modus operandi of conducting the emigration in the early fifties, when most of the Saints landed in New Orleans:

Applications for passage were received by the agent in Liverpool, and when sufficient were on hand a vessel was chartered by him, and the intended passengers were notified by circulars, generally printed, containing instructions to them how to proceed, when to be in Liverpool to embark, also stating the price of passage, the amount of provisions allowed, etc. In some instances one conference or district would furnish a ship load, or the greatest part of it; in such cases arrangements were made for them to embark together, and the president of the conference or some other suitable elder would contract with the railway companies for their conveyance to Liverpool in a body, which generally saved much expense. The emigration from Scandinavia generally gathered at Copenhagen, and from thence proceeded

in organized companies by rail and steamships to Liverpool where the emigrants would be reshipped sometimes in vessels chartered specially for them, and sometimes they would be joined with companies emigrating from the British Isles, or other parts of Europe.
In contracting for the vessel it was generally agreed that the passengers should go on board either on the day of their arrival in Liverpool, or the day following, which arrangement, although sometimes considered inconvenient to them, saved the expense of lodging ashore and preserved many inexperienced person from being robbed by sharpers, for whom Liverpool has always been a profitable field. When the passengers were on board, the agent, who was generally the president of the Church in the British Isles, would visit them and proceed to appoint a committee, consisting of a president and two counselors. As a rule they were Elders who had traveled the route before, or, at least had been to sea. They were received by the emigrants by vote, and implicit confidence was reposed in them. This presidency would then proceed to divide ship into wards or branches, over each of which an Elder or Priest would be placed, with his assistants to preside. Watchmen were then selected from among the adult passengers, who, in rotation, stood guard day and night over the ship until her departure, and after nightfall prevented any unauthorized person from descending the hatchways. When at sea, the presidents of the various wards saw that the passengers arose about five or six o'clock in the morning, that they cleaned their respective portions of the ship, and threw the rubbish overboard. This attended to, prayers were offered in every ward, after which the passengers prepared their breakfasts, and during the remainder of the day they could occupy themselves with various duties and amusements. At eight or nine o'clock at night prayers were again offered, and all retired to their berths. Such regularity and cleanliness, with constant exercise on deck, were an excellent conservative of the general health of the passengers, a thing which has always been proverbial of the Latter-day Saints' emigration. In addition to this daily routine, when the weather permitted, meetings were held on Sundays, and twice or thrice in the week, at which the usual Church services were observed. Schools for both children and adults were also frequently conducted. When Elders were on board who were either going or returning to the Valley, and had traveled in foreign countries they would often interest the passengers by relating incidents of their travels, and describing the scenes they had witnessed, and the vicissitudes through which they had passed. Lectures on various subjects were also delivered. These agreeable exercises helped a great deal to break the monotony of a long voyage, and tended to improve the mental capacities of the passengers. The good order, cleanliness, regularity, and moral deportment of the passengers generally, seldom failed to produce a good impression upon the captain, crew and

any persons on board who were not Latter-day Saints. The result was, that they would attend the religious meetings or exercises, and some of them become converted to "Mormonism." Thus in the *Olympus*, which sailed in March, 1851, fifty persons were added to the church during the voyage, and in the *International*, which sailed in February, 1853, forty-eight persons, including the captain and other officers of the ship, were added.

As an instance of the estimation, in which the mode of conducting tile Latter-day Saints' emigration was held in high quarters, we quote from the *Morning Advertiser* (a newspaper published a Liverpool,) of June 2 1854:

"On Tuesday, says the London correspondent of the Cambridge Independent Press, I heard a rather remarkable examination before a committee of the House of Commons. The witness was no other than the supreme authority in England of the Mormonites (Elder Samuel W. Richards,) and the subject upon which he was giving information was to mode in which the emigration to Utah, Great Salt Lake, is conducted. * * *

He gave himself no airs, but was respectful in his demeaner, and ready in his answers, and at the close of his examination he received the thanks of the committee in rather a marked manner. * * *

There is one thing which, in the opinion of the Emigration Committee of House of Commons, they (the Latter-day Saints) can do, viz., teach Christian ship owners how to send poor people decently, cheaply and healthfully across the Atlantic."

Both the United States and the British governments undertook at an early day to establish by law certain rules and regulations looking to the safety and convience of passengers, crossing the Atlantic Ocean, but more especially emigrants wending their way from the British Isles to American ports. These laws, however seem to have been very imperfect until the British Parliament in 1852, enacted what was known as the Passengers' Act which, among many other things, provided that every emigration agent, who shipped companies to North America should supply the passengers with seven-days provisions, if the ship sailed between the sixteenth day of January and the fourteenth day of October and eighty day's provisions if she sailed between the fourteenth of October and the sixteenth of January, according to the following scale of weekly rations to each statute adult, and half the amount to children between fourteen years and one year old:

"Two and a half pounds of bread or biscuit, not inferior in quality to navy biscuit, one pound of wheat flour, five pounds oatmeal, two pounds rice, half pound sugar, two ounces tea, two ounces salt, also three quarts of water daily for each passenger."

The act authorized substitutes as follows: five pounds of good potatoes, or half pound of beef

or pork, exclusive of hone, or of preserved meat, or three-fourths of a pound of dried salt fish, or one pound of bread or biscuit, not inferior in quality to navy biscuit, or one pound of best wheaten flour, or one pound of split peas for one and a quarter pound of oatmeal. or for one pound of rice; and a quarter of a pound of preserved potatoes might be substituted for one pound of potatoes.

In addition to the above scale the Latter-day Saints were furnished for the voyage with two and a half pounds of sago, three pounds of butter, two pounds of cheese, and one pint of vinegar for each statute adult, and half the amount to children between fourteen years and one year old; one pound of beef or pork weekly to each statute adult was substituted for its equivalent in oatmeal This quantity of provisions enabled many the passengers to live, during the voyage, more bountifully than they had en in the habit of living in their native countries. Passengers furnished their own beds and bedding, and likewise their cooking utensils such as a boiler, saucepan and frying pan; also a tin plate tin dish, knife and fork, spoon and a tin vessel, or an earthen one encased in wickerwork, large enough to hold three quarts of water, for each person. Such provisions as were not consumed on the arrival at New Orleans, were given to the passengers, instead of being returned to England as in the case of other emigrants ships. If a vessel made a quick trip, there would be a considerable amount left, which would materially aid poor emigrants. The John M. Wood which sailed March 12, 1854, had a quick passage and the amount of provisions saved Perpetual Emigration Fund passengers was one hundred and fifty pounds of tea, nineteen barrels of biscuit, five barrels of oatmeal, four barrels and four bags of rice and three barrels of pork. The ship provided the cooking apparatus and fuel, and the Passengers' Act required that every passenger ship carrying as many as one hundred statute adults should have on board a seafaring person who should be rated in the ship's articles as passengers' steward, and who should be employed in messing and serving out the provisions to the passengers, and in assisting to maintain cleanliness, order and good discipline among them, and who should not assist in any way in navigating or working the ship. The act also provided that every passenger ship carrying as many as one hundred statute adults should have on board a seafaring man, or if carrying more than four hundred statute adults, two seafaring men, to be rated and approved as in the case of passengers' steward, who should be employed in cooking the food of the passengers. When the number of passengers exceeded one hundred statute adults and the space allotted to each on the passengers' deck was less than fourteen feet clear superficial feet, or when, whatever might be the space allotted to the passengers, the number of persons on board (including cabin passengers, officers and crew,) exceeded five hundred the act required a duly qualified

medical practitioner to be carried and rated on the ship's articles. The act provided for the berthing of the passengers It required that the berths should be six feet in length, and that eighteen inches in width be allowed each statute adult. No two passengers, unless members of the same family, should be placed in the same berth, nor in any case was it allowed to place persons of different sexes, above the age of fourteen years, unless husband and wife, in the same berth. All unmarried male passengers of the age of fourteen years and upwards were berthed in the fore part of the vessel, and were separated from the rest of the passengers by a strong bulkhead.

In 1855, two passenger acts one American and the other British were passed, introducing important changes in providing for the comfort and safety of emigrants crossing the Atlantic, The American act came into effect in British ports May 1, 1855, and the British act on October first following. In nearly all its main features as far as those relating to the carriage of passengers between Great Britain and the United States were concerned, the American act was more than covered by the British, and the Latter-day Saint agents, in sending out their companies, complied with the British act, except in the rating of statute adults, where the American act, making two persons between the ages of one and eight years of age equal to a statute adult, was complied with in preference to the British which made between one and twelve years a statute adult. The act of 1855 was considerable of an improvement on the act of 1852, and provided for more room and convenience on board and a better dietary scale; it also provided for medical comforts, and two cooks and a medical practitioner when the number of statute adults exceeded three hundred.

The first ship sailing with a company of Saints after the American act took place was the *Cynosure*, which sailed July 29, 1855, and after the British Act, the *Emerald Isle* which cleared port November 30, 1855.

On arriving at New Orleans the emigrants were received by an agent of the Church stationed there for that purpose, who procured suitable steamboats for them to proceed on to St. Louis, Mo., without detention. It was the duty of this agent, furthermore, to report to the president in l Liverpool, the condition in which these emigrants arrived, and an' important circumstance that might be to his advantage to know. At St. Louis another agent of the Church co-operated with the agent sent from England. From thence the emigrants were forwarded still by steamboat to the camping grounds which in 1853 were at Keokuk, Iowa, at the foot of the lower rapids of the Mississippi, two hundred and five miles from St, Louis, and in 1854 at Kansas City, in Jackson County, Missouri, twelve milts west of Independence. At these outfitting places tile emigrants found their teams, which the agents had purchased, waiting to

receive them and their luggage. Ten individuals were the number allotted to one wagon and one tent. In 1854 the Perpetual Emigration Fund Company allowed one hundred pounds of luggage, including beds and clothing, to all persons above eight years old; fifty pounds to those between eight and four years old; none to those under four years The wagons were generally ordered in Cincinnati and St. Louis, and conveyed by steamboat to the camping grounds. The cattle were purchased of cattle dealers in the western settlements and driven to the camping grounds. The full team consisted of one wagon, two yoke of oxen and two cows. The wagon-covers and tents were made of a very superior twilled cotton procured in England for the emigration of 1853 and 1854. It was generally supplied to the emigrants before their departure from Liverpool, and they made their tents and covers on the voyage, and thus saved expense. A common field tent was generally used. The material was twenty-seven inches wide, and forty-four yards were used for a tent and twenty-six for a wagon cover. The two cost about two guineas, or ten dollars. The poles and cord were procured by the agent in the United States. Each wagon in 1854 containing the £13 and Perpetual Emigration Fund emigrants was supplied with one thousand pounds of flour, fifty pounds of sugar, fifty pounds of bacon, fifty of rice, thirty pounds of beans, twenty pounds of dried apples and peaches, five pounds of tea, one gallon of vinegar, ten bars of soap, and twenty-five pounds of salt. These articles, and the milk from the cows, the game caught on the plains and the pure water from the streams, furnished to hundreds better diet, and more of it, than they enjoyed in their native lands, while toiling from ten to eighteen hours a day for their living. Other emigrants who had means, of course, purchased what they pleased, such as dried herrings, pickles, molasses, and more dried fruit and sugar.

As soon as a sufficient number of wagons could be got ready and all things prepared, the company or companies moved off under their respective captains The agent remained on the frontiers, until all the companies were started, and then he would generally go forward himself, passing the companies one by one and arrive in, the Valley first to receive them there; and conduct them into Great Salt Lake City.

From the foregoing it will readily be seen that the transportation of the Latter-day Saints from Europe to the Rocky Mountains was a work of no ordinary magnitude, but that it brought into requisition directly and indirectly, the labors of hundreds of individuals besides the emigrants themselves, and in the years of 1853, 1854 and 1855 it involved an outlay of not less than £40,000 to £50,000 each year, an amount nevertheless small, when the number of emigrants and the distance traveled are considered.

Andrew Jenson.

APPENDIX 7

MARY JANE MOUNT TANNER

A FRAGMENT

Many a bright picture that gladdens the sky
Grows faint in the distance as time passes by.
There's many a picture in memory's halls,
And many a castle with crumbling walls.
There is many a tower with ivy grown o'er.
That will echo to music and laughter no more.
There is many a joy that lies buried so deep,
That the footsteps of time cannot waken its sleep;
There is many a heart whose brightness has fled,
It's day dreams departed, it's happiness dead.
There is many a hope that was cherished in vain,
And visions of beauty that come not again.

APPENDIX 8

EMMELINE B. WELLS

AN INFLUENTIAL MORMON WOMAN

Emmeline B. Wells an ardent promoter of women's rights. She was the editor of The Women's Exponent, and became an articulate spokesperson for the Mormon women and a defender of plural marriage.

Group of national and local suffrage leaders in a Suffrage Convention held in Salt Lake City, May 1895. Lower row, left to right: President Zina D.H. Young, Dr. Anna Howard shaw, Susan B. Anthony, sarah M. Kimball, Mary C.C. Bradford. Top row, left to right: Mrs. Ellis Meredith, Margaret A. Caine, Electra Bullock, Dr. Mattie Hughes Cannon, Phebe Y. Beatie, Emily S. Richards, Emmeline B. Wells, Rebecca E. Little, Augusta W. Grant.
"Susan B. Anthony continued during her life to cherish a deep personal friendship for a number of Mormon women" (History of the Relief Society 1842-1966, p.103).

APPENDIX 9

PATIENCE LOADER ROZSA ARCHER

Wedding picture

Patience's military trunk
Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, SLC

At age ninety

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

[1] See appendix 1 for a map of the various sites, and westward movement of Mormonism.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

[2] Clarification on the editorial methods was provided by Professor Petree, through personal correspondence on 12 Apr 2006.

[3] Parada, Carlos. "Mnemosyne," 2006, Greek Mythology Link, 22. Mar. 2006 <http://www.homepage.mac.com/cparada/GML/Mnemosyne.html>.

[4] Coser,,Lewis A., introduction, On Collective Memory, by Maurice Halbwachs (Chicago:U of Chicago P., 1992) 5.

[5] Juvan, Marko. "Thematics and Intellectual content: the XVth Triennial Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association in Leiden," CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture: A WWWeb Journal, CLC Web Library of Research and Information ...CLC Web Contents 1.1, March 1999, Purdue University Press, 20 Feb. 2006 <http://clcwebjournal.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb99-1/juvan99.html>.

[6] A clarification on citation and authorship may be useful, since the names of Coser and Schwartz appear under Halbwachs. Although On Collective Memory appears under Halbwachs, the book was edited and translated by Lewis A. Coser, who also wrote an insightful introduction to Halbwachs' work. Professor Schwartz contributed to Coser with critical reading and suggestions for the introduction, which is probably the reason why he was cited by Coser.

[7] For more detailed explanation, see historical chapter, section ii.

[8] According to Mormon Doctrine, over centuries the true Church of Jesus Christ had fallen into apostasy, and Christ's teachings had been corrupted and the ordinances of

salvation changed. The apostasy, as well as the restoration of the truth, was predicted by ancient prophets in the Holy Scriptures.

The following passages in the Bible suggest the apostasy: Isa. 29: 10, 13; Isa. 60: 2; Amos 8: 11; Matt. 24: 24; Acts 20: 29; Gal. 1: 6., 2; Thes. 2: 3; 2 Tim. 2: 18; 2 Tim. 3: 5; 2 Tim. 4: 3-4.; 2 Pet. 2: 1.

Some passages in the Bible suggest the restoration of the true gospel of Christ: Isa. 2: 2; Micah 4: 2; Isa. 29: 14; Dan. 2: 44; Matt. 17: 11; Mark 9: 12; Acts 3: 21 Eph. 1: 10; Rev. 14: 6; Mal. 4: 5-6.

[9] "A period when the Lord reveals his gospel doctrines, ordinances, and priesthood, is called a dispensation. For example, there were the dispensations of Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and of the Nephites. These dispensations gave the faithful and obedient the opportunity on earth to overcome the wicked world and prepare for eternal life by conforming to the principles and ordinances of the gospel of Jesus Christ:

Time after time, the flowering of the true Church was followed by an apostasy, or a falling away from the truth. In world history, these flowerings and apostasies were cyclical. Each time the Lord's people fell into apostasy, there came a need for a restoration of the gospel. The Restoration discussed in this text is simply the last in the series of restorations that have occurred through the ages". This is the dispensation of the fullness of times. (Church History in the Fulness of Times: The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,1, 2)

For further clarification, see Biblical references Ephesians 1:10; Acts 3:21.

[10] This passage was taken from Emile Durkheim, *Les formes élementaires de la vie religieuse*, p.44, qtd. Halbwachs´ Collective Memory, p.89.

[11] Foucault, M. L'archeologie du Savior. Paris:1969.,qtd. LeGoff (177).

[12] Suggested further reading on the establishment of plural marriage in the early days of the restored Church: Doctrine and Covenants, section 132.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

[13] O' Sullivan's article "Annexation" was first published in United States Magazine and Democratic Review 17, no.1 July-August 1845: 5-10.

[14] "Manifest Destiny," Wikipedia, 11 Aug. 2005 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manifest_destiny>

[15] The Enlightenment was "an intellectual movement of the 17th and 18th centuries in which ideas concerning God, reason, nature, and humankind were synthesized into a world-view that gained wide assent and that instigated revolutionary developments in art, philosophy, and politics. Central to Enlightenment thought were the use and the celebration of reason, the power by which the individual understands the universe and improves the human condition. The goals of the rational individual were considered to be knowledge, freedom, and happiness". (Merriam Webster´s Encyclopedia of Literature, ed. Kathleen Kuiper, (Springsfield: Merriam-Webster, 1995)379.

[16] As the following verses suggest, the characters, supposedly related to 600 B.C., were originally in Egyptian with Hebrew influence:

> And now, behold, we have written this record according to our knowledge, in the characters which are called among us the reformed Egyptian, being handed down and altered by us, according to our manner of speech.
>
> And if our plates had been sufficiently large we should have written in Hebrew; but the Hebrew hath been altered by us also; and if we could have written in Hebrew, behold, ye would have had no imperfection in our record. But the Lord knoweth the things which we have written, and also that none other people knoweth our language; and because that none other people

knoweth our language, therefore he hath prepared means for the interpretation thereof (Mormon 9:32,34).

[17] Beecher, Maureen Ursenbach. “Biography and Autobiography”, LightPlanet.com, 26 Oct. 2005 <http://www.lightplanet.com/mormons/daily/history?people/biography_eom.htm>.

[18] Kimball, Spencer W. "Listen to the Prophets," Ensign, (May 1978):76

[19] Soukup, Elise. “The Mormon Odyssey,” Newsweek, 17 Oct. 2005 <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/9630255/site/newsweek>.

[20] Harmon, Appleton Milo. Journal entry, 13 Feb. 1846, vol 1, p. 11. Cited by Melvin L. Bashore ,“Where the Prophets of God Live: A Brief Overview of the Mormon Trail Experience,” Trails of Hope, Utah Academic Library Consortium 10 Aug. 2005 <http://overlandtrails.lib.byu.edu/mtrail.htm>.

[21] Bashore, Melvin L. “Where the Prophets of God Live: A Brief Overview of the MormonTrail Experience” 10 Aug. 2005 <http://overlandtrails.lib.byu.edu/mtrail.htm>.

[22] The journal entries transcribed on the following pages are part of a pamphlet distributed in Historic Nauvoo’s Visitors Center (July 2005).

[23] Smith, Joseph. History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. by B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (1932-1951; reprint, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), 5:85.

[24] A common, semi-derogatory abreviation referring to the ethnic and religious category of that U.S. majority: White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestants.

[25] Spanish-speaking inhabitants of California, prior to its annexation by the United States after the Mexican - American War. Californios included both the descendants of European settlers from Spain and Mexico, and also included Mestizos and local Native

Americans who adopted Spanish culture and converted to Catholicism. 10 Aug. 2005 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Californios>

[26] The Donner Reed Party was a group of pioneers organized by the Donner and Reed families, and who set out for California in 1846. As the expedition was slow in crossing the western prairies and desert, it only arrived in Sierra Nevada in late October, when snow was already falling. The group was then forced to stop at Truckee Lake, now Donner Lake, and to build cabins for shelter, since the snow was deep in the mountain passes. Soon the members of the Donner Party began to run out of food, and in the end resorted to cannibalism at the expense of those who had died. Only 47 out of the 87 initial members managed to survive and get rescued. (Wade, 280)

[27] Utah division of Parks and Recreation, "Mormon Pioneer Trail," American West , Aug. 11, 2005 <http://www.americanwest.com/trails/pages/mormtrl.htm>.

[28] Bachman, Danel and Ronald K. Esplin, "History of Plural Marriage,"Encyclopedia of Mormonism, Macmillan Publishing Co., 1992, LightPlanet.com, 26 Oct. 2005<http:lightplanet.com/mormons/daily/history/plural_marriage/History_EOM.htm>.

[29] Bachman, Danel and Ronald K. Esplin. "History of Plural Marriage".

[30] Frequently Asked Questions about the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Brigham Young University / BYU Studies. Aug. 20, 2005 <http://ldsfaq.byu.edu/emmain.asp?number=145>.

[31] "The Woman´s Exponent," www.pbs.org, 21 Aug.2005 <http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/program/episodes/five/womansexponent.htm>.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3 – REM(A)INDERS

[32] From Nietzche, Unzeigemässe Betrachtungen II:Vom Nutzen and Nachteil der Historie für das Leben", in Nietzche, *Kritische Studienausgabe,* qtd. G. Colli e M. Montinari

(eds), *Kritische Studienausgabe*. (Munich: DTV; Berlin,New York, : Walter de Gruyter, 1988).252.

[33] The following scriptural references make explicit such assertions: Ex. 17:14; Ezra 2:62; Neh 7:5; Ezek 13:9; Isa 30:8 . The Book of Mormon references: 1 Ne 3-5; Al.37:8; 3 Ne 23:7-13; 3 Ne 24:16-18. References in The Doctrine and Covenants D&C 85:9; 123. References in The Pearl of Great Price Mos 6:5-6; 45-46; Abr 1:31.

[34] Virginia Woolf, The Diary of Virginia Woolf. 5 vols.,ed. Anne Oliver Bell. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), qtd. Mallon, p. 3.

[35] In allusion to Salman Rushdie's assertion that ". . . Roots, I sometimes think, are a conservative myth, designed to keep us in our place", used as an epigraph for the epilogue. (George 199).

[36] Quoted in Sandra Regina Goulart de Almeida's "Escrituras Migrantes: Sujeitos Femininos em Deslocamento". Refazendo Nós. Ed. Izabel Brandão and Zahidé Muzart. Florianópolis: Editora Mulheres, 2003. P. 331; from Barbara Goddard 1992:151.

[37] Foucault, M. L'archeologie du Savior. Paris:1969. Quoted in LeGoff (177).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4 – MARY JANE MOUNT TANNER'S ODDS AND ENDS

[38] Excerpt from the published autobiography of Mary Jane Mount Tanner: A Fragment: The Autobiography of Mary Jane Mount Tanner, ed.Margery W. Ward and George S. Tanner, Signature Books, 26 April 2006 <http://www.signaturebooks.com/excerpts/fragment.htm>.

[39] Paraphrase of a quote from Jane Tanner in Petree 1999:156, source not cited.

[40] This recollection is part of Jane Tanner's autobiography, entitled Memoirs. As I haven't had access to these writings, I am quoting the passage from Petree's dissertation (Petree:1999:164).

[41] Now Brigham Young Universtity.

[42] Janath R. Cannon and Jill Mulvay-Derr, "Relief Society,"Encyclopedia of Mormonism, Macmillan Publishing Co., 1992, LightPlanet.com, April 27, 2006 <http://www.lightplanet.com/mormons/basic/organization/Relief_Society_EOM.htm>.

[43] Orson Pratt, a prominent Mormon leader, publicly declared in "a lengthy discourse from a scriptural standpoint concerning plural marriage. He explained that marriage was ordained of God as the channel for spirits to acquire mortal bodies and that through plural marriage worthy priesthood holders could raise up a numerous righteous posterity unto the Lord"(Church History in the Fulness of Times: The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003:424).

[44] From a letter dated October 24, 1880. Cited in A Fragment: The Autobiography of Mary Jane Mount Tanner, ed Margery W. Ward and George S. Tanner.

[45] Excerpt from the published autobiography of Mary Jane Mount Tanner: A Fragment: The Autobiography of Mary Jane Mount Tanner edited by Margery W. Ward and George S. Tanner.

[46] Church History in the Fulness of Times: The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 424.

[47] Church History in the Fulness of Times: The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 425-426.

[48] Emmeline Wells was a writer and became the editor of The Women's Exponent, the official newspaper of the Relief Society. She became an articulate spokesperson for the Mormon women and a defender of plural marriage. She was friends with prominent non-Mormon feminist leaders, such as Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Carrie Chapman Catt.

[49] George, Rosemary Marangoly. The Politics of home: Postcolonial Relocations and Twentieth-Century Fiction. (Berkeley: California UP, 1996.) 9.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

[50] Although the book was published in March 2006, the analysis and references in this work basically refer to a preliminary draft – pertaining to the process of preparation of the manuscripts for publication – which was kindly provided to me by Professor Petree in June 2005.

[51] Wards and Branches are small unities (equivalent to diocese, parish) under local leadership. They are usually presided over by a bishop and two counselors.

[52] At that time, John Taylor was serving as a missionary in New York, where he superintended the affairs of the Church in the eastern states. He published a newspaper titled *The Mormon*. In 1877, with Brigham Young's death, John Taylor would led the Church as President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. In October 1880, he would be sustained as President of the Church, with George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith as counselors.

[53] "The Church inaugurated the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company (PEF) in 1849. The PEF used Church assets and private contributions to assist poor emigrants from the eastern U.S. and Europe on their journey to the Salt Lake Valley. The funds were extended as a loan rather than as a gift, and sponsored emigrants signed a note obligating themselves to repay the PEF after they arrived in Utah. This obligation could be met through cash, commodities, or labor. It is estimated that prior to its dismantling in 1887, the PEF assisted more than 30,000 people to travel to Utah by wagon, by pulling a handcart or (after 1869) by rail". Information available in the official Church site. May 3, 2006 <http://www.lds.org/gospellibrary/pioneer/03_Iowa_City.html>.

[54] Wallace Stegner, "Ordeal by Handcart," *Collier's*, 6 July 1956, 85. Cited on the official Church site. May 3, 2006 <http://www.lds.org/gospellibrary/pioneer/03_Iowa_City.html>.

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