

# LDS “Headquarters Culture” and the Rest of Mormonism: Past and Present

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## INTRODUCTION

IN DECEMBER 1830 THE FOUNDING Mormon prophet Joseph Smith Jr. announced a revelation which established the doctrine of “gathering” the new church’s members at a headquarters area: “And again, a commandment I give unto the church, that it is expedient in me that they should assemble together at the Ohio. . . .” (D&C 37: 3). Prior to that date, believers in *The Book of Mormon* were concentrated in three locations of western New York State: at Manchester/Palmyra (where the Smith family had lived a dozen years), also at Colesville, and at Fayette. Then from February 1831 to the end of 1837, the church was headquartered in Kirtland, Ohio (near Cleveland).

However, in July 1831 Joseph Smith announced another revelation that Missouri “is the land which I have appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the saints. Wherefore, this is the land of promise, and the place for the city of Zion. . . . Behold, the place which is now called Independence is the center place. . . .” (D&C 57:1, 3). An 1832 revelation explained: “Verily this is the word of the Lord, that the city of New Jerusalem shall be built by the gathering of the saints, beginning at this

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\*Full version of the paper presented in abbreviated form at the Sunstone Symposium, Salt Lake City, 3 August 2000. As far as I am aware, I coined the term “headquarters culture,” which appeared at various points in my 1994 *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* and my 1997 *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*. Those volumes lacked an interpretive overview of LDS headquarters culture, which this essay now provides.

place, even the place of the temple, which temple shall be reared in this generation" (D&C 84:4).

Nevertheless, church headquarters did not leave Kirtland. Joseph Smith and his followers regarded Independence, Jackson County, Missouri as a millennial gathering-place which did not require the immediate presence of all Mormons. Until Christ returned in glory to the earth, Independence did not need the residence of God's latter-day prophet, who remained with all members of his family in Kirtland.

Therefore, Mormons living at the Ohio gathering-place were experiencing the ecclesiastical and social life of church headquarters while Mormons living at the Missouri gathering-place a thousand miles away saw themselves as resident vanguards of the Millennium's New Jerusalem. Kirtland was Mormonism's current headquarters of the temporal church, while Independence was the future headquarters of a spiritual church that Christ would "soon" visit personally.

However, this changed in both practical and psychological terms after mobs drove the Mormons from Independence and Jackson County during 1833. While Mormons still spoke of the Second Coming of Christ as an event in the near future, anti-Mormons now controlled the place of his Advent. This left the Latter-day Saints in a position very similar to early medieval Christians, whose church headquarters also developed far distant from a Holy Land controlled by militant non-believers.

While the Christians launched numerous Crusades that ultimately failed to regain their Holy Land, LDS headquarters in Kirtland launched only one such crusade, Zion's Camp. It failed to "redeem" Zion in 1834, the year the church adopted the name "Latter Day Saints." The new name reemphasized the Mormons' role in the Second Coming, despite their loss of the City of Zion to which Jesus should one day descend in glory. However, for both post-Jerusalem Christians and post-Independence Mormons, there was an advantage in having a "Holy City" which was not the church's headquarters. This relieved the actual headquarters of the church from the burden of being "holy," thus, allowing it to be mundane or even squalid without giving serious offense to believers.

For example, there was advantage to Mormons in the emphasis that their Holy City would exist only in an ethereal future. The more distant LDS headquarters was in time and space from the 1831-32 revelations about Jackson County, the more romanticized became the descriptions of the future New Jerusalem. Thus, the mud and dung of the unpaved streets at church headquarters in the nineteenth century were only temporary distractions from the gold-paved streets of New Jerusalem. And the faithful knew that the gilded multi-room mansions of this future City of Zion would make an obscure memory of the shanties in which even latter-day prophets and apostles sometimes lived with their families at church headquarters.

Defining "headquarters culture" during the life of Mormon founder Joseph Smith is complicated by the fact that the church itself was experiencing fundamental changes and evolution. He periodically expanded Mormonism's doctrines and ecclesiastical structures, both of which significantly impacted the social dynamics at the church's center. Mormons living at Independence from 1831 to 1833 clearly expected church headquarters to move there soon, which might have happened one day if mobs hadn't driven them out. Joseph Smith also found it necessary to move headquarters to Far West, Missouri, in 1838 and then to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1839. During the thirteen years from the establishment of church headquarters in Kirtland to his death in June 1844, Mormons had limited opportunity to develop feelings of stability about the center of their church.

Nevertheless, before Joseph Smith's martyrdom in 1844, LDS headquarters manifested various characteristics. Some of these remained constant. First, living at church headquarters involved abundant opportunities to see God's "living prophet," both in church settings and in routine activities of daily life. Second, headquarters provided its residents with access to newly announced doctrines and with frequent opportunity of hearing church leaders discuss any doctrines as "deeply" as they wished. Third, the LDS church gave the rank-and-file at headquarters the option of membership in special organizations that were unavailable to Mormons living far distant. Fourth, headquarters provided its residents with access to sacred ceremonies that were unavailable to other Mormons. Fifth, Mormons at church headquarters experienced political power unavailable to Mormons living as a minority elsewhere. Sixth, because Mormons were usually the dominant population wherever LDS headquarters was located, they confronted the challenges faced by any majority which must coexist with minorities and with dissent. Seventh, certain aspects of the physical and material culture at headquarters were distinct.

In religious, social, cultural, and psychological terms, church members at LDS headquarters have experienced Mormonism very differently from Mormons living elsewhere. Over time, this made the Mormon majority in headquarters culture "a different breed" from Mormons who lived as minorities.

I see four stages in the continuities and changes of LDS headquarters culture: First, (beginning with Joseph Smith's leadership from 1830 to 1844 and continuing until the Mormons abandoned church headquarters at Nauvoo in 1846) is the Foundational Period; second, (from Brigham Young's re-establishment of a permanent headquarters at Salt Lake City in 1847 until 1890) is the Pioneer Utah Period of consolidating Mormonism in the American West and confronting U.S. national culture; third, (from 1890 to the 1950s) is the Period of Assimilating within U.S. culture while trying to maintain Utah Mormon distinctiveness;

fourth, is the late-twentieth-century Period of Responding to International Growth and to America's "Culture Wars" while trying to maintain Utah Mormon distinctiveness.

#### THE FOUNDATIONAL PERIOD

1. Concerning personal interaction with the LDS president and other leaders—Aside from audience participation at formal events, headquarters Mormons from 1830 onward had frequent opportunities to see their prophet in the ordinary activities of work, recreation, family, and local residency. By the mid-1830s this personal access also included all the other general authorities. By contrast, Mormons outside headquarters had few (if any) opportunities to encounter their leaders in such personally revealing ways. At best, Mormons outside headquarters saw their prophet and other general authorities as special visitors—usually in the formal setting as speakers at special meetings.

2. Concerning access to doctrine—There were two periods during Joseph Smith's life when this significantly excluded Mormons outside headquarters. Until publication of *The Doctrine and Covenants* in August 1835, Mormons generally had no access to the written documents their prophet was dictating to scribes as "thus, saith the Lord" revelations from God. Those at headquarters learned about these revelations soon after scribes recorded them and sometimes made copies for close associates. The more distant from headquarters in 1830-35, the less likely believers were to have access to the newly written words of God. This was not an intentional exclusion because in 1832 Mormon leaders began printing periodicals which informed Mormons generally of the church's doctrines and gave the written text for some of those revelations.

However, despite the existence of the official semi-monthly *Times and Seasons* from 1839 onward, Joseph Smith intentionally omitted from its pages any reference to some of his most significant revelations and private teachings to trusted men and women. During the 1840s this created a doctrinal elite at church headquarters—in other words, those with private knowledge of special revelations and sacred teachings unavailable to Mormons outside headquarters. This doctrinal church-within-a-church also excluded most Mormons at Nauvoo whose understanding depended on what was presented in public meetings and official publications.

The concealed doctrines of Joseph Smith's last years involved radically new meanings for the pre-1840s Mormon concepts of "sealing," "endowment," "Kingdom of God," "the New and Everlasting Covenant," "the Restoration of all things," "adoption," "exaltation," and "pre-existence." This involved what later became known as marriage for time and all eternity, as plural marriage, as highly confidential rituals of the temple endowment, as the temple ceremony of adopting men to men, as the

theocratic Council of Fifty, and as the doctrine that men and women can become gods. The latter had the theological corollaries that God was once mortal, that God has a divine wife, and that the pre-existence of all humans involved their being the literal offspring of God the Father and their heavenly mother-goddess. While some of these teachings were rumored among the non-elite at Nauvoo, they were unknown to Mormons outside church headquarters until after Smith's death. Even though he finally spoke for hours at the April 1844 general conference about his views of God and polytheism, the semi-monthly LDS newspaper did not publish a version of those remarks until months after his martyrdom in late June.

3. Concerning special organizations for Mormons at headquarters— This began at Kirtland in January 1833 with the organization of the School of the Prophets. Aside from the opportunity to hear private instructions on doctrine and secular topics from the prophet and other general authorities, members of the School of the Prophets had a form of initiation which stated that "I receive you to fellowship, in a determination that is fixed, immovable, and unchangeable, to be your friend and brother through the grace of God in the bonds of love. . . ." (D&C 88:133).

The next special organization for the rank-and-file at headquarters occurred in Far West, Missouri. After the LDS leadership was forced to abandon Kirtland as headquarters in December 1837 due to internal apostasy and lawsuits by non-Mormons, the Danite order began at Far West in June 1838 as a fraternal organization of self-protection for Mormon men who took blood-oaths of loyalty and nondisclosure. It was organized to be under the supervision of "the Head" of modern Israel's "war department" (a position Joseph Smith had held since 1835). Danite membership included First Presidency counselor Hyrum Smith and Assistant President John Smith. Its formal existence ended after Mormon defeat in the virtual civil war that raked Missouri in the closing months of 1838.

At Nauvoo, Illinois the church provided several special organizations for the rank-and-file. In January 1841 Joseph Smith organized a Lyceum where men could give presentations on theology. On March 15, 1842 he organized Nauvoo's Masonic Lodge, which provided fraternal initiations and social activities for most of the city's Mormon adult males. Two days later he organized the Female Relief Society, which provided Nauvoo's LDS women with theological instruction, social activities, and opportunities for charitable service. In March 1843 there was an organization for Nauvoo's young men and women. Although Iowa Mormons also joined Mormon lodges of Freemasonry, this was available to them only because they lived across the Mississippi from LDS headquarters. Otherwise, none of these Mormon organizations were available to church members who were distant from headquarters, such as the thousands living in the Eastern States and in the British Isles.

In fact, Nauvoo's organization with the most restricted membership was not available to 99 percent of the faithful at headquarters. Secretly organized in March 1844, Joseph Smith's theocratic Council of Fifty admitted only fifty men besides himself and two male secretaries.

4. Concerning access to sacred ceremonies—During Joseph Smith's life this access was increasingly limited. In 1836 attenders at the Kirtland Temple received the ordinance of washing of feet from church leaders, as well as the anointing of their heads with olive oil for the pronouncing of special blessings. Those who read about this in the LDS periodical from 1836-37 knew that these ordinances were available only at Kirtland. In August 1840 Nauvoo's Mormons began receiving baptism for the dead on behalf of their deceased relatives and friends. Though publicized in the *Times and Seasons* (which church members as far distant as Britain received as subscribers), this sacred ordinance was available only at headquarters and all Mormons knew it. However, even at Nauvoo very few knew that from May 1842 to May 1844 Joseph Smith privately initiated sixty-six living men and women into what they called the "Anointed Quorum"—those who had received the special ceremonies, instructions, and obligations of the redefined endowment. Likewise, beginning in September 1843, the married couples of this group began receiving the second anointing by which living persons were pronounced as heavenly kings and queens for the eternities. In other words, they were given an ordinance on earth which declared them as gods in heaven.

5. Concerning Mormon political power—This began in Ohio, increased in Missouri, and reached its nationally-known apex in Illinois. After three years of constant immigration into Kirtland, regular Mormons from 1834 to 1837 held such civil offices as township trustee, treasurer, constable, election judge, election clerk, highway supervisor, and school examiner. Two members of the First Presidency served as justices of the peace from 1836 to 1837. But this political power ended with the national depression of 1837, which contributed to the disintegration of the church in Kirtland by the end of the year. When LDS headquarters moved to Far West in 1838, the Missouri legislature had already created the surrounding Caldwell County as a Mormon county. However, at the end of the year, anti-Mormon Missourians were driving Mormons from the state by authority of Governor Boggs.

Because Illinois politicians were sympathetic to the plight of the Mormons in 1839 and eager to obtain their votes, the legislature passed laws which allowed the LDS headquarters of Nauvoo to become a nearly sovereign city-state. It was America's first example of ministerial theocracy (since the Puritans had specifically prohibited their ministers from holding civil office in Massachusetts).

A government is not theocratic merely because all (or nearly all) civil leaders are of the same religion. One example of theocracy occurs when a religion's scriptures literally serve as a society's civil and criminal laws.

Theocracy more commonly exists when the dominant religion's leaders hold the major civil offices or direct the civil officers behind-the-scenes.

As an example of the latter form of theocracy, LDS president Joseph Smith was Nauvoo's mayor, and the church's general authorities held on average two-thirds or more of the seats on the city council. In fact, Mormons filled nearly all of the city's civil offices and some of the county offices, as well. In Nauvoo's elections, successful candidates typically received at least 97 percent of the votes. While still mayor, Joseph Smith became candidate for U.S. president in 1843-44.

6. Concerning the relationship of LDS headquarters culture with its minorities—Contrary to American ideology and social practice, Mormonism's founding prophet had the highest regard for the abilities of African-Americans. "Change their situation with the whites, and they would be like them," he preached. Joseph Smith put this into religious practice by authorizing the ordination of Elijah Abel, the only "free Black" male at LDS headquarters, to the priesthood and office of elder in March 1836. The Prophet also instructed a general authority to anoint Abel during the Kirtland Temple's ceremonies a month later and then authorized Abel's ordination to a higher priesthood office (as one of "the 70 apostles") the following December. In 1844 Joseph Smith also publicly proposed "to abolish slavery by the year 1850" by financially compensating Southern slave-owners through the sale of federal lands in the West.

Likewise, non-Mormons had reason to admire the manner in which America's first ministerial theocracy responded to those of differing religious views. In March 1841 a Nauvoo ordinance stated that "the Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Latter-day Saints, Quakers, Episcopalians, Universalists, Unitarians, Mohammedans and all other religious sects and denominations whatever, shall have free toleration, and equal privileges, in this city." Freedom of religion was so strict that this ordinance even limited free speech by imposing three hundred dollars fine and six-month's imprisonment to anyone convicted of ridiculing a person's religious beliefs. By contrast, during the 1840s several states of the Union prohibited Jews, Muslims, "infidels" and unbelieving Christians from voting or holding public office.

By April 1844 Joseph Smith had also admitted three non-Mormons to his secret Council of Fifty. With their oath-bound fellow "princes," these three Gentiles witnessed his installation as "king" of the earthly Kingdom of God. Although it was a profound secret for obvious reasons in the spring of 1844, he intended this organization to provide godly rule over all nations while guaranteeing freedom of expression to all religions and churches.

However, LDS headquarters was not tolerant regarding those perceived as enemies, especially Mormon apostates and dissenters. By his

own account and those of believers Brigham Young and Wilford Woodruff, the founding prophet sometimes slapped, punched, or repeatedly kicked those who insulted him or his church. This included a Baptist minister in Kirtland, a tax collector in Nauvoo, his brother William Smith, Apostle David W. Patten, and Seventy's president Josiah Butterfield. In November 1836 twenty current general authorities (including the entire First Presidency) joined fifty-nine other Mormons in signing a warning to the non-Mormon justice of the peace to "depart forthwith out of Kirtland." In June 1838 Second Counselor Hyrum Smith and Assistant President John Smith joined eighty other Danites in writing a threatening letter to prominent Mormon dissenters at Far West, warning them to "depart or a more fatal calamity shall befall you." Among those who fled for their lives were Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, still-faithful witnesses to the *Book of Mormon*, who had been excommunicated for dissenting against the policies of Joseph Smith. In June 1844, by request of Mayor Joseph Smith, the city council destroyed as a "public nuisance" the dissenting Mormon newspaper, *Nauvoo Expositor*. This led to his imprisonment in Carthage Jail where a mob murdered him and his brother Hyrum Smith. Under siege from anti-Mormons for the next two years, Brigham Young and the apostles authorized the intimidation of apostates and dissenters at Nauvoo until Young led the Mormons across the Mississippi en route to a new headquarters in the Great Basin.

Therefore, in their interpretation of nineteenth-century American culture, Richard T. Hughes and C. Leonard Allen wrote: "Here, then, are two dominant threads in the intellectual garment of the early Saints: a coercive, sometimes even violent, antipluralism, along-side a ringing affirmation of the right of all people to freedom of conscience in matters of religion."

7. Concerning physical and material culture—There was limited ability to create a distinctive physical environment because Joseph Smith repeatedly established his headquarters within pre-existing settlements. However, the founding prophet clearly wanted to give church headquarters a distinctive look. This was evident, first, in his 1833 "plat" or street-map for the City of Zion and, second, in his announcements with regard to constructing an imposing temple at each location he designated as headquarters.

From 1830 to 1846 congregational worship at headquarters occurred in private residences and commercial buildings or in the assembly room of the Kirtland Temple or in Nauvoo's open-air grove. During its few months of actual use, the Nauvoo Temple's assembly room was usually reserved for meetings of persons who had received the endowment ceremony. Outside headquarters, Mormons worshipped either in residences or in rented halls. Because there were no LDS chapels during the Foundational Period, only the two temples separated the physical culture of worship at headquarters from the rest of Mormonism.



The most important example of LDS material culture was the special "shirt" or "garment" worn by newly endowed persons under their regular clothing from 1842 onward. However, to avoid difficulties should this endowment garment accidentally be observed by the uninitiated, it was made by simply putting discreet markings on the two-piece underwear used in America since the eighteenth century: an undershirt worn with separate, tight-fitting underpants reaching to the knees. In 1977 Patriarch Eldred G. Smith showed me the endowment garment that Hyrum Smith received before joining his brother Joseph as martyrs in 1844. By February 1846 there were 5000 Mormons wearing these specially marked undergarments at headquarters, a fact virtually unknown to Mormons elsewhere.

#### THE PIONEER UTAH PERIOD

By 1847 it was clear that the distinctions between headquarters culture and the rest of Mormonism had taken a terrible toll on the church since the death of Joseph Smith. Thousands of LDS members living distant from Nauvoo refused to believe that the Mormonism they had known up to June 1844 could be so different from what Brigham Young now claimed the founding prophet had said and done at church headquarters. This disaffection extended even to Nauvoo Mormons who had not been privy to the inner circle's knowledge prior to the martyrdom. Therefore, 40-50 percent of pre-1844 Mormons refused to follow Young and his fellow apostles to the Salt Lake Valley. This led to changes in the headquarters culture of pioneer Utah.

In the Great Basin of the American West, Brigham Young wanted to give the widest possible expression to everything the martyred prophet had hoped for and done in the secret councils of Nauvoo. However, he did not want to duplicate Joseph Smith's pattern of separating headquarters culture from the rest of Mormonism. Young extended headquarters culture from Salt Lake City to encompass as much of the church's membership as possible.

1. Concerning personal interaction with the LDS president and other leaders—Brigham Young and several of his successors never left headquarters in the West to visit with Mormons living in the Midwest, Eastern States, or South, in Britain, Europe, or the Pacific islands. Throughout the balance of the nineteenth century, these Mormons had no contact with the LDS president. However, in this "missionfield" there were Mormons who remembered seeing the LDS presidents years before—as missionary or mission president.

By contrast, in Brigham Young's expanded approach toward headquarters culture, the church president had frequent contact with pioneer Mormons living in a vast region of the American West. He visited settlements extending from southern Idaho to southern Utah, and by 1890 his

successors John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff had visited Mormon communities in Arizona and Nevada. In addition, Brigham Young established quarterly conferences in every stake (which corresponded to county boundaries at that time), and members of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve routinely attended these two-day meetings throughout the Great Basin. General authorities sometimes also attended conferences of local wards, especially whenever a new bishop was chosen for these congregations. Even in towns hundreds of miles from Salt Lake City, pioneer Mormons had frequent visits from the church's general authorities, plus occasional visits from the LDS president himself.

Moreover, Brigham Young extended the opportunities for regular Mormons to see general authorities in the routine activities of daily life far distant from church headquarters. He assigned apostles to live for years at a time in the Bear Lake Valley of southern Idaho, in Cache Valley of northern Utah, in Box Elder County of northern Utah, in Weber Valley just north of Salt Lake City, in Iron County of central Utah, in Sanpete Valley of central Utah, in Washington County of southwestern Utah, in Carson County, Nevada, and as far distant as San Bernardino, California. In his later years, Young himself left Salt Lake City each winter to reside in St. George, Washington County. Like those at church headquarters, Mormons in various places of the Great Basin had daily opportunities to talk casually with general authorities, to see them at social events, or shopping, or with their children, or gardening at home.

Personal association with Brigham Young and his fellow apostles had been important for many of the American and British Mormons who endured the Succession Crisis after the founding prophet's death. They followed Young to Utah because they knew him personally. Apparently as a conscious decision, President Young extended that personal association far beyond the headquarters culture of Salt Lake City.

After Brigham Young's death, several newly-appointed general authorities voluntarily chose to live distant from Salt Lake City. For example, some of these general authorities visited for weeks at a time at the residences of their plural wives in Mormon settlements in southern Alberta (Canada), in Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and northern Mexico. Even in Utah, some of the hierarchy's post-1877 appointees kept their main residences in Cache Valley, Weber Valley, Davis County, Tooele County, Utah Valley, and Juab County.

In an area of millions of square miles, pioneer Mormons had the same kind of personal association with general authorities as was available in headquarters culture in Salt Lake City. This pattern continued into the twentieth century.

2. Concerning access to doctrine—Brigham Young also made sure that there was little or no disparity between headquarters and the rest of Mormonism. Again, this avoided one of the contributing factors to the

Succession Crisis that began in 1844. No matter how distant Mormon settlements were from Salt Lake City, Young expected their stake presidents and bishops to be at headquarters every April and October for general conference where they received instructions in doctrine and policy. Upon returning home, they reported this information to local Mormons.

Beginning in 1850 Salt Lake City's *Deseret News* printed the sermons by Brigham Young and the apostles (many of whom explored "deep" doctrines and used salty humor). All American Mormons were urged to subscribe. In November 1853 the *Journal of Discourses* began its thirty-three years of reprinting for British Mormons those same Utah sermons. While many of these sermons emphasized the "plain" teachings of the Bible and LDS scriptures, church headquarters expected that the newest converts throughout the English-speaking world would also read these eye-popping discussions of plural marriage, temple ordinances, Adam-God, the non-virgin birth of Jesus, humans-to-become-gods teachings, the political Kingdom of God on earth, and "blood atonement" as earthly punishment for various misdeeds. Brigham Young was determined that never again would church members apostatize because they had not known about the deep doctrines being taught at LDS headquarters.

3. Concerning special organizations at headquarters—It was inevitable that some were available only to those pioneers living in or near Salt Lake City. Examples in 1855 included the Polysophical Society and the Deseret Theological Institute, both of which invited Salt Lake City's women to attend with the male participants. The theocratic Council of Fifty was another organization not generally available, but Brigham Young and his successor John Taylor did initiate some men who resided hundreds of miles north or south of Salt Lake City. Since it had no meetings at all from October 1851 to 1867, nor from October 1868 to 1880, nor after October 1884, pioneer Mormons lost little more than secret prestige by lack of access to the primarily symbolic Council of Fifty.

In other instances, Brigham Young wanted the special organizations at Salt Lake City to be widely available to other Mormons. For example, since 1842 all scheduled prayer circle meetings outside the temple had been convened and directed by Joseph Smith or Brigham Young. In February 1851, Young authorized separate organizations of prayer circles in Salt Lake City, some presided over by apostles and others by the city's bishops. Eventually all stakes and many wards throughout the Great Basin had their own prayer circle organizations, which met weekly or monthly for the "true order of prayer." Also, when Brigham Young renewed the School of the Prophets from 1867 to 1874, more than 900 men joined the Salt Lake City school and approximately 5000 others joined Schools of the Prophets in towns throughout the Great Basin.

Likewise, in response to the 1869 arrival of the transcontinental railroad, which provided easy access to the region for non-Mormon settlers,

Brigham Young launched various LDS organizations for economic cooperation in Salt Lake City. Known successively as Cooperatives, then United Orders, then Boards of Trade, for the next two decades, these organizations spread to Mormon settlements from Idaho to Arizona. Mormons living east of the Rocky Mountains knew about them only by reading sermons in the *Deseret News* or *Journal of Discourses*.

However, the most enduring and widespread were those special organizations that earlier had been available only to Nauvoo's residents. No longer a counterpoint to Masonic lodges (which Brigham Young did not sponsor in Utah), the Relief Society extended itself from Salt Lake City in the 1850s to every ward of the pioneer West and, ultimately, to every congregation in the church. There was similar growth in the organizations for LDS young women and young men, which Brigham Young first re-established among his daughters in 1869.

Current Mormons do not realize how many sources of their weekly church activity were restricted during Joseph Smith's presidency to those living at LDS headquarters. Thanks to Brigham Young, many significant aspects of Mormon experience are no longer limited to headquarters culture. This might have also occurred had the founding prophet lived to age 85 as he expected, but things turned out differently.

4. Concerning access to sacred ceremonies—Brigham Young also expanded the access, first numerically and then geographically. Whereas Joseph Smith gave the endowment ceremony to sixty-six living persons during the last two years of his life, Young and his fellow apostles initiated more than 5000 people in two months—from December 1845 to February 1846. However, all of this occurred at Nauvoo, and for the next three decades Mormons had to travel to church headquarters to obtain the endowment. There were practical reasons for this, but Brigham Young wanted to make temple ordinances available far beyond Salt Lake City.

A few months after laying the cornerstone for the Salt Lake Temple in 1853, he said that there would one day be a temple in Scotland. He later spoke of temples dotting the entire earth. Thus, it was no accident that the first temple Brigham Young dedicated in the pioneer West was hundreds of miles distant from church headquarters. Moreover, in 1877 he closed Salt Lake City's Endowment House, thus requiring headquarters Mormons to travel for days to St. George in order to obtain their temple ordinances. His successor John Taylor reversed that policy, but Brigham Young had established a goal for the Mormon hierarchy to think globally about temples. The fulfillment would not begin until the twentieth century.

While the endowment ceremony and second anointing during this time period were available only in Salt Lake City, St. George, Logan, or Manti, Utah, there was greater geographic access to the marriage sealing ordinance and the performance of polygamous marriage. Beginning

with Brigham Young, LDS presidents before 1890 authorized the performance of marriage sealings (both monogamous and polygamous) throughout Utah as well as in Idaho, Arizona, Colorado, Mexico, and aboard ship. Brigham Young even authorized polygamous ceremonies for American mission presidents living in London and Copenhagen.

5. Concerning Mormon political power—Brigham Young exceeded the example of Nauvoo's theocracy by exerting direct control of political life from Salt Lake City throughout the Great Basin. Until 1850 he was governor of the theocratic State of Deseret and, from 1850 to 1857, was federally appointed governor of the Territory of Utah. From 1850 to the 1880s, the Utah legislature was usually 100 percent Mormon, and then-current general authorities comprised from 1/3 to 1/2 of the legislature. From 1872 until his death in 1877, Brigham Young was also a member of the Salt Lake City Council.

But this political power extended far beyond formal office. For two decades before he formally joined the Salt Lake City Council, he regularly attended its meetings and instructed its members how to vote. From 1848 until his death, Brigham Young arranged for the nomination of the church's candidates from southern Idaho to southern Utah, informing distant communities of his choices by mail or telegram. He decided who would be mayors of Salt Lake City and all other large towns of Utah and southern Idaho. A few token Gentiles were the church's candidates for some offices, and these compliant fellows willingly received Brigham Young's political instructions.

During these years, more than 99 percent of all votes cast went to the church-approved candidates. After the elections, Brigham Young privately met with Mormon legislators, informing them how to vote on various bills and, in like manner, communicated his wishes on various matters to mayors throughout the Great Basin. Even years after his death, 99 percent of southern Idaho's votes went to church-approved candidates while 82.6 percent of Utah's vote went to candidates of the LDS church's own political party as late as 1882. Such theocracy was not part of the experience of Mormons living west of Nevada or east of the Rocky Mountains.

Although the federal government's anti-polygamy campaign of the 1880s diminished the Mormon church's political power, LDS headquarters continued to give voting instructions to obedient Mormons from southern Idaho to northern Arizona. This succeeded in achieving the election of nearly all headquarters-approved candidates until 1890, when the church's political party lost control of both Ogden and Salt Lake City.

6. Concerning the relationship of LDS headquarters culture with its minorities—Aside from Utah's mining towns, females were never a statistical minority in the territory. However, America (like most cultures) had treated women as if they were a subjugated minority. By contrast, pioneer Mormon women had a social experience that was vastly different from the

civil subordination of women who lived nearly everywhere else. From the beginning of settlement in 1847, Utah women had equal rights with men in inheritance, property ownership, and business proprietorship.

Contrary to the practice throughout the United States, Utah women could sue for divorce on grounds of incompatibility. Brigham Young granted "church divorce" (or cancellation of sealing) as soon as a woman requested it, but often declined or delayed men's requests for divorce. He required the husband to pay a ten-dollar fee for the divorce, even if the wife requested it.

Despite LDS priesthood patriarchy, Mormon women in pioneer Utah had social power that was unavailable to other women throughout the United States and Europe. Polygamous wives often had sole responsibility for months or years to manage their households, farms, or family businesses. Monogamous wives did likewise whenever their husbands were called on two-year proselytizing missions (a very common practice until the 1900s). In 1870 Utah granted voting rights to women, who served on the local and territorial executive committees of the LDS Church's political party. Beyond traditionally domestic occupations, Brigham Young also encouraged Mormon women to work as accountants, physicians, and attorneys. Outside Utah, few women had these social and political options.

By contrast, during these years, ethnic minorities experienced subordination in Utah. Theologically Mormonism's attitude toward Native American Indians was similar to the "noble savage" theme in English and American literature. Nevertheless, the growth of Utah's Zion required the displacement of native tribes from their ancestral lands. Aside from being in constant fear of raids against isolated farms, Mormons occasionally waged "war" against the Indians during the 1850s and 1860s. This echoed the practice and experience of Mormons living east of the Rocky Mountains where native tribes had also been subordinated and displaced. However, aside from the parallel to British subjugation of Northern Ireland, the experience of headquarters culture with its native tribes was foreign to Mormons living in Europe.

From 1847 onward Mormons who converted in the Southern States brought African-American slaves to Utah. Brigham Young abandoned the founding prophet's egalitarian views of African-Americans and began preaching the ideology of Southern slave-owners that all Negroes were "natural slaves." Contrary to Joseph Smith's proposal for national abolition of slavery by 1850, the Utah legislature legalized Negro slavery in 1852 at Governor Young's request. As a result, Utah Mormons bought slaves, sold them, and even paid their tithing with humans. This was contrary to the experience of Mormons in the North and in Europe, but was consistent with the experience of Mormons living in the South until the end of the Civil War. Moreover, contrary to Joseph Smith's authorizing two separate ordinations of an African-American at LDS headquarter-

ters, Brigham Young and other Utah Mormon presidents claimed that God prohibited all Negroes from receiving any priesthood ordination.

In addition, among the *Journal of Discourses* sermons read by Mormons throughout the English-speaking world, were Apostle John Taylor's two references to "niggers" in 1857. In 1863 the *Deseret News* published Brigham Young's sermon proclaiming that if an African-American man had relations with a white woman, "the penalty, under the law of God, is death on the spot." Three years later, Apostle Brigham Young Jr. recorded in his diary that a warning to "meddle not with white women" was pinned to the flesh of a murdered "nigger" in Salt Lake City.

In an 1881 sermon on Salt Lake Temple Square, Southern States Mission president John Morgan spoke approvingly of hanging Negro males "to a lamp-post" for "impudence." Like President Young's previous endorsement of Negro-killing, this statement appeared in both the *Deseret News* and *Journal of Discourses*. Morgan became a general authority a year after a Salt Lake City mob lynched an African-American male on a lamp-post in 1883. Apostle Heber J. Grant wrote that "the citizens" hanged "the nigger" for killing an LDS bishop. Afterwards at least 2000 men, women, and children cheered those who dragged Sam Joe Harvey's corpse through the streets of LDS headquarters.

During these years of Great Basin theocracy, religious minorities experienced parallel subjugation by the Mormon power structure. Pioneer Utah's Catholics, Protestants, and Jews lived in a culture where their religious freedom was guaranteed but their political expression was irrelevant. After the California Gold Rush of 1849, Salt Lake City's non-Mormon population swelled into the hundreds—primarily males—and the next two decades were filled with violent incidents breaking out along religious lines of division. LDS leadership did not discourage this, but actually created a culture of violence with sermons, congregational hymns, newspaper editorials, and patriarchal blessings invoking the memories of past persecution, while urging vengeance against Mormonism's enemies and "blood atonement" against the wicked.

By the 1880s there were thousands of non-Mormons—now with a larger proportion of families—located mainly in Salt Lake City and Ogden. In the late 1880s the church's two official newspapers continued to praise those who physically attacked Mormon dissidents, government officials, or newspaper reporters regarded as anti-Mormon. (As during the period of Mormon theocracy, these confrontational attitudes extended from headquarters throughout the Great Basin.) As a result of this religious polarization, the Salt Lake Ministerial Association of Protestant clergy published attacks on the LDS church and urged Congress to pass legislation against Mormons as individuals and against the LDS church as an organization.

Then, as is well known, the LDS president's official abandonment of polygamy in September 1890 began tremendous changes in Mormon cul-

ture, which now sought political and social accommodation with non-Mormon society. It was as if Wilford Woodruff's "Manifesto" had flipped a switch, changing Mormon power from DC to AC.

7. Concerning physical and material culture—Because Mormons were the first white settlers throughout most of the Great Basin, Brigham Young was able to duplicate the physical culture of Salt Lake City in a way that had been impossible for the founding prophet. Using Joseph Smith's plan for the millennial City of Zion as a guide, Young extended Salt Lake City's system of wide streets on a north-south-east-west grid to nearly 340 western settlements founded by pioneers he sent with specific instructions for colonizing. This, of course, remained impossible for Mormons living outside what geographers call the "Mormon Culture Region" of Utah and adjacent areas.

In contrast with the street system, there was no uniformity in religious architecture. Of Utah's four pioneer temples, there was architectural similarity only between those of Logan and Manti (completed in the 1880s). Those two were completely different in appearance from the previously designed temples at St. George and Salt Lake City. Throughout the wards and stakes of the Far West, Mormons designed chapels in a variety of styles according to local preferences. By contrast, mission-field Mormons continued to hold congregational meetings in private residences or in rented rooms and buildings.

The most distinctive example of Mormon material culture was still the garment worn underneath the regular clothing of persons who had received the endowment. Now patterned after the mid-nineteenth-century American "Union Suit" of wrist-to-ankle one-piece underwear, by Brigham Young's death in 1877 the Utah garment was worn by tens of thousands in the American West. Missionfield Mormons generally had no experience with the temple garment unless they laundered it for missionaries or visiting authorities from headquarters.

#### THE PERIOD OF ASSIMILATING

1. Concerning personal interaction with the LDS president and other leaders—In the period from 1890 to the 1950s rank-and-file Mormons continued to have frequent access to the general authorities. Extending from Washington, D.C. to southern Alberta to northern Mexico to California to Hawaii—organized stakes had four conferences a year, each of which was attended by general authorities (usually at least one apostle and sometimes the LDS president).

Moreover, virtually anyone could walk into the Church Offices at 47 East South Temple Street (without prior arrangements) and meet with a member of the First Presidency or Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. In the 1920s President Heber J. Grant spent as long as two hours in conversa-



tion with Mormons who came to his office without an appointment. During the following decades it was still common for these walk-ins to chat with general authorities for more than half an hour. As LDS world membership reached one million, this traditional characteristic of LDS headquarters made its culture seem increasingly privileged.

2. Concerning access to doctrine—Beginning with President Woodruff's 1895 request for church members to "cease troubling yourselves about who God is," LDS headquarters began retreating from the free-wheeling theology of Brigham Young and other leaders. By the end of that decade, James E. Talmage (not yet a general authority) had produced the first systematic presentation of LDS theology, *The Articles of Faith*. This book had been revised by a committee of apostles and was soon translated into the languages of European Mormons. Nevertheless, for more than sixty years, editors of church magazines—both at headquarters and in the missions—published articles which referred to some of the speculative theology in the *Journal of Discourses*. In addition, because few general authorities spoke from prepared texts until the late 1950s, audiences at general conferences and stake conferences might hear impromptu echoes of "the old time religion" and frontier humor. This was most frequent for those living at headquarters or nearby.

Nevertheless, by the 1930s some were so disillusioned with the official retreat from pioneer Utah theology that they began a cottage industry of publishing excerpts or full reprints from *Journal of Discourses* talks about plural marriage, Adam-God, the United Order, and other topics discomfiting to twentieth-century headquarters. In the 1840s Mormonism's church-within-a-church had been the radical creation of Joseph Smith; in the 1930s it was the reactionary creation of Mormon Fundamentalists. Their growing presence in headquarters culture has haunted LDS leaders ever since. This polygamous schism caused LDS headquarters to begin keeping files on suspected Fundamentalists and to maintain covert surveillance on Mormons living in Salt Lake City or nearby.

3. Concerning special organizations for Mormons at headquarters—In 1929 the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve decided to disband all private prayer circle organizations that had been meeting weekly or monthly in the temples at that time, four in Utah, one in Canada, one in Arizona, and one in Hawaii. Some of the private circles meeting in the Salt Lake Temple had existed continuously since 1851, more than forty years before its completion. They had first met in the Council House and private homes, later in the Salt Lake Endowment House, and finally in the granite temple. The 1929 decision cited the inequality of hundreds of thousands of faithful Mormons who could not have this privilege. This was the Utah leadership's first official acknowledgement of the disparity between headquarters culture and the rest of Mormonism.

Nevertheless, for nearly fifty more years the First Presidency allowed stakes to have prayer circle meetings in the temples or in special rooms of the stake meetinghouses. As far as I was able to determine, this occurred primarily in Canada, Idaho, Utah, and Arizona, while prayer circle rooms were unknown in the growing number of stake meetinghouses elsewhere in the United States and world.

Just as Brigham Young had provided Mormons everywhere with access to the deep doctrines being taught in pioneer Utah, beginning in the 1920s church leaders tried to provide Mormon youth everywhere with all the social activities available at headquarters. Originating in Salt Lake City, dance festivals and athletic tournaments extended throughout North America and (where possible) to Europe and the Pacific. However, outside western Canada, northern Mexico, and America's Far West, few LDS congregations could afford to send their young women and men to Salt Lake City's annual dance festivals and athletic tournaments. In practical terms, these "all-church" events at headquarters were available only to the organized stakes, not to the expanding missionfield. Nevertheless, the "all-church" title indicated the inclusive intent of LDS leadership.

4. Concerning access to sacred ceremonies—Until the early 1900s LDS presidents continued to authorize the performance of monogamous sealings outside the temple for rank-and-file Mormons living in Colorado, Mexico, Arizona, New Mexico, and Canada. From October 1890 to 1898 most of the secretly performed polygamous marriages occurred outside U.S. territory in order to technically comply with the Manifesto. This put headquarters Mormons at the same disadvantage as missionfield Mormons. However, from 1898 to 1907 (despite the Manifesto and so-called "Second Manifesto" of 1904) the LDS president or his counselors authorized dozens of polygamous ceremonies which occurred in Utah, Idaho, Oregon, Wyoming, Colorado, Illinois, and Hawaii—in addition to the scores of polygamous ceremonies occurring in Mexico and Canada. Nevertheless, by 1910 even the most polygamy-oriented Mormons knew they could not expect the LDS president or any other general authority to authorize and perform a polygamous ceremony. From 1910 onward it was Mormon Fundamentalists, not LDS leaders, who promoted a polygamous counterculture.

Whether or not they knew about the special prayer circle meetings in the American West's stakes, many of the faithful knew that LDS temples were beyond their reach. By 1910 there were more Mormons living within an easy train ride of London than lived in Manti, Utah, which had a large temple. Nevertheless, beginning in 1903 with Joseph F. Smith, LDS presidents declared an end to the doctrine of "The Gathering" and asked European Mormons in particular to remain where they were converted. This was a futile request for those who knew that it cost little more to emigrate to Utah than to visit there for temple ordinances. The dedication of a temple in Hawaii in 1919 and in Canada in 1923 accentuated the second-class

status of European Mormons, who had joined the church by the thousands since 1837.

By the 1950s this lack of temple access applied to hundreds of thousands of Mormons living west of Utah, east of the Rocky Mountains, south of Arizona, south and west of Hawaii. And so, beginning in 1955, David O. McKay—who had eagerly promoted international Mormonism since the 1920s—dedicated temples in Switzerland, Los Angeles, New Zealand, England, and Oakland, California. For headquarters Mormons it seemed a fast-paced expansion of temples, but (as the saying goes) they hadn't "seen nothing yet."

5. Concerning Mormon political power—For seventy years after 1890, Mormon political power reached its lowest level—before or since. Politically, Mormonism experienced a Babylonian Captivity as six LDS presidents struggled with the consequences of surrendering theocracy and accepting the divisive world of partisan politics. In 1891 the LDS church dissolved its political party, and general authorities began publicly combating each other as Democrats or Republicans. Increasingly the rank-and-file made their political decisions independently and ignored the First Presidency's political signals.

The lowest point began in 1933 when Mormon voters defied President Heber J. Grant, and Utah became the swing state to ratify the repeal of national Prohibition of alcoholic drinks. Three years later the *Deseret News* published a front-page editorial against the reelection of Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt, and every letter of complaint to the First Presidency correctly identified its author as First Counselor J. Reuben Clark, a Republican. Nevertheless, nearly 70 percent of Utah's voters helped reelect FDR in 1936, as they did again in 1940 and 1944, despite the clear opposition of LDS headquarters.

In 1953-54 LDS headquarters experienced two major political defeats. First, in January 1953 Mormon members of the Utah legislature ignored emphatic instructions by an editorial in the *Deseret News* to override the non-Mormon governor's veto of a bill requiring all businesses to close on Sundays. Several apostles had successfully lobbied the Mormon legislators to pass the bill. Nevertheless, after the governor vetoed it as religious discrimination against Jews and Seventh-Day Adventists, the Mormon-controlled legislature declined to override him.

To increase its political control, a few months later LDS headquarters began a new campaign to reapportion the Utah legislature. LDS apostles openly supported reapportionment with this explanation: "if this proposal is passed[,] the Church will control twenty-six of twenty-nine [state] senators." Church Welfare trucks dropped vote-yes pamphlets at LDS meetinghouses, and local bishops read vote-yes statements at sacrament meeting. Nevertheless, Utah's primarily Mormon voters defeated reapportionment in 1954 by a vote of 143,000 to 80,000.

In 1960 David O. McKay publicly expressed his hope that the Republican candidate would be elected U.S. president. A survey of active Mormons that year showed that 43 percent said that the LDS president "was not inspired" in making this announcement. In the twenty-five counties of Idaho, Utah, and Nevada with 90-100 percent LDS population, there were 98,451 votes for the Democratic candidate John F. Kennedy, a Roman Catholic. In sum, from the 1890s to the 1960s LDS headquarters culture experienced political pluralism as never before or since.

6. Concerning the relationship of LDS headquarters culture with its minorities—After 1890, the church newspaper no longer praised violence against anti-Mormons or critics, and there were no more incidents of this kind. However, because polygamous marriages continued to exist and because the LDS church still tried (often unsuccessfully) to exercise political influence, Salt Lake City's Protestant clergy continued its anti-Mormon propaganda and lobbying of Congress during the first two decades of the 1900s.

With regard to Mormon dissidents, beginning in 1910 church presidents encouraged the investigation and excommunication of those who continued to advocate plural marriage. Mormon Fundamentalists were regarded as apostates, and this campaign against them became most intense from the 1930s to 1950s.

However, with the exception of Apostle Mark E. Petersen, LDS leaders did not regard as apostates those Mormons who dissented from policies or pronouncements of the First Presidency. For example, from the 1930s to 1950s church members signed their names to letters denouncing official statements by the First Presidency and conference talks by its members, yet local leaders were not contacted with instructions to investigate and discipline these dissident believers. This toleration of loyal opposition and strident dissent even applied to those who spoke publicly against policies and activities of the LDS church. From the 1930s to the 1950s, the most notable examples were gadfly C. N. Lund, political scientist Frank H. Jonas, historian Juanita Brooks, sociologist Lowry Nelson, and philosopher Sterling M. McMurrin.

By the 1930s there was no longer any conflict with the Protestant churches at LDS headquarters, but tensions had begun with the Catholic diocese there. In 1936 Monsignor Duane G. Hunt published a book refuting articles about Catholicism in the *Relief Society Magazine*. Twelve years later, he and First Presidency counselor J. Reuben Clark sparred in radio lectures about Papal Infallibility and other Catholic doctrines. In 1958 Utah's Catholics were deeply offended when general authority Bruce R. McConkie's book *Mormon Doctrine* designated the Catholic Church as "the Mother of harlots" and used the following cross-reference: "*Catholicism*. See Church of the Devil."

With regard to ethnic minorities, the first half of the twentieth century showed well-intentioned ambivalence as the percentage of Mormons in Salt Lake City steadily declined. The First Presidency donated toward the construction of the city's first synagogue in 1903, praised Simon Bamberger after his 1916 election as Utah's first Jewish governor, and in the 1950s made substantial purchases of bonds issued by the State of Israel. However, during the 1930s the First Presidency rebuffed German Jews who asked its administrative help for them to escape the Nazis. In the 1950s the First Presidency also arranged for legislation requiring Utah's Jews to close their businesses on Sundays—in addition to their voluntary closure on the Jewish Sabbath.

Aside from excluding persons of black African descent from priesthood ordination, LDS headquarters continued to echo the prejudices of white Americans generally. In 1902 Apostle Abraham Owen Woodruff wrote: "Had trouble with an insolent 'Nigger' Conductor [on a train], told him what I thought of him and wished for a while that the 'Slave Days' might return." In 1919 the *Deseret News* gave a laudatory review of the play, *The Nigger*, being performed in the Social Hall Theatre. In its front-page 1925 headline for "Mob Lynches Negro Slayer of Castlegate Deputy Sheriff," the *Deseret News* approvingly emphasized that "1000 Citizens" participated in this lynching. Prominent local Mormons (including the deputy sheriff) were among these brave citizens, and the local grand jury refused to indict any of them.

As late as 1941 Counselor J. Reuben Clark used the word "nigger" in his First Presidency Office diary. During World War II, Utah theaters required African-American servicemen in uniform to sit in the balcony, while German prisoners-of-war sat on the main floor with white servicemen.

Down to the 1950s the First Presidency defended in official correspondence its policies for excluding African-Americans from church-owned hotels and for segregating Negro blood in LDS hospitals. At the same time, the First Presidency quietly supported the exclusion of African-Americans from white neighborhoods in Utah, Arizona, and California while privately opposing civil rights legislation. David O. McKay commented that the "South knows how to handle them," and he privately complained about "insolent" Negroes who wanted equal rights.

Consistent with the First Presidency's opposition to interracial marriage, Utah law prohibited whites from marrying Blacks or Asians. In addition, the *Deseret News* headlined one instance where an African-American woman was prohibited from "Marrying a Chinaman" in Salt Lake City.

This reflected Utah's anti-Asian attitudes. For example, months before the December 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, headlines of the *Deseret News* used the insulting designations of "Jap" and "Japs." In reporting on Utah's wartime prejudice in 1943, the LDS newspaper headlined "S. L. Jap Asks 'Chinaman's Chance.'" Even the *Church*

*News* used the insulting “Japs” in its headlines until the war’s end in 1945. This was certainly not the Mormon experience in Hawaii where Americans of Japanese ancestry “were the largest racial group in the islands.” With feelings ranging from grief to anger, Japanese-American Mormons read these headlines in their church’s newspaper.

Chieko N. Okazaki (a Japanese-American resident of Salt Lake City) commented on this persistent racial discrimination in Utah from the 1950s to early 1960s. Decades later, as counselor in the Relief Society general presidency, she wrote: “A Japanese person could not be sealed to a Caucasian in the Salt Lake Temple at that time because of state law. We could not buy life insurance and could not insure our cars.” She added: “We had difficulty buying a home. . . .”

Similar conditions of social and legal discrimination existed throughout the continental United States until the 1960s. This was also a familiar pattern for Mormons in Rhodesia and South Africa. However, the race-based legal and social limits of LDS headquarters culture were not characteristic of the Mormon experience in Hawaii or Europe.

7. Concerning physical and material culture—In September 1901 a headquarters decision made Salt Lake City unique even within the Great Basin. The First Presidency decided to implement a policy of “drawing as much [LDS] business as possible to the north end of Main Street as against the efforts made by the Gentiles to pull to the South.” This resulted in a geographic polarization of Salt Lake City’s business district on the basis of religion, which geographer D. W. Meinig described sixty-four years later.

By both necessity and choice, there was little similarity between the religious buildings at headquarters and the experience of Mormons elsewhere. Temples in Hawaii, Arizona, Canada, California, England, New Zealand, and Switzerland resembled nothing in Utah. Ward chapels and stake meetinghouses continued to be as diverse in appearance as local leaders wanted them to be.

However, there were increasing similarities in the material culture inside and outside headquarters. For example, because of the expanded access to temples, by the end of the 1950s the endowment garment was part of the material culture of Mormons in the Pacific, Canada, and Europe.

In addition, extending from Salt Lake City to every state and country where the church was organized, there were unifying elements of material culture for Mormon children, youths, and women. By the 1950s this included plastic emblems of achievement on felt bandoleers for Primary children, plus “Treasures of Truth” scrapbooks for young women, merit badges and “Duty to God” medals in the church’s Boy Scouts program, and a variety of handicrafts (including plastic grapes) crafted by Mormon women throughout the world according to uniform instructions from headquarters.

THE PERIOD OF RESPONDING TO INTERNATIONAL GROWTH  
AND TO AMERICA'S "CULTURE WARS"

1. Concerning personal interaction with the LDS president and other leaders—In the forty years since 1960, worldwide church membership has increased from less than 2 million to nearly 12 million, with more than half currently living outside the United States. Despite the magnitude and far-flung nature of this growth, LDS presidents have followed David O. McKay's example, traveling by jet throughout the world, speaking to large meetings of Mormons, and dedicating dozens of temples. Mormons outside the U.S. today have seen the LDS president and other general authorities to a degree unknown among non-U.S. Mormons before 1950.

Nevertheless, for decades the LDS presidents continued to have routine associations within their neighborhood of residence. For example, it was my privilege to be a guest in the home of Spencer and Camilla Kimball for several Saturdays in a row in February 1979, about nine hours daily. Several times each day, the Church Security guard in front of the house allowed neighbors to knock at the door—usually just to say hello to the Kimballs, but also sometimes to introduce a friend or relative who had asked "to meet the Prophet."

However, during the 1980s LDS headquarters isolated the living quarters of the LDS president from regular neighborhoods—initially because of his physical deterioration, but later because the Church Security Department wanted a controlled residence environment for protective surveillance. This moved the church presidents first to the Hotel Utah and later to a First Presidency floor of the re-built Eagle Gate Apartments. Also isolated from regular neighborhoods are the living quarters in the Eagle Gate of the Presidency counselors. I understand that members of the Quorum of the Twelve have also been encouraged to sell their homes and move to these isolated accommodations.

Now the vast majority of Mormons living at headquarters have no closer association with the LDS president than Mormons in Boston, London, Tokyo, or Mexico City. Not only has it become impossible for the rank-and-file to make unscheduled visits with general authorities, but even headquarters administrator L. Brent Goates commented in 1985: "Gone are the days when conversations with General Authorities could be held in your living room, or on the street at a chance meeting. The type of intimacy between Church leaders and the people known [down to] the early 1950s seems forever lost." The "people" he referred to were headquarters Mormons, who began to realize in the 1980s that they were no more privileged than missionfield Mormons.

2. Concerning access to doctrine—The single most important effect of the LDS "Correlation Program" from the 1960s onward was limiting the access of Mormons to independent doctrinal commentary and to

historical discussion with doctrinal implications. This required abolishing the traditional magazines at LDS headquarters and in the missions so that Mormons everywhere would read only articles that had been approved by the Correlation Committee at headquarters. In a process that would once have been inconceivable, non-general authorities review in advance and require changes in the world conference talks prepared by general authorities twice annually. Whereas Brigham Young wanted the newest converts anywhere in the world to have access to the "deep" doctrines being taught at headquarters in pioneer Utah, the Correlation Program since the 1960s has wanted headquarters Mormons to know nothing more doctrinally than what the newest converts are taught anywhere in the world.

Not surprisingly this caused some Mormons with traditional "headquarters culture" background to promote open forums for discussion of experience, doctrine, and policy in both past and present. Thus occurred the organization of the Mormon History Association in December 1965, followed by the inauguration of *Dialogue*, *Exponent II*, *Sunstone*, its symposiums, *Journal of Mormon History*, and *Mormon Women's Forum*. In response, *BYU Studies* became more historically focused. Despite its neo-conservative self-definition, even BYU's Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) is an expression of headquarters Mormons wanting to explore more deeply than is allowed in the correlated publications of the LDS church. Confirming Brigham Young's view that international Mormons also wanted this kind of religious depth, since the 1980s there have been magazines of similar interest in German, Japanese, and Spanish.

3. Concerning special organizations for Mormons at headquarters—As a direct response to international growth, the "all-church" dance festivals and athletic tournaments ended in 1975 because they were inadvertently excluding millions of LDS youth whose stakes could not afford to send them to headquarters for these events. Likewise, the First Presidency announced in 1978 the end of the prayer circle meetings that had continued in the stakes of the American west since 1929. As a sign of discomfort with non-correlated discussion of doctrine and history, in the 1980s LDS leaders began discouraging study groups that traditionally had met monthly in private homes. In 1991, following the annual Sunstone Symposium in Salt Lake City, a joint statement of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve denounced such "symposia."

4. Concerning access to sacred ceremonies—Following the example of David O. McKay (and fulfilling the prophecy of Brigham Young), LDS presidents from Spencer W. Kimball to Gordon B. Hinckley have announced and dedicated scores of temples throughout the world. Mormons in Latin America or Asia may know that their mini-temples



are dwarfed by the six-towered temple in Salt Lake City, but they also know that they have access to its holy ordinances.

While President Kimball resumed the second anointing ceremony after decades of its not having been performed, he restricted it to the Salt Lake Temple, which was the only temple that still had a Holy of Holies room, necessary for the ordinance. This could change through the dedication of such rooms in all the other temples and the extension of this highest ordinance throughout the world; or it could change if the First Presidency decided to permanently discontinue the second anointing even at headquarters until the Millennium. Time (and those with special knowledge at headquarters) will tell.

5. Concerning Mormon political power—As is well known, LDS headquarters has managed to reverse the 1890s-1950s pattern of rank-and-file resistance against political instructions from headquarters. A major factor was that from the early 1960s onward LDS publications and general authorities encouraged an unprecedented adoration of the church president. Unlike the previous pattern in Mormon culture, church members since the 1960s routinely speak of the current LDS president as "the living Prophet" in hushed tones, and it is difficult for them to vote contrary to his wishes—even if their conscience says otherwise. For that reason, a simple editorial in the *Deseret News* can now cause Utah's legislators to reverse their votes. Since the Utah legislature is nearly 90 percent Mormon, legislative outcomes in matters of interest to the church are usually predictable. Moreover, an official statement by the First Presidency on a legislative measure or general election typically results in lock-step Mormon voting. And just as Brigham Young succeeded in turning the Great Basin into a theocracy, Mormon legislators and voters in every state of the Union have responded with the same devotion as Utah voters whenever LDS headquarters has signaled its views on political issues over the past twenty-five years.

Voting diversity in Salt Lake City itself reflects four dynamic factors. First, Mormons are now a statistical minority in the city, though LDS population overwhelmingly dominates the rest of Salt Lake County and the state as a whole. Second, just as a sizeable proportion of Rome's Catholic population feels disaffected from its dominant church, some of Salt Lake City's Mormon residents also feel disaffected from the church of their birth. Third, LDS headquarters can triumph over these statistical disadvantages by marshaling the nearly total participation of its municipal minority to outvote the often non-voting majority of non-Mormons and disaffected Mormons in Salt Lake City. Fourth, LDS leaders now enlist the political cooperation of other churches at headquarters and beyond.

Crucial to this last development are the "culture wars" that began in America during the 1960s. Originally focused on racial freedom, America's culture wars quickly extended to issues of social protest, civil dis-

obedience, police powers, conscientious objection to war, free speech, recreational drugs, women's rights, birth control, non-marital sex, abortion, homosexuality, educational experimentation, and the depiction of violence and sexuality in the arts and media.

While engaging in political activism along various fronts in recent decades, LDS headquarters has insisted that this activism is not "politics," but rather active concern about "moral issues." However, as an indication of the tremendous change in perspective, we note here that the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve in June 1933: "Decided at this meeting that the Church as an organization could not take part in the campaign for the repeal of the 18th Amendment since this was a partisan political question. It was hoped however that all L.D.S. would vote against repeal [of national Prohibition of alcoholic drinks]." In other words, LDS headquarters once recognized that voting about what it defined as a moral issue nonetheless meant participating in "a partisan political question," and the LDS hierarchy decided not to intervene in matters where individual conscience should govern. The pattern is different today.

6. Concerning the relationship of LDS headquarters culture with its minorities—At the general conference of 6 October 1963, Counselor Hugh B. Brown announced a First Presidency statement supporting civil rights for all races. However, the good will this generated among African-Americans at headquarters and elsewhere was dampened two weeks later, when *Look* magazine published its editor's recent interview with Joseph Fielding Smith, President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. During this interview "at his office in the Mormon Church's office building in Salt Lake City," Apostle Smith said: "'Darkies' are wonderful people, and they have their place in our Church."

Nevertheless, Salt Lake City's segregation practices were crumbling along with Utah's racial discrimination, and the First Presidency's 1963 statement ushered in a new era of race relations at headquarters culture. This reached a dramatic apex fifteen years later, when Spencer W. Kimball announced a revelation ending the priesthood ban against those of black African ancestry. The first ordination and temple marriage of African-Americans in Salt Lake City immediately rippled throughout Mormonism's world membership.

In September 2000 an article in the church's official *Ensign* magazine seemed to begin with an apology for the Utah leadership's 120 years of demeaning comments and social policies toward persons of black African ancestry. General authority Alexander B. Morrison began: "In common with other Christians, members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints regret the actions and statements of individuals who have been insensitive to the pain suffered by the victims of racism *and ask forgiveness for those guilty of this grievous sin.*" [emphasis added] This reflects his well-known emphasis on ministering among black Africans.

However, he next made a claim that was historically untrue of the LDS hierarchy's statements and actions from Brigham Young in 1847 to Ezra Taft Benson in 1968. Morrison continued his statement of September 2000: "How grateful I am that The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has from its beginnings stood strongly against racism in any of its malignant manifestations." Nevertheless, if current LDS leaders (unlike the Pope and Roman Catholic bishops) cannot apologize for their church's institutional sins of the past, at least the Mormon hierarchy has abandoned racism during recent decades.

In the 1960s LDS headquarters also began patching up its long-standing conflicts with the Catholic diocese. In January 1960 President David O. McKay ordered that McConkie's book should not be reprinted because of its 1067 doctrinal errors, including statements offensive to Roman Catholics. After McConkie's father-in-law became McKay's counselor in 1965, the church president relented and allowed a revised edition of *Mormon Doctrine* the next year—without the offensive passages. Under the direction of Gordon B. Hinckley (first as an apostle and then as special counselor to the First Presidency), from the mid-1970s to 1982, LDS headquarters worked with the American Catholic hierarchy in more than twenty states to defeat ratification of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment for women. In March 1984 the First Presidency publicly stated: "[W]e are disturbed and saddened at the presence of anti-Catholic posters being placed in areas within Salt Lake City."

In 1985 LDS headquarters publicly gave 9.5 million dollars to the Catholic Relief Services for humanitarian aid in Africa. The public explanation was that the LDS church did not have a similarly effective relief program for the sub-Sahara, but this money could just as easily have gone to the African relief programs of secular agencies like CARE or the International Red Cross. However, Counselor Hinckley (at the time the only functioning member of the First Presidency) astutely gave this huge donation to the LDS Church's political ally in America's culture wars. Continuing its political alliance with the American Catholic hierarchy, LDS headquarters also contributed financially to the local diocese for its decade-long renovation of Salt Lake City's Catholic cathedral. In 1993 First Presidency counselor Thomas S. Monson spoke at the cathedral's rededication ceremony.

Because evangelical Protestants and fundamentalist Christians have also been allies with LDS headquarters in various political campaigns since the mid-1970s, LDS presidents have tried to mend fences there, as well. For example, Spencer W. Kimball publicly praised Jerry Falwell and his evangelical Moral Majority. The success of the Protestant accommodation by LDS headquarters was most evident in July 1995, when Utah's Presbytery successfully presented a resolution to the Presbyterian General Assembly of the United States declaring that the LDS church is

"a new and emerging religion that expresses allegiance to Jesus Christ in terms used within the Christian tradition." This ecumenical statement was at odds with Protestant denominations which define Mormonism as a non-Christian cult. Utah's Presbytery thus declared an official end to its leading the Salt Lake Ministerial Association in several anti-Mormon campaigns since the early 1900s.

Nevertheless, Shirley Rogers Radl's 1983 study of the "Religious New Right" made an important observation about the political coalition of Mormons, conservative Catholics, and fundamentalist Protestants who fought against ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in various states from the mid-1970s until its defeat in 1982. She observed that many Catholics and Protestant fundamentalists had to "compartmentalize" their beliefs and attitudes in order to avoid reminding their LDS political allies how much these Christians detest the LDS church for its doctrinal heterodoxy.

By 1997 LDS president Gordon B. Hinckley was responding to this political problem by publicly diminishing the perception of conflict between fundamental Protestant and LDS doctrines. By this time LDS headquarters was spearheading a national interfaith campaign against civil protections for homosexuals and against legalization of same-sex marriage. In widely publicized media interviews, President Hinckley backtracked from LDS doctrines about plurality of gods and the human potential of becoming "as God is." After his decades of dealing with the media, these statements in separate interviews were not accidental. However, he told general conference: "You need not worry that I do not understand some matters of doctrine. I think I understand them thoroughly," while significantly not identifying the controversial doctrines involved. Therefore, this public reassurance to the faithful did not undercut his repeated efforts to publicly diminish the objections of his political allies to nettlesome LDS theologies.

For those who had not read the media's verbatim questions and answers from his interviews, there was no reason to doubt his conference claim of being misquoted. For otherwise uninformed Mormons throughout the world, President Hinckley's explanation at October 1997 conference did not identify these controversial doctrines of Deity (lest some LDS members be as offended by Mormonism's "old time religion" as the church's new Protestant political allies have been). This was an ecumenical echo of Nauvoo's church-within-a-church.

There has been a less accommodating and less happy relationship of LDS headquarters with its minority of "self-proclaimed" intellectuals and inquiring Mormons. Although the First Presidency encouraged openness in research and publication of Mormon history during the early 1970s, this gradually declined under the influence of Apostles Ezra Taft Benson, Mark E. Petersen, and Boyd K. Packer. In a similar develop-

ment, the academic openness and rigor encouraged by Dallin H. Oaks at Brigham Young University in the 1970s withered under the same apostolic influences until (as mandated by church headquarters) BYU distinguished itself in the 1990s by firing or forcing to retire numerous professors whose scholarship seemed threatening (despite their protestations of faith). In 1992 the First Presidency acknowledged that there was a special "Strengthening the Members Committee" at headquarters whose sole purpose was to maintain investigative files on church members and notify their local leaders to "take appropriate action" for instances of public speaking or publication about controversial topics (including letters to newspapers). The excommunication or disfellowshipping of six Utah scholars and feminists in September 1993 for their publications and Sunstone talks in Salt Lake City sent a message of intimidation to independently-minded Mormons throughout the world: Think what you will, but speak and write at the peril of your church membership.

7. Concerning physical and material culture—From the late 1950s onward the explosive growth of church membership resulted in a huge increase of LDS meetinghouses throughout the world. This caused an end to local choice for the design of chapels. While standardized architecture brought financial savings, centralizing all architectural decisions at LDS headquarters also extended the physical culture of LDS headquarters throughout the world.

As uniformly-designed meetinghouses replaced the individualized religious architecture of Utah, they became the models for LDS chapels everywhere else. This provided concrete comfort to LDS leaders who worried about the centrifugal tendencies of massive growth in far-flung places. Standardized chapel design allows the general authorities to "feel at home" whenever they visit LDS congregations distant from headquarters. For international Mormons, the foreign style of their LDS meetinghouses also reinforces their sense of linkage to Utah headquarters. However, these benefits also involve cultural imperialism, which is the reason that anti-American radicals have attacked and destroyed LDS chapels in Latin America.

By the completion of the twenty-eight-story LDS Church Office Building in 1972, the First Presidency was no longer interested in perpetuating the geographic polarization of Salt Lake City's business district along religious lines. Towering above the business district which flowed southward on the adjacent State and Main streets, this monolithic structure was a sufficient symbol of the city's power structure. To that end, by a "gentlemen's agreement" of LDS headquarters with Salt Lake City's zoning board and the developers of downtown real estate, no subsequent skyscraper has been allowed to over-top the LDS office tower. The southward slope of the terrain has allowed non-LDS corporations to erect skyscrapers whose vertical measurements exceed that of the

Church Office Building while still preserving the appearance of its physical supremacy over the downtown skyline.

By the 1970s LDS headquarters and non-Mormon power-brokers jointly agreed to end the religious segregation of the city's business district. Years before moving into the Church Office Building in November 1972, the church's genealogical library was housed in the old Montgomery Ward building on Main Street. This had previously been within the Gentile section of Main Street's businesses. Likewise, Zion's Securities Corporation (the church's real-estate holding company) had allowed Kennecott Copper Company (controlled by non-Mormons and non-Utahns) to build its tall office building across from Brigham Young's Bee Hive House mansion. Soon LDS headquarters allowed an open-on-Sundays shopping mall to locate with one side facing the Salt Lake Temple and another side facing the closed-on-Sundays ZCMI mall.

An equally significant change for Salt Lake City's physical culture was the construction of the Federal Office Building on the corner of First South and State. Previously, in keeping with the First Presidency's 1901 commentary, U.S. government buildings had advanced no farther north on Main Street than Fourth South.

Due to changes at headquarters in the 1970s, most of the previous examples of mid-twentieth-century LDS material culture are no longer part of the experience of LDS children, youth, or women. However, since the 1980s CTR rings and jewelry have become the Mormon equivalent of crucifixes for LDS youth and young adults. However, as another example of Mormonism's late-twentieth-century cultural imperialism, non-English-speaking Mormons must mentally translate their CTR talisman into their own language's equivalent of "Choose the Right."

#### CONCLUSION

There are many ways of understanding the Mormon experience, which has been varied at headquarters and in far distant branches of the faithful. Despite this diversity, both non-Mormons and Mormons may find useful understanding through comparing the experience at LDS headquarters with the Mormon experience elsewhere. This essay is only introductory to such an approach, but current Mormons may find parts of their own experiences in such comparison. Especially those who feel that their church has changed in dramatic ways.