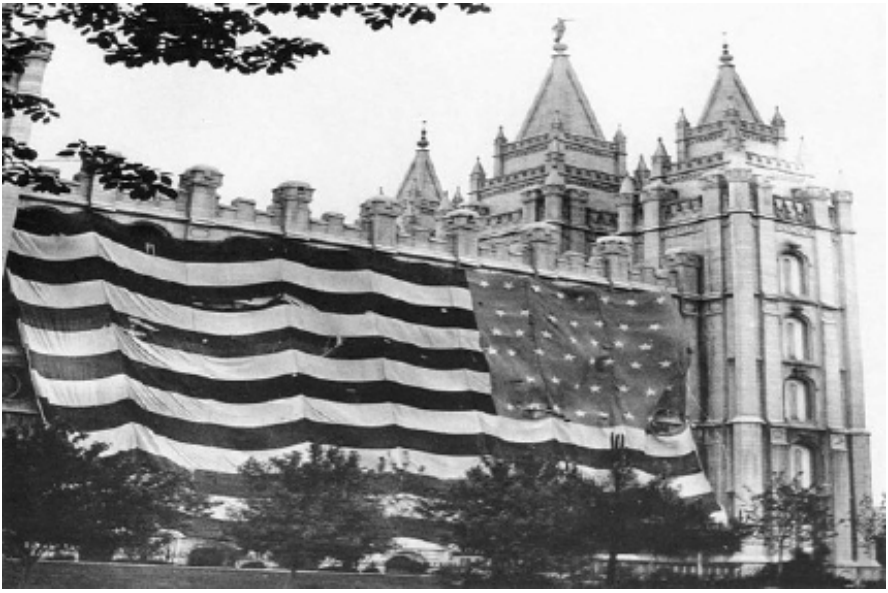


A Historiography of the Treatment of Mormonism in Historical Narratives of American Religious History

By Vaingamalie Tafuna

Information Brief
Religious Education
Brigham Young University
2015

©All rights reserved, 2015
Authored by Vaingamalie Tafuna
Brigham Young University
Religious Education

Table of Contents

Introduction 1

Definitions 4

Limitations 6

Audience 7

Resources for Information Brief 8

1844: Religion in the United States by Robert Baird 9

1856: America: A Sketch of Its Political, Social, and Religious Character by Philip Schaff 12

1888: Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement down to the Present Time by Daniel Dorchester 14

1897: A History of American Christianity by Leonard Woolsey Bacon 16

1924: The History of Religion in the United States by Henry K. Rowe 18

1930: The Story of religion in America by William Warren Sweet 19

1946: Religion in America by Willard L. Sperry 22

1966: A Religious History of America by Edwin Scott Gaustad 24

1972: A Religious History of the American People by Ahlstrom 26

1984: Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America by Martin E. Marty 28

1992: A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada by Mark A. Noll 29

2000: Religion in American Life: A Short History by Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer.....31

2010: Religion in American History Edited by Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan.....33

Findings 36

Implications.....45

Recommendations 46

Conclusion 47

Information Brief: Historiography of Treatment of Mormonism in Historical Narratives of American Religious History..... 51

Bibliography 101

Endnotes..... 106

Introduction

The purpose of this information brief is to provide LDS military chaplains with a history of the way American religious historians have treated Mormonism in their historical narratives. The way scholars have situated Mormonism in the narration of religion in America has evolved significantly since the first narrative in 1844 until 2010. The treatments of Mormonism in each narrative is different but when analyzed from a framework of historiography, the evolution of how Mormonism is treated shows academia's ability to acknowledge, understand, and assimilate Mormonism into American religious experience and history. Using the historical framework of Mormon Scholar Stephen Fleming in his essay "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography,"[1] this historiography will be an expansion of his essay in extensively reviewing all thirteen historical narratives listed above. That review will be followed by a smaller section of "Findings" that summarize the major shifts throughout the historical treatment by explaining the major methodological shifts that Fleming explains to account for those dramatic changes. Using other source material supporting those shifts along with the literature review of the historical narratives will give chaplains a "snap shot" of the academic sentiment towards Mormonism.

The following is a list of the thirteen historical narratives that will be evaluated in this historiography: (each narrative is followed by a corresponding number of pages that treat Mormonism; for example 3/736 means that out of 736 total pages, Mormonism was treated in 3 of those total pages—an interesting and telling statistic)

1. 1844: *Religion in the United States* by Robert Baird[2](3/736)

2. 1856: *America: A Sketch of Its Political, Social, and Religious Character* by Philip Schaff[3](10/236)

3. 1888: *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement down to the Present Time* by Daniel Dorchester[4](13/799)

4. 1897: *A History of American Christianity* by Leonard Woolsey Bacon[5](1/420)

5. 1924: *The History of Religion in the United States* by Henry K. Rowe[6](1/207)

6. 1930: *The Story of religion in America* by William Warren Sweet[7](5/453)

7. 1946: *Religion in America* by Willard L. Sperry[8](8/305)

8. 1966: *A Religious History of America* by Edwin Scott Gaustad[9](4/411)

9. 1972: *A Religious History of the American People* by Sydney E. Ahlstrom[10](14/1096)

10. 1984: *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* by Martin E. Marty[11](13/488)

11. 1992: *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* by Mark A. Noll[12](13/553)

12. 2000: *Religion in American Life: A Short History* by Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer[13](10/459)

13. 2010: *Religion in American History* Edited by Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan[14](18/319)

The historical analysis provided by this brief will give chaplains insight into how the scholarly world has reported and narrated the role of Mormons in American religious history. Historiographical insight will help LDS chaplains understand their peer group (chaplains and others). Chaplains are informed and educated by the accumulated historical treatment of Mormonism in their education. Their peers' perception of them could be negative, positive, or neutral, depending on the historical narrative or collection of narratives that they studied. This perception—accurate on one hand, biased on the other or merely neutral—is an important factor that LDS chaplains should consider when navigating and or building relationships of trust with fellow chaplains. An understanding of our own history can lead to bridging possible misconceptions of Mormonism. A healthy working, personal, and professional relationship with their fellow chaplains is essential to a solid career and an ecumenical working environment.

Understanding historical treatment of Mormonism will help LDS Chaplains empathize, and thus be sensitive, towards other chaplains and people of other faith traditions that have, are currently, or potentially will experience religious bigotry, misrepresentation, and/or intolerance.

Furthermore, understanding the current academic sentiment towards Mormonism helps to solidify LDS chaplains in their faith as well as defend their faith with academically contemporary interpretations of Mormonism.

Again, this information brief is a historiography which chronologically reviews the literature; it takes one authoritative source from the earliest narrative (1844) to the most recent (2010). Thirteen American religious historical narratives were gathered by a survey of the literature from historiographies, bibliographies, and written histories (journals) pertaining to the subject of American religious history.

As much as this historiography is for LDS chaplains though, it could also serve chaplains of other faith traditions as a case study of how understanding and learning about the historical treatment of a religious minority group affects present day relationships, judgments, and unfairness towards that group. The awareness to seek out the most credible sources that not only reflect facts but represents that religious group's own self-reflection is essentially following the Golden Rule. Historians have evolved in their commitment to this all-important principle and chaplains of all faiths would do well to follow suit. This project is an example of the importance of giving readers the *insider's* view of a religion—when scholars have done so, Mormonism is allowed to tell its own story through the eyes of the scholarly paradigm. The result is an engaging exploration of both the particular religion and its implications in the broader story of American religious history. This principle would especially serve chaplains who must always be sensitive to particular religions but also understand how each religion fits into the larger picture of religion in America.

Definitions

American Religious History

This is the story of religion in America. It offers "a wide-ranging sketch of the variable shapes and diver powers of religion throughout American history."[15] In short, it is a written history

focusing on religion in America. In the context of this project, the emphasis of religious history concerns perceptions of Mormonism at various periods of time.

Historiography

A historiography is a methodological form that historians use to focus on how a topic has been approached by previous scholars over a certain period of time.[16] Essentially, a historiography is a history of history.

Historical Narrative

Historical narrative as defined by Jorn Rusen in his article, "Historical Narration: Foundation, Types, Reason," is tied to three types of qualities when viewed as a systematic relationship which, "mobilizes the experiences of the past time,…so that experience of present time becomes understandable and the expectation of the future time is possible."[17] Historical narrative also "makes the experience of the past become relevant for present life and influences the shaping of the future."[18] Its last quality is that the narrative establishes the identity of the author and the listener in that the function of the narration has continuity as history that is plausible or not. This is to say, does the narrative convince the reader so that it has continuity over time.[19]

Mormonism

"Mormonism" is an unofficial but common term for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the doctrinal, institutional, cultural, and other elements forming its distinctive worldview and independent Christian tradition. "Mormons" is the equivalent term for members of the Church, with "Mormon" being both the singular noun and the adjective."[20]

Scholar/Academician

A scholar is a person or individual who "has done advanced study in a special field. An academician is a member of an academy [university] which promotes science, art, or literature.[21]

The Church

"The Church" identified in this project is The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Limitations

With over 170 years of history, this historiography is not comprehensive, nor exhaustive. It evaluates only one historical narrative per time period. Each time period is distinguished by a published historical narrative. For example, 1844 to 1856 is a time period created by two historical narratives published at those respective years. Each historical narrative selected is considered authoritative and representative of the time. This was determined by the frequency of the titles and authors and by the *way* each title and author was spoken of in numerous historiographies, bibliographies, and written histories. For example, in determining the historical narrative to select from the 70's, several historiographies and annotated bibliographies referred to Sydney Ahlstrom's *A Religious History of the American People* as the "standard," or as "magisterial."[22]

Narrowing this brief to only historical narratives decreased the accuracy of the treatment for historians and only included the most important facts and themes of a religion without necessarily proving their points. Because they had to survey and sequentially cover hundreds of years in a few hundred pages, they were constrained by space.

Mormon Studies is an entire academic discipline with scores

of books written specifically about Mormonism. The treatment of Mormonism in specifically Mormon studies literature has its own historiography but this brief will not take into account this field of study. Though there will be correlations, contingencies, and causalities between Mormon historiography and American religious historiography, they are nevertheless separate topics to be considered. In short, though there have been major changes in Mormonism itself, this historiography does not consider those changes in influencing the changes that historians have taken towards Mormonism.

In addition, this brief is not surveying *popular* opinion or treatment of Mormonism, only academic or scholarly treatment. Although these two perspectives overlap and are influenced by each other, this project's focus is on academic treatment of Mormonism in the historical narratives.[23]

Lastly, by no means are chaplains of other faiths academically, socially, or religiously affected by American religious historical narratives alone. Mormon studies literature, anti-Mormon literature, their preachers, their Mormon neighbors, and of course, the internet are all excellent sources to formulate positive or negative perceptions of Mormonism. This brief's scope simply served to take one genre of literature—namely, scholarly narratives of American religious history—and give chaplains, and other interested readers, a general survey or "snap-shot" of the academic sentiment that has accumulated through time and which possibly shapes the perceptions of chaplains and other informed inquirers of Mormonism.

Audience

This information brief is for LDS military chaplains. The materials are formatted (information) via a power point

presentation. It is specifically intended for LDS chaplains but can be used for any who are interested in the topic. As much as this historiography is for LDS chaplains though, it could also serve chaplains of other faith traditions as a case study for how understanding historical treatment of a religious minority group can affect present day relationships, judgments, perceptions, and biases towards religious groups.

It is essential that chaplains using the power point presentation of this information brief be well versed in the limitations, resources, findings, implications, recommendations, and conclusion of this entire information brief. No additional research is necessary but reading this information brief in its entirety before giving it should suffice for a logical, rational, and engaging presentation. Questions, comments, and discussion will be much more fruitful if the presenter has studied the details of this brief beforehand.

All sources for the power point presentation are found in parallel locations in this information brief. For example, sources for the power point section "definition of concepts and terms" can be found in the information brief section entitled "Definition of Concepts and Terms Used in this Brief." The only exception to this is that the "Implications," "Recommendations," and "Conclusion" section of the information brief has been consolidated in the power point presentation under the slides "Conclusions."

This brief was developed by Vaingamalie Tafuna, a chaplain applicant for the United States Air Force. For information concerning this brief, contact vtplaygood@gmail.com.

Resources for Information Brief

This review of literature lists the date, title, and author of each

historical narrative's publication and proceeds to report the scholar's treatment of Mormonism from his historical narrative. There will be a chronological advancement from 1844 to 2010. Some time periods have only one history published and some have a plethora of history books published on American religious history. Regardless of how many histories were done in a given period—for sake of breadth, rather than depth—only one historical narrative is selected to represent the time period between each publication date. For example, in the 1960's there were five history books written on American religion but only one—and the one selected is considered authoritative—is considered in this review representing the 1960's.

In addition, this literature review (1) examines thirteen selected time periods with narratives assessing academic reviews concerning Mormonism (2) explores specific findings concerning Mormonism according to their academic perceptions, and (3) provides pertinent information from which findings concerning the narratives can be synthesized into conclusions about the ever changing views, perceptions, and interpretations concerning Mormonism.

1844: *Religion in the United States* by Robert Baird

Robert Baird's *Religion in the United States*[24], published in 1844, was the first historical narrative concerning religion in America. It was published just before the martyrdom of Joseph Smith, but to be sure, even though Baird makes some revisions in 1856, sympathy would not have any effect on his treatment of Mormonism or the Martyrdom. In his 1844 account, Baird looks forward to the "speedy annihilation" of Mormonism and predicts that "Smith and some others seem now marked out as objects on which the laws of the land must soon inflict summary justice. Their leaders are . . . atrocious impostors . . . . 'Joe Smith,' . . . will soon find that . . . his hope of founding a vast empire in the western hemisphere must

soon vanish."[25] Baird was right in his prediction that "the laws of the land" would "inflict" Smith with "justice" (an ironic and gloomy prediction alluding to Joseph's brutal and unjust murder under the watch of the government) but he vastly underestimated (and thus falsely predicted) the potential and actuality of the empire of Mormonism that Brigham Young would build in the West—making Brigham, as prominent non-Mormon American historian John Turner illuminates in his new biography of Joseph's successor, "the greatest colonizer in American history."[26]

In his revised edition, Baird treats the martyrdom of Joseph Smith as a relief to the wider society and a deserved punishment by those whom he apparently oppressed: "At last Smith was killed by the hands of those whom he cruelly injured in their domestic relations."[27] Baird has no sympathy or respect for Mormonism—to make things worse, this prominent academic would be considered the authority of religion in America and his publications would be considered the "standard" for the next decade until 1855.[28]

Baird labels Mormonism as "un-evangelical" and places Mormonism in the back of his book as if to suggest that Mormons are not part of the fabric, chronology, or core of American religiosity. He ends his treatment of Mormonism with his hope that "the evil [Mormonism] has reached its apogee, and that the destruction of [its] community will, before very many years pass away, be effected by moral influences." The morality of Christian America (for which Mormonism had no part) would, according to Baird, wipe away the evil stain of Mormonism by one, destroying the Mormon community, and by two, erasing Mormonism's memory with "moral influences."[29]

In his original 1844 account, Baird begins his treatment of Mormonism with emphasizing Mormonism's place in modern

religious history with an insult to Joseph Smith and the Latter-day Saints: "The annals of modern times furnish few more remarkable examples of cunning in the leaders, and delusion in their dupes, than is presented by what is called Mormonism."[30] Although Baird admires Joseph Smith's "ambitiousness," Smith is mostly noted as an "ignorant," "pretending," "concocting," "plastic," "vile," "abominable," "atrocious," "wicked," "deceiving," and "silly "impostor."[31]

It appears that the most influential factor in Baird's use of adjectives is due to Joseph's claim to revelation. The majority of Americans during the Second Great Awakening[32] were not opposed to general revelation, inspiration, and even "experimental visions abounded" during this time—Americans however, did reject the possibility of *new* revelation.[33] Said an author reflecting the views of Joseph's time:

> Have persons remarkable views of the invisible world, in dreams or visions, let them like Mary, *keep all these things, and ponder them in their heart.* And let them improve all their thoughts and views of God and divine tidings, which they may have, whether waking or sleeping, for their own spiritual profit; but never make them known to any one, as some *new revelation* from heaven.[34]

"New revelation" was defined—and still is with most mainstream Christians—as any revelation that is outside the understanding of the accepted creeds of the 4th and 5th century church councils.[35] This strict definition of revelation coupled with the immovable belief that the Bible is a closed canon resulted in the backlash that Joseph received when he openly published his non-Trinitarian, additional scripture, and prophetic revelations to others. Baird was, by this standard, "a man of his times" in sync with

contemporary scholarship and thought.

Whatever source Baird uses (he cites none) has not given him factual information. He reports that "the plates [have] of course been found (no, they were returned to the angel Moroni)" and that Joseph "took care, of course, that neither of them (the scribes Harris and Cowdery), nor anyone else should see the plates (no, we at least have the testimony of the three and eight witnesses of the plates)."[36] Baird's source material and his treatment of Joseph's revelations are questionable, to say the least. Besides giving readers inaccurate information regarding Joseph's revelations, Baird does not want to "trouble the reader with details respecting this absurdist of all pretended revelations from heaven" and so quickly reviews the short history of the Church's early movements from New York to Ohio to Missouri and finally to Illinois[37] leaving readers unsympathetic to any of the early Church's struggles, persecutions, and externally caused travails.[38]

To Baird, the only sympathy he is willing to grant is to the members of the Church—they are "weak-minded but well-meaning persons" who are misled by their leaders.[39] Unfortunately though, Baird concludes Mormons are "a body of ignorant dupes"—a people who cannot think for themselves and are prey to their predatorily leaders.[40] Robert Baird, the "founder" of American religious history, sums up Mormonism as "the grossest of all the delusions that satanic malignity or human ambition ever sought to propagate."[41]

1856: *America: A Sketch of Its Political, Social, and Religious Character* by Philip Schaff

After more than a decade after Robert Baird, Philip Schaff, "one of America's foremost church historians,"[42] published a historical narrative entitled *America: A Sketch of Its Political, Social, and Religious Character*.[43] Once again the section on Mormonism is

left for the very last pages of his section entitled "The Churches and Sects."[44] He reluctantly covers Mormonism as he says:

> I confess, I would fain pass over this sect in silence. It really lies out of the pale of Christianity and the church; for as to single corrupted elements of Christianity, these may be found even in Manicheism and Mohammedanism. . . . But by such silence I should disappoint expectations. For concerning nothing have I been more frequently asked in Germany, than concerning the primeval forests and the Mormons—the oldest and the newest products of America—as if it had nothing of greater interest and importance than these.[45]

Schaff only covers Mormonism, embarrassingly, to keep his German and international readers satisfied. To Schaff, only Manicheism (a heretical mixture of Christian, pagan, and Gnostic religious beliefs[46]) and Mohammedanism (Islam—seen as heretical as well, especially in reference to their practice of polygamy) could compare to Mormonism's foreign and corrupt character.

Schaff refers to Joseph Smith as "Joe Smith, an uneducated but cunning Yankee,"[47] the leader of "a gang of shameless imposters and robbers."[48] This distinct sect, Schaff explains, is based on the "pretended . . . . corrupt Babel of nominal Christendom (referring to the *Book of Mormon*)" whose followers deserved the subsequent violent persecution they faced in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois which forcefully led them to Utah.[49] Utah's Mormonism—a "corruption of Christianity" Schaff warns, if admitted as an independent state, will "give Congress great trouble, and require its armed interference . . . . the Mormons and the Americans . . .do not fit together."[50] Because Mormons are on a "decidedly immoral and abominable track . . . Americans cannot be particularly blamed for wishing to be rid of such a pest."[51] Although Schaff reluctantly admits that

among the Mormons there is "peace, harmony, and happiness," nevertheless he carefully observes, "the tares often grow much faster than the wheat"—a fitting biblical metaphor for American academic sentiment towards Mormonism.

Overall, writing to his international audience, Schaff calls Mormonism the "worst product of America,"[52] and concludes his treatment of Mormonism with a humble plea: "I must only beg, in the name of my adopted fatherland, that you will not judge America in any way by this irregular growth."[53]

1888: *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement down to the Present Time* by Daniel Dorchester

Philip Schaff's historical narrative would stand as the authoritative text until 1888, when the renowned scholar Daniel Dorchester would publish his major work, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement down to the Present Time*.[54] Under the table of contents entitled "Divergent Currents," Mormonism is addressed last, as if to conclude this section of "divergence" with special emphasis. Still as anathema to American Christianity as ever, Dorchester spares no pains in his treatment of Mormonism.

Mormonism by this time, according to Baird and Schaff at least, was hoped to be completely eradicated. The fact that it wasn't but had grown immensely as a result of LDS missions (and polygamy) at home and abroad was as Schaff put it in 1856, "one of the unsolved riddles of the modern history of religion."[55] Dorchester nearly three decades later, tries to solve this riddle for the American reader by explaining the origins and progress of Mormonism—in his attempt, he further perpetuates, however, Mormonism as a "local ulcer" of "ecclesiastical despotism," "fraudulent dealings," and "wild excrescences."[56]

Dorchester explains Mormonism by attributing it to a cultural

movement started in the late 1700's in Rutland County Vermont, where Lucy Mack Smith was from. His first sentence on Mormonism reads: "The earliest phases of Mormonism grew out of popular superstitions for a time quite prevalent among the more ignorant classes."[57] In beginning this way, readers are drawn to Mormonism as a superstitious, non-Christian *culture* (not religion) for ignoramuses. A certain nefarious counterfeiter and escaped prisoner named Wingate was the leader of this pre-Mormon movement whose followers believed in magic divining rods, roots and herbs as hallucinating healing agents, and the "New Jerusalem" being in America.[58]

Not just Joseph's mother, but also Sidney Rigdon was influenced by this Vermont conman's secret society which eventually culminated in "'Joe Smith' and his 'Golden Bible,' [being] found 'while hunting for minerals' with his 'rod.'"[59] Dorchester describes Joseph as "avoiding honest labor," "intemperate and untruthful, and [was] commonly suspected of sheep-stealing and other offenses."[60] The Smith family was apparently known for being "immoral, false, and [of] fraudulent character, and that Joseph was the worst of them."[61] Additionally, Joseph was poorly educated and could not possibly have been the author of the *Book of Mormon,* therefore, Dorchester recounts, origins of this fraudulent book is of Solomon Spalding, a Dartmouth College graduate who produced the original manuscripts in the early 1800's just before his death. Dorchester quotes Spalding's widow that Sidney Rigdon copied the manuscript, with Joseph and Oliver Cowdery adding "a few pious expressions and extracts from the sacred Scriptures," and subsequently "palmed off" their version of her husband's literary work of an ancient race "upon a company of poor, deluded fanatics as divine."[62]

To Dorchester, Joseph was guilty of mischief, plundering, house and press burning, and even secret assassinations. His death in

Carthage and eventually the expulsion of the Saints from Nauvoo were all natural results of a leader and sect that needed to be driven out for the common good.[63]

In the 1880's however, Mormonism, under Brigham Young had colonized much of the West and fear of the "Mormon Problem" (Mormon theocracy, polygamy, open canon, temple worship, "secret oaths," and economic communalism) was felt by most concerned Protestant Americans.[64] Dorchester recounts the efforts and successes of several denominational evangelizing missions to Utah and its surrounding Mormon colonies and territories to curtail any reader anxiety concerning the rapid growth of Mormonism.[65] On the last page of his historical narrative, Daniel Dorchester's hope for American Christian progress could not be hindered by the malignant minority of Mormonism because faithful Protestant proselytizing would ensure that this "local ulcer . . . [could] have no sure lease on the future."[66]

1897: *A History of American Christianity* by Leonard Woolsey Bacon

About a decade later, Leonard Bacon would publish the last history on American religion from the 19th century and would hold on to the hope that Dorchester and others had of the final ending of Mormonism through Protestant missionary efforts.[67] He is extremely polemical and mentions after his account of Mormonism that only "active and fruitful missionary labors" among the Mormons will slow the tide of this "body of fanatics . . . handled at will by unscrupulous chiefs."[68] Bacon seems to reflect the sentiment of the entire century's academics as he sums up Mormonism in one paragraph devoted to Mormonism—the only paragraph in his 420 page history. The following are a few sentences from the beginning and last sentence of Bacon's one-paragraph treatment of

Mormonism:

> Mormonism is . . . a system of gross, palpable imposture contrived by a disreputable adventurer, Joe Smith, with the aid of three confederates, who afterward confessed the fraud and perjury of which they had been guilty. It is a shame to human nature that the silly lies put forth by this precious gang should have found believers. But the solemn pretensions to divine revelation, mixed with elements borrowed from the prevalent revivalism, and from the immediate-adventism which so easily captivates excitable imaginations, drew a number of honest dupes into the train of the knavish leaders, and made possible the pitiable history which followed. . . . It is only incidentally that the strange story of the Mormons, a story singularly dramatic and sometimes tragic, is connected with the history of American Christianity.[69]

Bacon seems to borrow from the same rhetorical reporting as his predecessors, Baird, Schaff, and Dorchester in his negative, polarizing, and misleading treatment of Mormonism.

Bacon positions Mormonism in the context of his chapter on immigration, not the Second Great Awakening. In other words, Mormonism, once again, is not treated as part of the chronological or comprehensive story of religion in America, but as a side-show or mere anecdotal anomaly. Bacon does not consider Mormonism part of the core fiber of Christianity and only makes mention of it because he is reporting on European immigrants who joined, in large numbers, American society for religious purposes. If it weren't for the immigration factor, it is plausibly doubtful Bacon would have treated Mormonism at all as he mentions in his last sentence that it is only "incidental" that Mormonism is connected with the history of

religion in America.

1924: *The History of Religion in the United States* by Henry K. Rowe

The 20th century's first historical narrative was written by Henry Rowe and was quickly replaced by William Warren Sweet's history in 1930 but it is worth mentioning as it represents a significant gap in history. Like Bacon though, Rowe only reserves a paragraph for Mormonism but unlike Bacon, Rowe does place Mormonism—and he is the first to do this—in the proper historical context of the Second Great Awakening. Mormonism, however, is considered manipulative as Rowe reports that Mormonism "play[s] upon the religious credulity of its adherents, it was able to foist polygamy upon them as a part of a revealed ecclesiastical and social system."[70] Rowe emphasizes Mormonism's stereotypical "manipulative" character here and though he is significantly friendlier towards the Church compared to past historians when he acknowledges that the Church has been economically successful on their own terms, he still admits that Mormonism is to be frowned upon: "As an immoral propaganda it has been condemned by the social mind of America; as an alien religion based on a fraud it has been hated by the churches; as an ambitious state within a state it has been feared by patriots."[71] Still, despite his negativity, his last sentence gives a nod to Mormonism's permanent presence as an acknowledged part of American prosperity and colonization in the West—an acknowledgment that his predecessors could not, and would not do; their hope was that Mormonism would end with greater missionary efforts and that Protestants would fill the Mormons place in society, but as Rowe simply points out, Mormonism was not going anywhere: "In spite of opposition it has prospered, and in its section of the country it has filled a larger place than any other institution,

political, social, or religious."[72]

1930: *The Story of Religion in America* by William Warren Sweet

William Warren Sweet's historical narrative, written in 1930, was to be the first of its kind.[73] It was the first history of American religion written by a professional historian with a focus on American religious history. This may sound confusing because the previous five histories heretofore reviewed were all labeled, to one degree or another, as histories of American religion—and they were all written by "professional historians" (meaning they were paid historians but not necessarily *academically* trained historians). So, in a sense, they were all "professional historians," but making the distinction is essential to grasping the shift that will take place from here on. Though in subsequent works there would still be a heavy Protestant-centric approach (and thus a marginalization of Mormonism), a friendlier tone of historical treatment towards Mormonism ensued, partly at least, because of Sweet's efforts to be more objective.

William Warren Sweet was a professor at the University of Chicago in history; although he maintains a Protestant centric tone, Sweet attempts to deliver a more "academic" account of American religion as opposed to having an obvious "evangelizing" tone of Protestant approval and non-Protestant condemnation of other religions.[74] In fact, Sweet was "known during his generation as the 'Dean of American Church Historians,'" and was the founder of "establishing American religious history as a field of academic study."[75] Sweet's shift to a more academic study of religion in American history will serve to benefit the way Mormonism is treated in American religious historical narratives. Although it won't be perfect, treatment will start to change in more positive directions.

Sweet in *The Story of Religion in America* puts Mormonism in the chapter entitled "Religion in the Restless Thirties and Forties" and prefaces his treatment of Mormonism with "the strange and unusual religious movements . . . will now be treated. . . . Along with the many strange religious phenomena which characterize the period . . ."[76] So although Sweet's treatment of Mormonism avoids the polemics of the 19th century, he still places Mormonism outside the "big stream of American religion" warning and bracing his readers that they are in for a "strange," "unusual," and "restless" study of religion in America epitomized by Mormonism.[77] With that said though, Sweet's treatment of Mormonism is still more objective than any other historian before him—it seems however, that the early 20th century still held certain opinions of Mormonism as strange and unusual that would not be shaken any time soon.

He reviews the historical context of upstate New York's spirit of revivalism and places Mormonism's birth as a result of the "rather unsavory" mingling of an intelligent and industrious class of people—this inevitably led to a "peculiar psychological character to the people, producing on the one hand, sane and progressive social movements, and, on the other, tendencies toward fanaticism."[78] Originating from this cultural and spiritual milieu was the "greatest [spiritualistic movement] of them all"—Mormonism.[79]

Sweet then accurately recounts Joseph Smith's upbringing and the bringing forth of the *The Book of Mormon.* He does not make ridiculing remarks towards Joseph's visions, revelations, and process of translating; he simply reports the content and context of them both. He then reviews the controversies of the origins of *The Book of Mormon* by recounting the Solomon Spaulding theory, which Dorchester previously held to be uncontestably true. The impressive thing is his next line: "But whatever the origin of the Book of Mormon, the Prophet Joseph and his new revelation were soon

accepted as genuine by numerous followers."[80] Instead of making a moral judgment call like previous historians, Sweet simply reports the facts without inflating the "strangeness" of it.

A slight shift, however, occurs as Sweet's next few paragraphs on Mormonism contain some incomplete reporting and reductionist conclusions. He reduces the exodus from Ohio to Missouri as a result of Joseph Smith's "violation of the law against unchartered banks" when in fact it was much more "two-sided" than Sweet makes it to be.[81] Additionally, Sweet reports the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri as a result of Joseph's revelations, Sidney Rigdon's speech which caused "trouble," and a "war of extermination."[82] While there is a basis to Sweet's point, the story of the Saints' troubles in Missouri is much more complex. Sweet in his treatment of Mormonism emphasizes that conflict, war, and expulsion were mutual, with the Mormons mostly at fault—yet Sweet makes no mention of the Hawn's Mill Massacre, Joseph's numerous false arrests, or the extermination order issued by Governor Lilburn Boggs—all historical facts that demonstrate the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri was serious and often-violent violation of Church members' rights.[83]

As was said earlier however, Sweet's treatment of Mormonism during the Nauvoo period is balanced and fair as he caps his report with the Martyrdom: "Here on the night of the twenty-seventh of June, 1844, a mob with the evident collusion of the militia broke into the prison and the two brothers were brutally shot."[84] The accuracy and especially the tone in this report is vastly different from Robert Baird's reporting of the Martyrdom—Sweet reports not just the mob action but the collusion of the state while Baird reports the Martyrdom as a deserved punishment for despotism.[85]

Sweet ends his generally fair treatment of Mormonism with the

trek towards and colonization of the West in which he praises the Church as a "magnificent social and economic institution."[86] He does not however, and this is an important distinction, praise the Church as an *American religious* institution. More will be said on this distinction later but Sweet, in his praise for the Church as a social and economic colonizing institution, is merely reflecting the scholarship of his day in praising a society that civilized the frontier and embraced American expansionism.[87] Praise for the Church as a *religious* institution and especially as fundamentally *American* will not come until the end of World War II.

1946: *Religion in America* by Willard L. Sperry

Just after the end of World War II, Dean Sperry of the Harvard Divinity School, published his written history of religion in America for a British audience.[88] Following the trend set by Sweet to be more academic in approach, Sperry gets his sources from the Church itself. After recounting a brief history of the major movements of Church history and a basic review of LDS theology, Sperry admits that he received official statements from the Church but cautioned critics that "it is only fair to say that disinterested visitors to Utah find the text faithful to the fact;" this disclaimer adds a measure of objectivity and validity to his treatment of Mormonism.

The most interesting aspect of Sperry's treatment of Mormonism is his preface. Writing to a British audience he posits that "American Christianity has made only two novel additions to the diversity of Protestant denominations: the Church of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons), and the Church of Christ, Scientist (Christian Science)." The first observation from this preface is that Sperry refers to the Church as part of American Christianity (which is refreshing, to say the least), but specifically, he claims that Mormonism is one of only two Christian sects that are unique

to *American* Christianity. Sperry then introduces Mormonism in a similar way: "the history of the Latter Day Saints has become one of the more romantic and perhaps characteristic chapters of American life."[89] The distinction that Sperry makes to point out the *American*-ness of Mormonism and to posit that Mormonism is "*characteristic*" of American life is unique because it totally reverses the trend of labeling and placing Mormonism as a perverted and twisted outgrowth of Christianity and acknowledges it as a uniquely American institution.

After reviewing Mormon history, theology, and the Church's welfare system with accuracy and even some praise, Sperry makes one last note. Referring to the Church's practice of sending out the youth as missionaries, Sperry concludes his treatment of Mormonism with, "Many another church might take a leaf out of that book."[90] To encourage a domestic and international audience to emulate an aspect of the Church is change indeed.

However, one common element that Sperry has with his predecessors is condescension. Though the condemnation has nearly ceased in the 20th century, Sperry still holds Mormon mythology as somewhat childish and ridiculous. Instead of allowing Mormonism's beliefs to stand alone and its believers to accept their truth claims as legitimate faith claims, Sperry like others before him, qualifies each claim with the preface "*professed* to have had heavenly visitations . . . . He *claimed* also 'to have received historical records on golden plates.'" This subtle prefacing patronizes the saints' beliefs and when Sperry concludes Mormon mythology with "the *modern* Mormon is not inclined to place too much importance on the *naïve legends* of the earlier record," he is really not giving due respect to *any* Mormon who happens to believe in the "professed," "claimed," and "naïve legends" of Mormonism.[91]

Despite the praise and accuracy Sperry gives Mormonism and his position that it epitomizes the uniquely American Christian experience, Mormonism is still considered strange, weird, superstitious, naive, and even a little embarrassing. As an academic seriously reviewing all religious beliefs and practices of American religiosity, Sperry does not show credence but incredulousness.[92]

1966: *A Religious History of America* by Edwin Scott Gaustad

The 1950's did not furnish one single historical narrative of American religion but the 1960's produced five major works.[93] Gaustad's written history was and is regarded as an authoritative representative of that time and a solid survey of American religious history.[94] It has been reprinted and revised numerous times and is still used today in college classrooms.[95]

Not only did the 60's break the silence of the 50's, it also broke the historical precedence of treating Mormon beliefs and practices as silly. Unlike others before him who paint Latter-day Saints as ignorant, naïve, and blind followers of an autocratic theocrat (presumably the Prophet), Gaustad ends his treatment of Mormonism with admiration: "In the lonesome insecurity of a sprawling continent, such central order and confident assurance had genuine appeal. Authority implies consent; once given, that authority can endow a tender, embryonic community with discipline, determination, and perseverance."[96]

Gaustad mainly focuses on Mormonism's success as a utopian society as he puts Mormonism under the section "Utopianism." Furthermore, like others before him, Gaustad places Mormonism in its historical and regional context by reviewing Mormonism in his chapter entitled "Freedom and the Frontier," positioning Mormonism as a result of what happens when there is radical religious freedom and unfettered geographical space to live

it out. He is sympathetic and friendly towards the Matyrdom, the Mormon trek West, and the Church's missionary efforts.[97]

In Gaustad's revised and updated edition, he doesn't necessarily change his tone towards Mormonism (he is congenial in both versions), but in the later edition, Gaustad adds a poignant comment following a quote by Brigham Young. In his original version, he quotes Brigham saying, "We have been kicked out of the frying pan into the fire, out of the fire into the middle of the floor, and here we are and here we will stay. . . .[God] will rebuke the frost and the sterility of the soil, and the land shall become fruitful."[98] In 2002, Gaustad adds this confirmation to that prophecy: "A century after Young's prophecy, all had been fulfilled, as Mormons dominated not only all of Utah but much of the land on all sides of Deseret. At that point Mormonism had become a fixed feature, often a determinative feature, of the western landscape."[99] This shows Gaustad's objective treatment of Mormonism in the 60's but also Mormonism's growth and success in the 21st century—Gaustad captures Mormonism's toughness, expansion, and stability as an integral part of the religious historical landscape of the American West.

Additionally in Gaustad's revised edition, nowhere does he use qualifiers of beliefs such as "professed visions," "claimed to see," "purported revelation"—instead Gaustad states Mormon beliefs as facts, like in "after a vision of the Angel Moroni" and "Joseph Smith's foundational encounter with the Angel Moroni . . ." This shift does not mean that Gaustad is a believer in Mormonism but that he acknowledges that these are the Church's sincere beliefs and, as a scholar of religion, Gaustad treats seriously all faith traditions by allowing each belief to stand as objective facts to its subjects. This is an example of how treatment of Mormonism changed to reflect the Church's own views but it is also an example of the entire

shift of American religious historical treatment of any religion. The 60's was a decade of change not just in cultural America, but in the academic sentiment towards religion that the first half of the century neglected.[100] By the 21st century, as evident in Gaustad's increased treatment of Mormonism—from four pages (out of 411 total pages) in 1966 to ten pages (out of 431 total pages) in 2002—Mormonism had become much more prominent and relevant to American religious historical conversation.[101]

1972: *A Religious History of the American People* by Sydney E. Ahlstrom

This survey of religious history in American religion contains significant coverage of Mormonism.[102] Ahlstrom gives reason for this: "For the drama in its story no less than for its revelations of the American religious character, Mormonism deserves far more extensive and intensive consideration than any of its contemporary parallels."[103] Ahlstrom places, like Gaustad did, in his section entitled "The Communitarian Impulse"—a fascinating section, but Mormonism still doesn't seem to fit in with the mainstream Protestant storyline—Ahlstrom's leading plot.[104] Picking up on Sperry's position that Mormonism not only was uniquely "made in America," but actually *reflected* the character of American religiosity in its revelations and history, once again, is a stark contrast from any 19th and early 20th century histories.[105]

Unlike Sperry however, instead of using official statements furnished by the Church in reporting Church history and theology, Ahlstrom relies heavily on Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History,* which is a controversial interpretative reflection of Joseph Smith and the Church.[106] However controversial Fawn Brodie's biography is though, Ahlstrom's use of her insights into Joseph and the Church do paint a more positive picture of

Mormonism. Where 19th century historians like Baird, Schaff, and Bacon refer to Mormons under Joseph's leadership as delusional dupes conned by an impostor, Schaff quotes from Brodie that Mormonism is "a real religious creation, one intended to be to Christianity what Christianity was to Judaism: that is, a reform and a consummation."[107] Where Dorchester posits the Solomon Spaulding theory of the Book of Mormon as fact, Ahlstrom emphatically refutes that fabrication theory as "farfetched."[108] Ahlstrom, once again, employs Brodie to explain the Book of Mormon's origins as a reflection of 19th century American cultural and spiritual tension that Joseph did not create (because he was incapable of such magnificent a creation due to his rudimentary education) out of pure genius but out of a complex psychological "openness" to the religious needs of the time.[109] Though this theory can be disputed as well as the Spaulding theory, Ahlstrom's emphasis that the Book of Mormon is a psychologically motivated religious innovation is, nevertheless, better than calling it plagiarism. In this regard, though it is more positive than many of its predecessors, it nevertheless does not represent the Church in the way the Church would represent itself.

Additionally, Ahlstrom does not explain *how* Mormonism's revelations and history reflect American religiosity. He ends his treatment of Mormonism puzzled. While he acknowledges that "no one denies that the entire saga of Joseph Smith and Mormonism is a vital episode in American history," nevertheless, "the exact significance of this great story persistently escapes definition." Referring to the complexity of explaining how Mormonism fits into the fabric of American Christianity, Ahlstrom admits that "contradictory interpretations [are] inescapably felt by every historian . . . . the movement yields innumerable clues to the religious and social consciousness of the American people" but the complexities of Mormonism "renders almost useless the usual

categories of explanation."[110] Ultimately, it seems Ahlstrom leaves the explanation of how Mormonism represents American religion as a charge for future historians to figure out.

1984: Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America by Martin E. Marty

From the 80's, Martin Marty's written history of religion in America is considered a "standard."[111] A decade after Ahlstrom's written history, Martin Marty would write his own and would be the first American religious historian to include in his narrative aspects of Mormonism that were neglected in past accounts. Besides polygamy, earlier historians, unlike what Marty does, did not mention the women's suffrage movement, race and the Priesthood, or the Utah War.[112]

However, the context in which Marty mentions these events is highly negative. Marty mentions that Utah was the second US territory to allow women to vote in 1870, but the reason for their suffrage was to discriminate against "gentiles"—while there is some truth to this, discrimination was certainly not the reason LDS women were allowed to vote.[113] For blacks and the Priesthood, Marty says that they were "lesser parts of God's plan . . . second-class members of His kingdom"—a reductionist statement not considering the complex facts.[114] In regards to the Utah War, Marty is a little friendlier than outright anti-Mormon sentiment but still he chose sources that depict Brigham Young as an apathetic despot; in regards to the Martin and Willy handcart company tragedies.[115] Marty reports: "As news came back from the trail, the nation called Young a murderer of the many scores who died. He wrote off their deaths. 'It is the will of the Lord' was the head Mormon's conclusion."[116]

The reason for the negative tone of these events can be found in Marty's bibliography. His main source for the Brigham Young

years of the Church (the time these events occurred in) is Stanley P. Hirshson's *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young*—source material that even Marty, in his bibliography admits is "flawed."[117] According to Leonard Arrington, a respected historian of Mormon history by Mormons and non-Mormons alike, Hirshson's biography is "based on hearsay, rather than on the kind of hard evidence that the scholar unearths by his diligence and insight in working through primary sources,"—most of Hirshon's sources are from east coast newspapers and he did not use one primary source from any of the publicly accessible Church Archives, a flaw that no graduate student or PhD dissertation could get away with Arrington says, let alone a professional scholar in the field.[118] Why Marty chose such a biography as basis for his narrative is puzzling. At the very least, Marty gives voice to the slanted views many Americans would have held about Brigham Young and his nineteenth-century flock.

One positive contribution to the field that Marty makes in regards to his treatment of Mormonism is in his index. His was the first to index Mormonism under "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons)" instead of the usual alphabetical placement under "Mormonism" that most scholars index the Church under. Although much of Marty's content is based off of questionable sources, he does show proper respect in his index for the Church's official name—something his predecessors did not do.

1992: *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* by Mark A. Noll

Nearly a decade after Marty's historical narrative, Mark Noll, renowned professor of history at Notre Dame published his history of American religion.[119]

Noll places Mormons in chapter 8 entitled "Outsiders"

but, unlike Baird who places Mormons in his chapter entitled "Unevangelicals," not only does Noll not treat Mormons as outsiders but places them under section III entitled "The 'Protestant Century"'—connoting a different message than it denotes. Noll positions Mormons the way the Church was treated in the 19th century (as outsiders) but he reassures readers that though Mormons "managed to create substantially different patterns [of Protestantism] . . . these patterns drew on themes from the history of Christianity or the history of the United States shared by insider groups [mainstream Protestantism]."[120] Meaning, Noll acknowledges the distinction of Mormonism, but explains it in a way that reveals Mormonism as a natural branch of Christianity's multi-denominational evolution (not necessarily a natural branch of traditional Christianity) and American historical context, not, as Dorchester personified Mormonism, a "wild excrescence."[121]

Noll reviews Joseph's family as "intensely religious," "spiritual seeker[s]," and heavily influenced by their surroundings—the "burned-over district"—aka upstate New York—during the Second Great Awakening. This especially intense religious revival and reform period in American history had its epicenter in and near Joseph's neighborhood.[122] Noll, both friendly and objective, explains Mormonism in a way that "fits" American Christian history but also how Mormonism really "transcends" the traditional context, making Mormonism capable of acceptability to a worldwide audience:

> Smith's religion drew on themes prominent in the early national period, including a republican conception of world order and a democratic belief in the ability of common people to grasp religious truth. Even more than this, Mormonism represented a new religious movement,

> dependent upon the traditions of Jews and Christians but also . . . transcending these traditions. Thus, the *Book of Mormon* presupposed the Judeo-Christian Scriptures but constituted an addition to the canon. His followers viewed Joseph Smith as a new oracle who reenacted the deeds of prophets in past times. . . . The result was a religious movement that arose out of specific conditions in the early national period but that also laid the foundation for the worldwide movement that Mormonism has since become.[123]

This succinct but insightful treatment of Mormonism suggests that perhaps the 1990's is the decade that Mormonism, at least in the context of American religious historical narratives, finally comes out of obscurity and is seen in it's true light as a legitimate American (and even international) religious movement. Noll doesn't explain in detail how this comes to be (perhaps it needs much more room than a general survey text allows for) but he explains *enough*—better than any of his predecessors' attempts—for readers to grasp the main idea that Mormonism is not an unexplainable enigma but fits naturally with the American religious historical context.

2000: *Religion in American Life: A Short History* by Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer

A new millennium would bring new life into the treatment of Mormonism as these leading scholars from Yale, Duke, and Dartmouth would have Oxford University Press, the "gold standard," publish their historical narrative of American religion.[124] Grant Wacker, Professor of Christian History at Duke University, treats Mormonism much more extensive and comprehensive than Noll before him. He reviews Mormon history from its beginnings in

New York until its settlement in the Salt Lake Valley.

Wacker begins his treatment of Mormonism with Joseph Smith's parents. Insightfully, he attributes Joseph's "uncertainty about the current religious choices," as an "inheritance" he receives from his parents' uncertainty. But unlike Joseph Sr. who was "freethinking" but not "too sure about his unbelief" and Lucy Mack, who was "Presbyterian, but . . . unclear of her commitments," Joseph, "more than either of them . . . determined to settle the truth for himself."[125] Wacker doesn't make Joseph, like Brodie/Ahlstrom do, to be the accidental the creator of Mormonism. His conclusion of how Joseph created Mormonism is to take Joseph's word for it. He simply tells the story of how Joseph was curious about religion, an attribute he naturally inherits from his parents, and then proceeds to tell *Joseph's* story of how his heavenly Parent, supernaturally answered young Joseph's question.

Wacker then inserts, verbatim, Moroni's visit, as found in the Church's *Pearl of Great Price,* regarding the origins of the *Book of Mormon*. He doesn't speculate like others before him try to do, he simply admits, "It is hard to know how to account for the *Book of Mormon's* origin or its success . . . Whatever one believed about the authorship of the book, the volume clearly offered answers to questions people of the 1830's were asking . . . . Above all, it helped believers see America itself as a uniquely chosen place, for God had selected Americans to serve as the carriers of a restored gospel."[126] This type of treatment Wacker offers Mormonism is fair and reflective of how Mormon's view themselves. Additionally, it presents Mormonism as a legitimate religious option and explains *why* many Christians in America were willing to join the Church.

Wacker places Mormonism in chapter eleven entitled "Restorers of Ancient Ways," and as such, emphasizes how the Church was the

epitome of an American Christian impulse to restore—not just New Testament Christianity embodied by Barton Stone's "Christians" and Alexander Campbell's "Disciples of Christ"—but Wacker explains that Mormons wanted to restore:

> the perfect order . . . in both the Old and the New Testaments . . . . They saw themselves not simply copying the ancient Israelites and Christians, but *re-creating* both the Old Testament Israelites and the New Testament Christians in the modern world.[127]

Once again, as Noll did in the 90's and Sperry and Ahlstrom tried to do in their respective narratives, Wacker explains Mormonism by contextualizing its perpetuation as a result of "*thousands* of Americans [seeking] progress not by looking forward to the end of history but by looking backward to its beginning."[128] The tone of Wacker and Noll is that Mormonism is normal, natural, and even popular, at least popular in the sense that Mormonism is not just for the few "dupes," as Baird and company call them, but that *thousands* of Americans flocked to Mormonism and that it made sense that Americans *wanted* a restoration—for so many found themselves as Joseph and his family did—uncertain of moving forward without making sense of the past.

Wacker ends his treatment of Mormonism with this observation: "It was an exhilarating vision. Little wonder that tens of thousands of Americans, as well as equal numbers in other countries, found Mormonism compelling enough to warrant the long trek to Utah"—a fitting observation to ring in a new century of American religious historical treatment of Mormonism.

2010: *Religion in American History* Edited by Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan

The last historical narrative in this review, published in 2010,

brings together experts from the field of American religious history and treats Mormonism in a refreshing way.[129] This last narrative, however, is different from the other histories treated thus far. It is an edited collection of different authors' essays, and thus there is not a single narrative voice throughout the entire history as in the other narratives covered so far. This approach reflects the methodological approach that scholars began to take after the 70's. Although single narratives were still published (as evident in this project), the "grand narrative" approach was significantly questioned. Arguing that no single narrative could adequately tell the story of religion in a pluralistic religious America, American religious history began to take a paradigmatic path of multiple narratives.[130] Admittedly, Porterfield and Corrigan explain in their introduction that the only single narrative that they try to point readers to throughout their work of multiple narratives is the "overlap" of America's "complex and dynamic phenomenon"—a conception that cannot be retained, they say, in a "grand narrative."[131]

Robert Fuller, Professor of Religion at Bradley University, begins his treatment of Mormonism by stating, "Unquestionably the most impressive episode of religious innovation during the Age of Empire [1803 – 1898] was the long saga eventuating in the triumphant success of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."[132] He then, after reviewing the coming forth of the *Book of Mormon,* says, "The discovery and translation of the *Book of Mormon* would alone have set Joseph Smith apart as a religious genius."[133] But, as Fuller recounts, there was much more "religious innovation" that Joseph produced: the creation of a "New Israel," the doctrine of eternal progression culminating in potential godhood, the three degrees of glory, and finally, the restoration of temple ordinances, especially celestial marriage. Fuller concludes and explains that these "bold religious innovations were destined to stir

up resentment and acrimony among their neighbors"—which led to the several successful, though tragic at times, exoduses of the Saints.[134]

Heather D. Curtis, Assistant Professor at Tufts University, highlights polygamy. The way she treats polygamy is in context of many religious groups' experiences during the 19th century—Protestants, Catholics, and Jews all challenged or adapted their particular views of gender relations in resolving tensions with the dominant culture of America in those times. Curtis "normalizes" polygamy, to the extent that readers come to understand that polygamy was just one way to deal with the reality of gender and family life issues and strains in American society. As she reviews several religious traditions' unique way of dealing with gender, sexuality, and family life, Curtis treats Mormonism in that context so as to alleviate any suggestion that polygamy is "weird" or "immoral." She does note, however, that America at that time, did find it morally reprehensible and she reviews the illegalization of polygamy and the eventual shift the Church made to embrace the law of the land.[135]

Other scholars throughout the book highlight Mormon dietary laws, clothing (including garments) standards, rules of chastity, and missionary efforts. They all treat Mormon belief and practice parallel with their treatment of Protestant, Catholic, Jew, and even Muslim belief and practice suggesting that Mormonism is part of the same religious fabric as any other faith tradition—that each has their unique beliefs and practices that contribute to the pluralistic society that Americans are so privileged to be a part of.[136]

Peter Williams, Professor of Comparative Religion and American Studies at Miami University, concludes treatment of Mormonism mentioning the complexity of the principle of

pluralism in relation to the Church's missionary efforts and Evangelical relations with Mormons. He suggests that had there been "enhanced" religious toleration and pluralism,[137] Mitt Romney's 2008 Presidential bid would have been different with more Evangelical support: Romney's Mormonism "provoked doubt among many evangelicals as to the suitability of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for that office."[138] J.B. Haws, expert on the Mormon image in the American mind concerning the presidential bids of Romney, confirms this observation but does concede that the 2012 presidential bid of Romney *did* receive the support from most Evangelicals—other key factors, not Mormonism or religious bigotry, would unsuccessfully end Romney's run.[139] Pluralism, no doubt prompted by politics, improved interfaith relations. Moreover, Williams concludes that Mormonism has, and will, continue to transform their social identity (which he suggests still suffers from misconception) through missionary work. The principle of pluralism, embodied by the Church's missionary efforts (combined with its public relations, humanitarian, and welfare projects) has resulted in a Mormon international community. Williams admits that "In this achievement they not only successfully emulated but outdid earlier efforts by American Protestants to spread their faith through aggressive spiritual colonialism."[140]

Overall, Porterfield and Corrigan, as editors of this history, treat Mormonism as a unique but united thread in the complex fibers of American pluralism—making Mormonism a significant contributor to America's status as a "great importer as well as exporter in a diverse world market of religious practices."[141]

Findings

Findings for this brief are taken from the relevant literature

reviewed for this brief and from additional historiographies and histories regarding American religious history. Historical narratives treating Mormonism have been divided into four major time periods reflecting significant shifts in the treatment of Mormonism and in American religious history. Each time period is marked by its correlating historical narrative publication date (for example, the 1844 – 1924 time periods reflects 1844's historical narrative book ended by 1924's historical narrative). Each time period summarizes (in italics) what is examined, explored, and explained more thoroughly in the literature review (see literature review for citations and sources to these findings). Additionally, following each summary is a broad and brief explanation (by no means comprehensive or exhaustive) of *why* these shifts occurred—major historical movements in America contributed to an evolution in the treatment of Mormonism.

1844 – 1897 *treats Mormonism as a corrupt form of Christianity, at best. Mormonism's future is predicted to be near its end and its presence is mere coincidence. Joseph Smith is a con man. Mormon theology is satanic or stupid. Mormons are fatally credulous. Americans are embarrassed to be associated with Mormonism both domestically and internationally. The Book of Mormon is plagiarism and Mormonism is dangerous to democracy. Tragedies in Mormon history are a relief to society.*

The 19th century and early 20th century of American religious history writing was dominated by Protestants; historians have since called this period "The Great Tradition of American Religious History," which is the "providential view" of Protestant America predicting that "mainline" churches (Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Quaker, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Reformed and United Churches, and the Moravian Brethren) would bring about a unified Christian America. Diversity, in the form of Mormonism

and other "fringe" movements was a "problem." Though "religious tolerance" was an American principle it seemed to only apply to "mainline" churches. Each 19th century American religious historian held strong to the "prophecy" that "God's plan was to impose a rough unity on the Protestant churches of the United States and make them a world-redeeming force." Through evangelization, Protestantism would tame Mormonism and others like them. Mormons "were curiosities of a passing and not [a] very important phase of national growth." To ridicule them, wish and attempt to execute their demise, be disgusted with their peculiarities, and treat them as outsiders were all part of this Protestant paradigm.[142] Through this framework of writing American religious history, it is no wonder several historians of this period were frustrated and puzzled with the development and growth of Mormonism.[143]

1897 – 1946 *treats Mormonism as a historic movement during the Second Great Awakening but a strange one at that. Moral judgments of condemnation are significantly reduced. Mormonism is enigmatic and unbelievable but nevertheless a force to be reckoned with. Americans should have sympathy in regards to tragedies committed against them; nevertheless, Mormons are at least partly to blame considering their disposition to be provocative. However, Mormons do hold a special place in American history as a religion that was uniquely born in America and a major contributor to colonizing the West. Mormonism does have some redeeming qualities to emulate.*

In the late 19th century and early 20th century, the rise of "scientific" history made it so "church and religious historians stopped believing in providence." This movement of historical writing could not "make transcendent forces responsible for the things that happened in the past." Religion was downplayed in this period and historians tried to remain "objective," though this

seemed hard to do as many historians in this period still viewed Mormonism as a nuisance to society. Nevertheless, the attempt was made by such pioneers as William Warren Sweet to be objective and scientific. [144]

William Warren Sweet's historical narrative, written in 1930, was the first history of American religion written by a professional historian with a focus on American religious history. William Warren Sweet was a professor at the University of Chicago in history; although he maintains a Protestant-centric tone, Sweet attempts to deliver a more "academic," even a "scientific" account of American religion as opposed to having an obvious "evangelizing" tone of Protestant approval or condemnation of other religions.[145] In fact, Sweet was "known during his generation as the 'Dean of American Church Historians,'" and was the founder of "establishing American religious history as a field of academic study."[146]

Although Sweet (and others) attempts to be more "scientific" in his approach to religion and Mormonism, he still treats Mormonism as an "appendix" to his history of religion—to Sweet, Mormonism is acknowledged as a historically accountable religion, but still "strange."[147] Likewise, Sperry treats Mormonism as part of the fabric of the Second Great Awakening but still condescendingly treats Church beliefs as "naïve."[148]

1946 – 1984 *treats Mormonism as Protestant-like and American-like (though somewhat unexplainable) but with communitarian impulses that marvelously have survived while other communitarian societies have withered and died. Patronization towards beliefs and practices has all but disappeared. Mormonism deserves sympathy, friendship, and many of its beliefs and practices are admirable. Mormonism is a psychologically creative religious alternative. It reflects the American religious character of being free and open to*

cultural and spiritual phenomenon. Though Joseph is not capable of such innovation, he and his church nevertheless deserve undue credit for providing Americans with spiritually pleasing theology, giving women the right to vote early, and braving persecution with dignity. However, Mormonism's motives are not trustworthy as they show remnants of oppression, racism, and still, to a large degree, sexism.

After World War II, the rise of "consensus" history marked religion as "an essential part of the national identity and a key element to the hostility toward communism."[149] It is no wonder then that during this time Mormonism was seen as an American religious institution laden with sympathy, friendship, and admiration towards certain beliefs and practices. Nevertheless, with the publication of Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History* (1945) and Ahlstrom's historical narrative (1972), which borrows heavily from Brodie, Mormonism is still seen as a "strange" by product of early American revivalism.[150] Through "consensus" history, Ahlstrom and others make Mormonism part of American society but somehow, they cannot explain how Mormonism is especially significant to American religiosity: "no one denies that the entire saga of Joseph Smith and Mormonism is a vital episode in American history," nevertheless, "the exact significance of this great story persistently escapes definition."[151] This era ended "The Great Tradition" of Protestant polarization of Mormonism but it still did not have a framework to "fit" Mormonism's unique *American*-ness and *religious*-ness harmoniously into the story of religion in America.[152]

1984 – 2010 *treats Mormonism as the essence of the American religion in the sense that it was born and lives out the American ideals of a republican order of authority, a democratization of revelation, and a transcendental practical life. Mormonism is an understandably attractive religion for Americans because it*

teaches faith in God's ability to restore the American past in new ways and promotes finding the truth for oneself. Mormonism is an understandably attractive world religion because it restores the Old World religious framework of prophetic revelation, offers new scripture, and emphasizes in new ways the family of God, the importance of family, and the brotherhood of man. Furthermore, Mormonism is a viable American import and export in a religiously pluralistic nation and world. Joseph is a religious genius and his innovations are unmatched. Polygamy is historically understandable considering the gender tensions in society at the time. Mormonism's "peculiar" practices are not so different after all, especially when compared with other traditions in America and abroad. Mormonism could use even more interfaith interaction so that Americans and the world can benefit from its people, its theology, and its culture.

Perhaps the most impactful shift of Mormon treatment occurs in this time. Several historical factors starting in the 60's and 70's but really climaxing in the 80's and 90's contributed to this evolution.

Even before historians mistreated the history of Mormonism—before even "The Great Tradition"—the Lord inspired Joseph and others to collect records and write their own history.[153] This commitment of collecting records, manuscripts, and diaries served the Church immensely especially in the mid – late 20th century. Though Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, B.H. Roberts and many more dedicated Church historians attempted to foster a legitimate history of the Church, the "dean of Mormon history" is considered to be Leonard Arrington—the founder of "The New Mormon History."[154] Trained in America's finest schools and writing books on Mormon history along with other prominent scholars, Arrington and others (including the Church) developed the Mormon

History Association (1965), the journal *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* (1965), the Church Historical Department (1972—headed by Arrington under the official auspice of the Church), and the publication *Journal of Mormon History* (1973). These developments by professionally trained historians gave academia an "insider" approach to Mormon history that fostered sympathy, respect, and attention to Mormonism as an academically legitimate institution who could defend themselves using the same "language" as the scholars in the field of American religious history. Though it took several years after the 60's and 70's to catch on to "The New Mormon History," scholars and historians beginning to write their own versions of American religious history began to implement the scholarship of these trained Mormon historians' publications and began to interpret the Church through the lens of these Mormon scholars.[155]

Another major factor in the shift in academic Mormon treatment was the cultural shifts in America itself. Though Sydney Ahlstrom puzzled to "fit" Mormonism into the larger American religious historical storyline, he readily admitted that shifts in American culture demanded a new framework in which to interpret the history of American religion. He explains in his article poignantly entitled "The Problem of the History of Religion in America" certain cultural forces that must be reconciled with historical writing:

> The decade of the sixties revolutionized the church historian's general situation. The names of John XXIII, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Malcolm X … Presidents Johnson and Nixon, all call to mind the forces that have given us a radically new angle of vision . . . . Pluralism has asserted itself. The supreme court, a no-longer-anti-Catholic electorate, the Black revolution, the war in Southeast Asia, moon shots, the student protest movement, the Beatles, the radical theologians, the so-

called "new Morality," and assorted other manifestations of a similar nature have ushered in a post- Puritan, post-Protestant, post-Christian, post-WASP [White Anglo-Saxon Protestant] America.[156]

A new era of radical pluralism, civil rights for blacks and women, mass immigration from Asia and the South Pacific, global cultural exchanges, and continued warfare forced historians to reconsider their methodological framework for writing American religious history. "The Great Tradition" of Protestant centric providence was transforming itself into "The New Religious History," a highly influenced off shoot of "The New Social History's" "bottom-up, decentralized, outsider-focused paradigms."[157] The problem of diversity according to The Great Tradition now became the solution to contextually writing the history of religion in America.

Essentially, "The New Religious History's" methodological approach was to take "outsider" religions and ask the question: "What can we learn generally about religion in America by specifically analyzing a "fringe" religion?[158] Using this approach, historians now could take paradigms from the social sciences to identify "mechanisms or basic patterns of action and reaction that undergird different religious episodes in American history." What these historians began to find with this new paradigm shift was that religion was a vital aspect to the very existence of communities. They also discovered that phenomena like the Second Great Awakening and other similar religious revivals were not just spiritual but these very phenomena were interconnected with political, social, and cultural reforms as well. Essentially, what they realized was that religion and American culture were inseparable entities challenging, harmonizing, and inevitably impacting each

other. [159] Mormonism became the experiment, epicenter, and lens of this paradigm shift in understanding 19th century American religious history.[160]

As the ultimate "outsider" or "fringe" religion, scholars saw the *Book of Mormon* as "one of the greatest documents in American cultural history," Joseph Smith as "the ultimate popular theocrat," and the entire Mormon movement as "intensely populist" and an "antebellum spiritual hothouse."[161] Thus, Mormonism came out of obscurity and into the light of the scholarly worldview's understanding of Americans' deepest religious, social, and even political desires.

The combination of the perpetuation of Mormon historical vigor and America's cultural and intellectual changes resulted in Mormonism becoming the "American religion." The late 20th and early 21st century scholarly perspective shifted far away from its Protestant roots and into the wide open spaces of pluralism. Mormonism's unique "outsider" perspective gave American religious historians new "insider" information in realizing America's rich pluralistic capacities.

Thus, with the movement away from American-centricity to a global community of shared resources, including especially religion—Mormonism was no longer "the worst product of America," (as 19th century historians believed) it was America's "poster boy" for religion—a religion that was intrinsically American but internationally adaptable.[162]

Mormonism, perhaps more than any other American religion, has gone through the most dramatic change in academic perception, treatment, acceptance, and assimilation—Mormonism is not only the

"American religion" but Mormonism reflects religion in America.[163] Indeed, an evolution has taken place in the historiography of the treatment of Mormonism in the historical narratives of American religious history. To say it has gotten better is an understatement. In four major shifts through time, Mormonism's treatment has evolved dramatically from being viewed as a pariah on the periphery to a crucial crucible to consider when considering the full scope of American religious history. Mormonism has changed, no doubt, but so has the perceptions of historians who strive to understand Mormonism in the American religious experience—a total inclusion of Mormonism in the understanding of American religious history has ensued.

Implications

One implication is that perhaps other religions similar to Mormonism have been sorely mistreated by Protestant mainstream religions. When researching for this brief, Mormonism was often grouped with Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian Scientists, Seventh Day Adventists and sometimes even Catholicism—these religions (and I'm sure more) have experienced similar mistreatment and so it would imply that Chaplains ought to be sensitive to people from these traditions but also careful in how they publicly or privately treat any person of any faith tradition including people with no faith tradition.

All of us are influenced by the academic (and non-academic) literature and information published regarding different faith traditions. Not all of these publications are reputable, accurate, or representative of that particular faith tradition. Even "credible" sources, like historical narratives published by this nation's most respected scholars and publishing houses cannot be entirely trusted (as seen in this brief). This brief is a testimony to the fallibility and biases of our nation's intellectual elite and confirms the importance

to engage critically, but faithfully in interfaith dialogue in order to ascertain the most accurate information concerning other religions.

This brief also implies that scholarly treatment can and does change over time—often from very skewed perceptions to open and positive treatment. The academic world has much to offer the Chaplain world in terms of seeking to understand different faith traditions in the context of religious pluralism and the wider secular world. Engagement in such pursuits does not estrange Chaplains from their own faith, but strengthens their faith in their own tradition and also in the goodness of other faith traditions as well. Scholarship's ability to change, adapt, and apply new intellectual theories to the study of religion helps all of us strengthen our faith in the power of education to bring about spiritual growth or understanding.

Recommendations

A similar research project that does an extensive survey of the literature pertaining to Mormon studies, American religions, and social science historiography (as opposed to just one literary genre like mine) would help get a more accurate, complex, and engaging view of the treatment of Mormonism throughout time. Where findings for this project are generalized into broad time periods, implementing more historical resources would reveal more specific timeline of change in treatment can be assessed.

Another recommendation would be to compare Mormonism's treatment with some of the other "non-mainstream" religions mentioned above. Hopefully, academic treatment has improved for other religions as well, but if not, why not?—particularly the "American born" religions like Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian Scientists, and/or Seventh Day Adventists would lend itself to an interesting comparative study.

One last recommendation would be to somehow combine the research for the academic perception *and* public perception of Mormonism throughout time and to compare and contrast findings. How they influence each other, when they influence each other, and if there is an apparent gap between academia's perception and the public perception of Mormonism would be core questions to consider. This study could serve the Church in profound ways by providing the public relations and missionary departments with relevant information to apply in our efforts to share the unique message of the Restoration to specific target demographics.

Conclusion

In the last few decades, the scholarly paradigm towards Mormonism has been especially favorable. Current perceptions of Mormonism only encourage me to keep the faith. Although my faith does not derive from research like this, it certainly strengthens my faith. It never hurts to have allies in academia that will, at least on an academic and sociological level, legitimize your faith.

When the current academic sentiment towards Mormonism legitimizes my faith as an all-American, world-wide, and transcendental but practical religion, what does the contrast imply then, of the thousands of Latter-day Saints, who, for the first one hundred years of our Church existence did not have similar academic, governmental, social, or even familial support? It tells me of a people who had great faith in the pure message of the Restoration. It tells me that what is most important is the support of God Almighty in determining truth. It also tells me that I stand on the shoulders of spiritual giants who have pioneered the way for me to continue the faith they lived and died for.

The Church from its very beginnings and progressively throughout its history, has been engaged in and committed

to writing their own history. These manuscripts, documents, and diaries have been preserved and because of it, Mormon academicians have been able to publish competent histories changing the perception of much of the false and slanderous historical work that was in public libraries. A significant amount of this work has contributed to the scholarly world's "restorative" treatment of Mormon history, theology, and practice. When seen in its proper historical context, Mormonism becomes legitimate and even praise worthy at times. This could not have happened without writing, saving, and synthesizing Church history by faithful scholars. The evolution of the Mormon treatment in the academic world is a testament to the Church's own commitment to history—thus, writing and saving our personal history helps "save" the Church from being misrepresented.[164]

Lastly, this brief has opened my eyes to the power of American religious history to possibly shape real relationships. This country is unique among other nations because of its commitment and protection of religious liberty. However, our history in the way we have navigated, interpreted, and thus applied religious liberty has evolved—especially towards those with minority religious traditions. American religious scholars have exercised a great deal of power in how they have interpreted and expressed Mormonism's place in the narratives of American religious history.

Though this would require another project altogether, I can't help but think, considering this research, that the negative academic sentiment in the 1840's versus the positive academic treatment in the 90's and 2000's had an influence in both Joseph Smith Jr.'s and Mitt Romney's presidential candidacy outcomes. As the nation's first presidential candidate to be assassinated, Joseph Smith's candidacy ended tragically while Mitt Romney's ended with nearly half of the popular vote.[165] In the 1800's, history was

written in such a way that surely influenced Americans' treatment of Mormonism as anathema. Reflection of this sentiment can be seen in Joseph's assassination and the subsequent mistreatment of Mormons being forced to the Salt Lake Valley—their religion was not seen as an asset (to say the least) to the country at the time. Contrast that with the historical treatment of Mormonism written in the 90's and 2000's interpreting Mormonism as the "American religion."[166] Surely, these sentiments percolated the populous and had some influence in Romney's treatment as an "ideal" American—contrast the following: Americans in the 1840's wanted Joseph's Mormonism to be silenced with his death while Romney's Mormonism in 2012 was, as political pundits put it, his "greatest asset" and that Romney "needed to speak *more* of his Mormonism."[167] Is such a contrast causal or merely contingent in relation to the treatment of Mormonism in American religious history?

Like I said, answering this question in assessing the actual effects of American religious history's treatment of Mormonism would be difficult to trace and requires a whole new research project, but the *idea* of the power that American religious history has to devalue or value religious pluralism resulting in real outcomes has a profound impact on my future as a chaplain. If the influence of history can possibly shape a presidential election (for good or bad), what power or influence can it have for a chaplain? I suggest that it at least has *some* influence in the way fellow chaplains perceive, approach, and interact with me; their treatment of me as a Mormon is partly based on their academic training of the way Mormonism has been represented in the annals of American religious history—the focus of this project.

More importantly though, analyzing Mormonism in the context of American religious history has given me, a future chaplain,

the desire to treat fellow chaplains and troops not of my faith as American religious history has recently treated Mormonism—with accuracy, respect, and even awe. That I might do this throughout my career with people from a religious minority, majority, or no religion at all is my hope and determination.

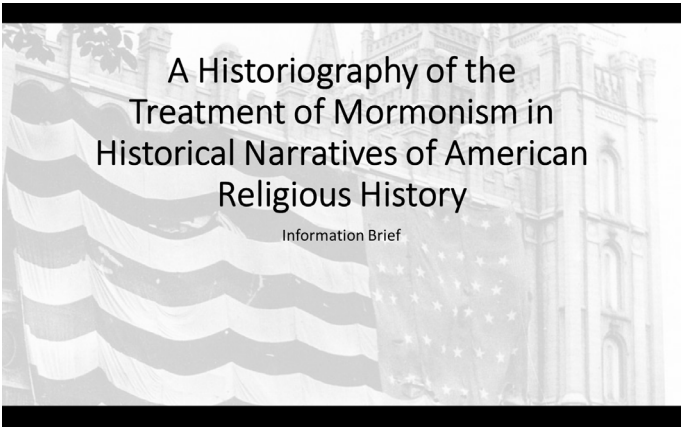
Information Brief: Historiography of Treatment of Mormonism in Historical Narratives of American Religious History

Preface to power point presentation use:

This information brief is for LDS military chaplains. The materials are formatted (information) via a power point presentation. It is specifically intended for LDS chaplains but can be used for any who are interested in the topic. As much as this historiography is for LDS chaplains though, it could also serve chaplains of other faith traditions as a case study for how understanding historical treatment of a religious minority group can affect present day relationships, judgments, perceptions, and unfairness towards religious groups.

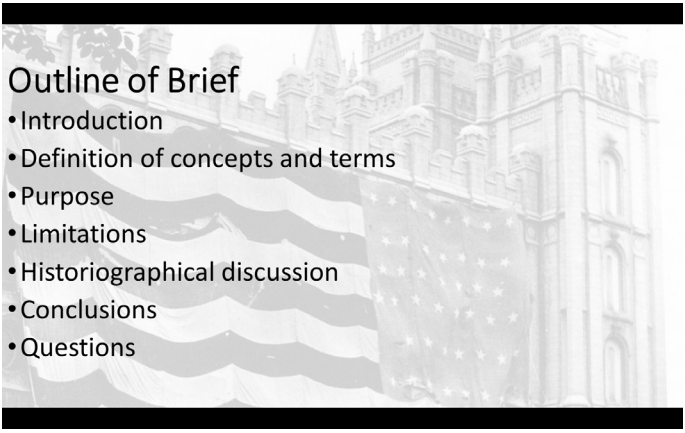
It is essential that chaplains using the power point presentation of this information brief be well versed in the limitations, resources, findings, implications, recommendations, and conclusion of this entire information brief. No additional research is necessary but reading this information brief in its entirety before giving it should suffice for a logical, rational, and engaging presentation. Questions, comments, and discussion will be much more fruitful if the presenter has studied the details of this brief beforehand.

Attached is the CD/DVD of this entire information brief and the actual power point presentation. The following is an example of how the brief could go. Notes and commentary are provided but not necessary to follow. Discretion is solely with the presenter to add or take away from any slides, notes, suggestions, or commentary.



Note: Use this slide to introduce yourself and make any administrative remarks before beginning

We are about to begin an information brief on A Historiography of the Treatment of Mormonism in Historical Narratives of American Religious History. Naturally, there will be questions on certain terminology. There will be a slide on definitions of terms used throughout this brief but feel free to ask questions or comment along the way, whenever you need clarification.



This will be the outline of the brief. We will first introduce this topic and then proceed to define certain key concepts. The overall purpose will then be given followed by a few limitations. I will then proceed to give a historiographical discussion will be the core of this brief. Each historical narrative will be briefly discussed followed by a summary time period and a historical explanation of why certain shifts occurred. Conclusions will be followed by any questions you might still have.

Introduction

- A historiographical review of thirteen historical narratives of American religious history from 1844 to 2010.
- Four major periods
- From being viewed as a pariah on the periphery to a crucial crucible in considering the full scope of American religious history —a total inclusion of Mormonism in the understanding of American religious history has ensued.

This slide is pretty self-explanatory but are there any questions?

Definition of Concepts and Terms

American Religious History

- A written history focusing on religion in America

Historiography

- A history of the way historians have written history

Historical Narrative

- Writing history in a chronological and comprehensive way

Mormonism

- An unofficial but common term for the doctrinal, institutional, cultural, and other elements forming The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

Scholar/Academician

- A research expert in a given academic field

The Church

- "The Church" identified in this brief is The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

(After reading the slide) Are there any questions or comments?

These terms will be used throughout this brief. If there are other terms that are confusing, please raise your hand and ask for clarification.

Purpose

Where often do non-LDS chaplains receive information about Mormonism?

- Because much of their information comes from their academic studies, this brief will help LDS chaplains understand that aspect of their peer groups' perception of them.

Why is this perception important?

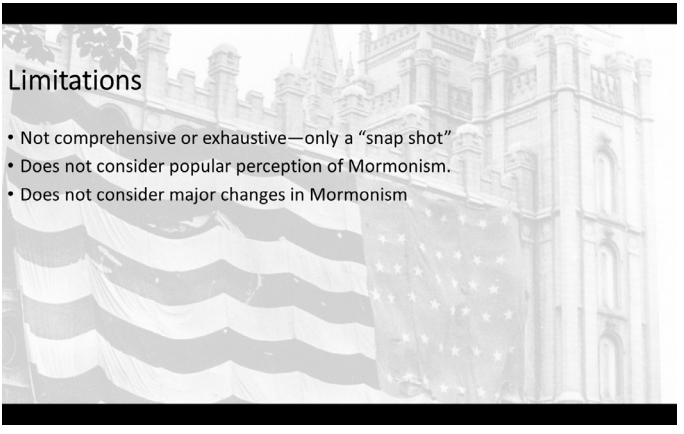
- Their perception of you is an important factor in building a relationship of trust with them—understanding your own history will help you bridge the gap that might preexist between you and them because of faulty historical treatment. At the same time it will help to solidify an already healthy perception because of positive historical treatment.

How will this brief help me in my ministry?

- Understanding historical treatment of Mormonism should help you to empathize, and thus be sensitive, towards other chaplains and people of other faith traditions that have experienced similar treatment
- Additionally, understanding the current academic interpretations of Mormonism will help you believe in and defend your faith in ways that are legitimized by experts in the field of American religious history.

Hopefully this overall purpose is enough to keep you engaged. As we go throughout this brief though, keep in mind that the purpose of any brief can ultimately only be determined by you. Additionally, the conclusions section will elaborate and expand the purposes of this brief.

How do you think this history can help you in your ministry? (field one or two comments)

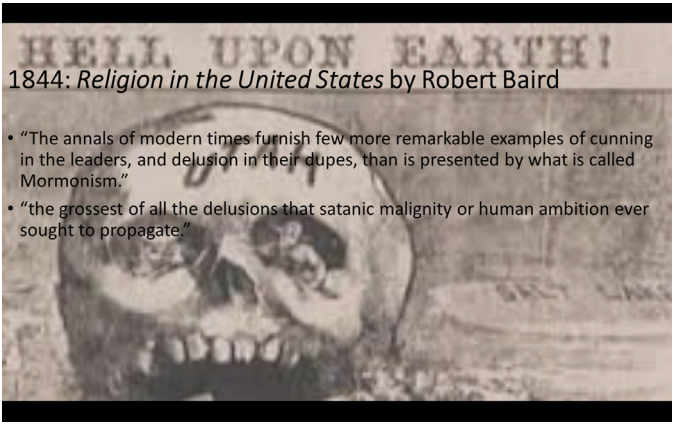


Every research project has its limitations and this brief is no exception. Though this is not a comprehensive brief, it does cover major elements of academia's opinion of Mormonism. Popular perception of Mormonism often converges with academic perception as well but they are different subjects nonetheless. Also, Mormonism has gone through its own evolution but even if it stayed the same, this brief could still account for the academic changes because it seems inevitable that American academic sentiment would have shifted regardless of the presence of Mormonism or not. Nevertheless, it is a limitation.

The following is a list of the thirteen historical narratives that will be evaluated in this historiography:

- 1844: *Religion in the United States* by Robert Baird
- 1856: *America: A Sketch of Its Political, Social, and Religious Character* by Philip Schaff
- 1888: *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement down to the Present Time* by Daniel Dorchester
- 1897: *A History of American Christianity* by Leonard Woolsey Bacon
- 1924: *The History of Religion in the United States* by Henry K. Rowe
- 1930: *The Story of religion in America* by William Warren Sweet
- 1946: *Religion in America* by Willard L. Sperry
- 1966: *A Religious History of America* by Edwin Scott Gaustad
- 1972: *A Religious History of the American People* by Sydney E. Ahlstrom
- 1984: *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* by Martin E. Marty
- 1992: *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* by Mark A. Noll
- 2000: *Religion in American Life: A Short History* by Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer
- 2010: *Religion in American History* Edited by Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan

Here is a list of the thirteen historical narratives we will discuss along with their historiographical implications. I will summarize each narrative by giving one or two sentences from each narrative as a way to give you a "taste" of the academic sentiment that existed towards Mormonism in each time period. Then I will proceed to give a summary of the overall time period that a group of narratives reflect. After each summary, I will explain the historical factors that contributed to each major shift in time regarding the changing treatment of Mormonism in American religious history. (any questions?)



Robert Baird's *Religion in the United States*[168], published in 1844, was the first historical narrative concerning religion in America. It was published just before the martyrdom of Joseph Smith, but to be sure, even though Baird makes some revisions in 1856, sympathy would not have any effect on his treatment of Mormonism or the Martyrdom. In his 1844 account, Baird looks forward to the "speedy annihilation" of Mormonism and predicts that "Smith and some others seem now marked out as objects on which the laws of the land must soon inflict summary justice. Their leaders are . . . atrocious impostors . . . . 'Joe Smith,' . . . will soon find that . . . his hope of founding a vast empire in the western hemisphere must soon vanish."[169] Baird was right in his prediction that "the laws of the land" would "inflict" Smith with "justice" (an ironic and gloomy prediction alluding to Joseph's brutal and unjust murder under the watch of the government) but he vastly underestimated (and thus falsely predicted) the potential and actuality of the empire of Mormonism that Brigham Young would build in the West—making Brigham, as prominent non-Mormon American historian John Turner illuminates in his new biography of Joseph's successor, "the greatest colonizer in American history."[170]

In his revised edition, Baird treats the martyrdom of Joseph Smith as a relief to the wider society and a deserved punishment by those whom he apparently oppressed: "At last Smith was killed by the hands of those whom he cruelly injured in their domestic relations."[171] Baird has no sympathy or respect for Mormonism—to make things worse, this prominent academic would be considered the authority of religion in America and his publications would be considered the "standard" for the next decade until 1855.[172]

Baird labels Mormonism as "un-evangelical" and places Mormonism in the back of his book as if to suggest that Mormons are not part of the fabric, chronology, or core of American religiosity. He ends his treatment of Mormonism with his hope that "the evil [Mormonism] has reached its apogee, and that the destruction of [its] community will, before very many years pass away, be effected by moral influences." The morality of Christian America (for which Mormonism had no part) would, according to Baird, wipe away the evil stain of Mormonism by one, destroying the Mormon community, and by two, erasing Mormonism's memory with "moral influences."[173]

In his original 1844 account, Baird begins his treatment of Mormonism with emphasizing Mormonism's place in modern religious history with an insult to Joseph Smith and the Latter-day Saints: "The annals of modern times furnish few more remarkable examples of cunning in the leaders, and delusion in their dupes, than is presented by what is called Mormonism."[174] Although Baird admires Joseph Smith's "ambitiousness," Smith is mostly noted as an "ignorant," "pretending," "concocting," "plastic," "vile," "abominable," "atrocious," "wicked," "deceiving," and "silly "impostor."[175]

Whatever source Baird uses (he cites none) has not given him

factual information. He reports that "the plates [have] of course been found (no, they were returned to the angel Moroni)" and that Joseph "took care, of course, that neither of them (the scribes Harris and Cowdery), nor anyone else should see the plates (no, we at least have the testimony of the three and eight witnesses of the plates)."[176] Baird's source material and his treatment of Joseph's revelations are questionable, to say the least. Besides giving readers inaccurate information regarding Joseph's revelations, Baird does not want to "trouble the reader with details respecting this absurdist of all pretended revelations from heaven" and so quickly reviews the short history of the Church's early movements from New York to Ohio to Missouri and finally to Illinois[177] leaving readers unsympathetic to any of the early Church's struggles, persecutions, and externally caused travails.[178]

To Baird, the only sympathy he is willing to grant is to the members of the Church—they are "weak-minded but well-meaning persons" who are misled by their leaders.[179] Unfortunately though, Baird concludes Mormons are "a body of ignorant dupes"—a people who cannot think for themselves and are prey to their predatorily leaders.[180] Robert Baird, the "founder" of American religious history, sums up Mormonism as "the grossest of all the delusions that satanic malignity or human ambition ever sought to propagate."[181]

After more than a decade after Robert Baird, Philip Schaff, "one of America's foremost church historians,"[182] published a historical narrative entitled *America: A Sketch of Its Political, Social, and Religious Character.*[183] Once again the section on Mormonism is left for the very last pages of his section entitled "The Churches and Sects."[184] He reluctantly covers Mormonism as he says:

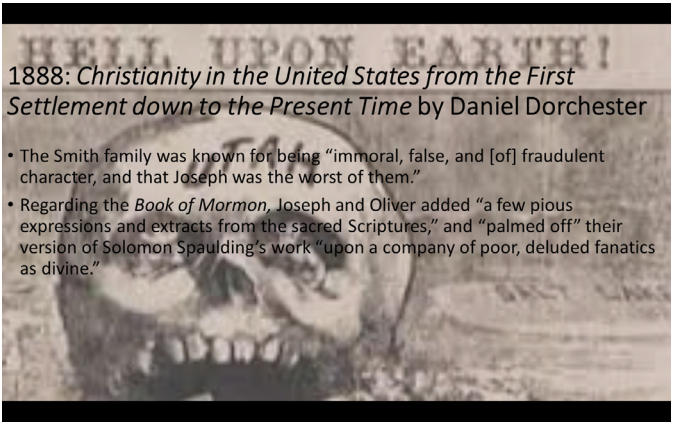
> I confess, I would fain pass over this sect in silence. It really lies out of the pale of Christianity and the church; for as to single corrupted elements of Christianity, these may be found even in Manicheism and Mohammedanism. . . . But by such silence I should disappoint expectations. For concerning nothing have I been more frequently asked in Germany, than concerning the primeval forests and the Mormons—the oldest and the newest products of America—as if it had nothing of greater interest and importance than these.[185]

Schaff only covers Mormonism, embarrassingly, to keep his German and international readers satisfied. To Schaff, only Manicheism (a heretical mixture of Christian, pagan, and Gnostic

religious beliefs[186]) and Mohammedanism (Islam—seen as heretical as well, especially in reference to their practice of polygamy) could compare to Mormonism's foreign and corrupt character.

Schaff refers to Joseph Smith as "Joe Smith, an uneducated but cunning Yankee,"[187] the leader of "a gang of shameless imposters and robbers."[188] This distinct sect, Schaff explains, is based on the "pretended . . . . corrupt Babel of nominal Christendom (referring to the *Book of Mormon*)" whose followers deserved the subsequent violent persecution they faced in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois which forcefully led them to Utah.[189] Utah's Mormonism—a "corruption of Christianity" Schaff warns, if admitted as an independent state, will "give Congress great trouble, and require its armed interference . . . . the Mormons and the Americans . . .do not fit together."[190] Because Mormons are on a "decidedly immoral and abominable track . . . Americans cannot be particularly blamed for wishing to be rid of such a pest."[191] Although Schaff reluctantly admits that among the Mormons there is "peace, harmony, and happiness," nevertheless he carefully observes, "the tares often grow much faster than the wheat"—a fitting biblical metaphor for American academic sentiment towards Mormonism.

Overall, writing to his international audience, Schaff calls Mormonism the "worst product of America,"[192] and concludes his treatment of Mormonism with a humble plea: "I must only beg, in the name of my adopted fatherland, that you will not judge America in any way by this irregular growth."[193]



Philip Schaff's historical narrative would stand as the authoritative text until 1888, when the renowned scholar Daniel Dorchester would publish his major work, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement down to the Present Time*.[194] Under the table of contents entitled "Divergent Currents," Mormonism is addressed last, as if to conclude this section of "divergence" with special emphasis. Still as anathema to American Christianity as ever, Dorchester spares no pains in his treatment of Mormonism.

Mormonism by this time, according to Baird and Schaff at least, was hoped to be completely eradicated. The fact that it wasn't but had grown immensely as a result of LDS missions (and polygamy) at home and abroad was as Schaff put it in 1856, "one of the unsolved riddles of the modern history of religion."[195] Dorchester nearly three decades later, tries to solve this riddle for the American reader by explaining the origins and progress of Mormonism—in his attempt, he further perpetuates, however, Mormonism as a "local ulcer" of "ecclesiastical despotism," "fraudulent dealings," and "wild excrescences."[196]

Dorchester explains Mormonism by attributing it to a cultural

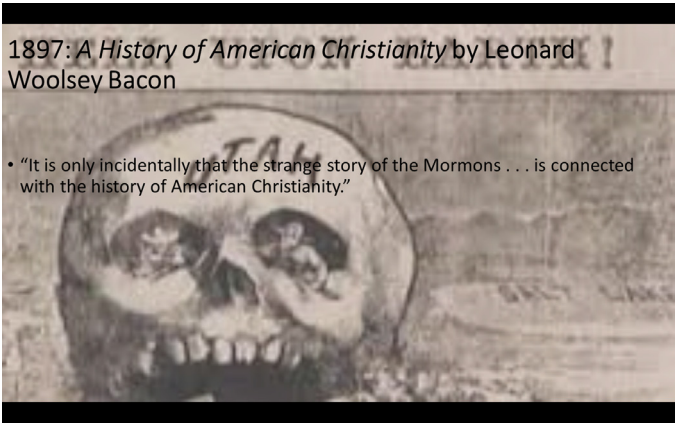
movement started in the late 1700's in Rutland County Vermont, where Lucy Mack Smith was from. His first sentence on Mormonism reads: "The earliest phases of Mormonism grew out of popular superstitions for a time quite prevalent among the more ignorant classes."[197] In beginning this way, readers are drawn to Mormonism as a superstitious, non-Christian *culture* (not religion) for ignoramuses. A certain nefarious counterfeiter and escaped prisoner named Wingate was the leader of this pre-Mormon movement whose followers believed in magic divining rods, roots and herbs as hallucinating healing agents, and the "New Jerusalem" being in America.[198]

Not just Joseph's mother, but also Sidney Rigdon was influenced by this Vermont conman's secret society which eventually culminated in "'Joe Smith' and his 'Golden Bible,' [being] found 'while hunting for minerals' with his 'rod.'"[199] Dorchester describes Joseph as "avoiding honest labor," "intemperate and untruthful, and [was] commonly suspected of sheep-stealing and other offenses."[200] The Smith family was apparently known for being "immoral, false, and [of] fraudulent character, and that Joseph was the worst of them."[201] Additionally, Joseph was poorly educated and could not possibly have been the author of the *Book of Mormon,* therefore, Dorchester recounts, origins of this fraudulent book is of Solomon Spalding, a Dartmouth College graduate who produced the original manuscripts in the early 1800's just before his death. Dorchester quotes Spalding's widow that Sidney Rigdon copied the manuscript, with Joseph and Oliver Cowdery adding "a few pious expressions and extracts from the sacred Scriptures," and subsequently "palmed off" their version of her husband's literary work of an ancient race "upon a company of poor, deluded fanatics as divine."[202]

To Dorchester, Joseph was guilty of mischief, plundering, house and press burning, and even secret assassinations. His death in

Carthage and eventually the expulsion of the Saints from Nauvoo were all natural results of a leader and sect that needed to be driven out for the common good.[203]

In the 1880's however, Mormonism, under Brigham Young had colonized much of the West and fear of the "Mormon Problem" (Mormon theocracy, polygamy, open canon, temple worship, "secret oaths," and economic communalism) was felt by most concerned Protestant Americans.[204] Dorchester recounts the efforts and successes of several denominational evangelizing missions to Utah and its surrounding Mormon colonies and territories to curtail any reader anxiety concerning the rapid growth of Mormonism.[205] On the last page of his historical narrative, Daniel Dorchester's hope for American Christian progress could not be hindered by the malignant minority of Mormonism because faithful Protestant proselytizing would ensure that this "local ulcer . . . [could] have no sure lease on the future."[206]

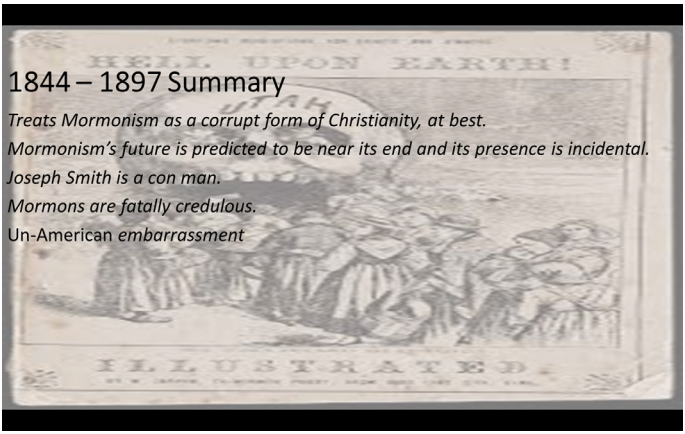


About a decade later, Leonard Bacon would publish the last history on American religion from the 19th century and would hold on to the hope that Dorchester and others had of the final ending of Mormonism through Protestant missionary efforts.[207] He is extremely polemical and mentions after his account of Mormonism that only "active and fruitful missionary labors" among the Mormons will slow the tide of this "body of fanatics . . . handled at will by unscrupulous chiefs."[208] Bacon seems to reflect the sentiment of the entire century's academics as he sums up Mormonism in one paragraph devoted to Mormonism—the only paragraph in his 420 page history. The following are a few sentences from the beginning and last sentence of Bacon's one-paragraph treatment of Mormonism:

> Mormonism is . . . a system of gross, palpable imposture contrived by a disreputable adventurer, Joe Smith, with the aid of three confederates, who afterward confessed the fraud and perjury of which they had been guilty. It is a shame to human nature that the silly lies put forth by this precious gang should have found believers. But the solemn pretensions to divine revelation, mixed with elements borrowed from the prevalent revivalism, and from the immediate-adventism which so easily captivates excitable imaginations, drew a number of honest dupes into the train of the knavish leaders, and made possible the pitiable history which followed. . . . It is only incidentally that the strange story of the Mormons, a story singularly dramatic and sometimes tragic, is connected with the history of American Christianity.[209]

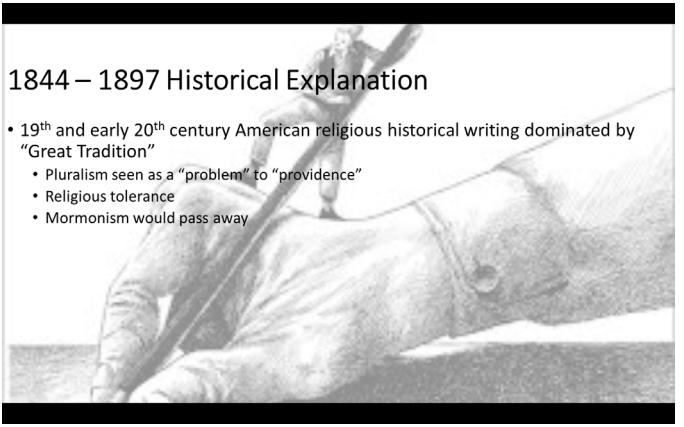
Bacon seems to borrow from the same rhetorical reporting as his predecessors, Baird, Schaff, and Dorchester in his negative, polarizing, and misleading treatment of Mormonism.

Bacon positions Mormonism in the context of his chapter on immigration, not the Second Great Awakening. In other words, Mormonism, once again, is not treated as part of the chronological or comprehensive story of religion in America, but as a side-show or mere anecdotal anomaly. Bacon does not consider Mormonism part of the core fiber of Christianity and only makes mention of it because he is reporting on European immigrants who joined, in large numbers, American society for religious purposes. If it weren't for the immigration factor, it is plausibly doubtful Bacon would have treated Mormonism at all as he mentions in his last sentence that it is only "incidental" that Mormonism is connected with the history of religion in America.



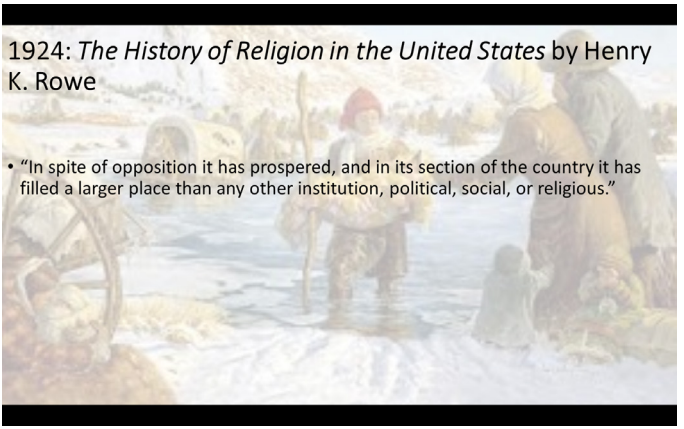
1844 – 1897 *treats Mormonism as a corrupt form of Christianity, at best. Mormonism's future is predicted to be near its end and its presence is mere coincidence. Joseph Smith is a con man. Mormon theology is satanic or stupid. Mormons are fatally credulous. Americans are embarrassed to be associated with Mormonism both domestically and internationally. The Book of Mormon is plagiarism and Mormonism is dangerous to democracy. Tragedies*

in Mormon history are a relief to society.



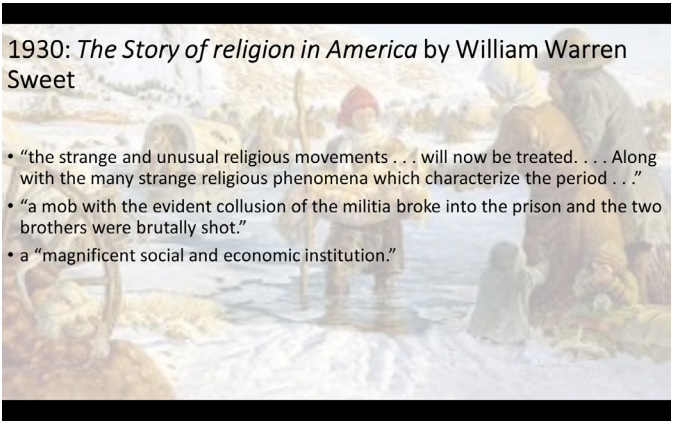
The 19th century and early 20th century of American religious history writing was dominated by Protestants; historians have since called this period "The Great Tradition of American Religious History," which is the "providential view" of Protestant America predicting that "mainline" churches (Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Quaker, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Reformed and United Churches, and the Moravian Brethren) would bring about a unified Christian America. Diversity, in the form of Mormonism and other "fringe" movements was a "problem." Though "religious tolerance" was an American principle it seemed to only apply to "mainline" churches. Each 19th century American religious historian held strong to the "prophecy" that "God's plan was to impose a rough unity on the Protestant churches of the United States and make them a world-redeeming force." Through evangelization, Protestantism would tame Mormonism and others like them. Mormons "were curiosities of a passing and not [a] very important phase of national growth." To ridicule them, wish and attempt to execute their demise, be disgusted with their peculiarities, and

treat them as outsiders were all part of this Protestant paradigm.[210] Through this framework of writing American religious history, it is no wonder several historians of this period were frustrated and puzzled with the development and growth of Mormonism.[211]



The 20th century's first historical narrative was written by Henry Rowe and was quickly replaced by William Warren Sweet's history in 1930 but it is worth mentioning as it represents a significant gap in history. Like Bacon though, Rowe only reserves a paragraph for Mormonism but unlike Bacon, Rowe does place Mormonism—and he is the first to do this—in the proper historical context of the Second Great Awakening. Mormonism, however, is considered manipulative as Rowe reports that Mormonism "play[s] upon the religious credulity of its adherents, it was able to foist polygamy upon them as a part of a revealed ecclesiastical and social system."[212] Rowe emphasizes Mormonism's stereotypical "manipulative" character here and though he is significantly friendlier towards the Church compared to past historians when he acknowledges that the Church has been economically successful on their own terms, he still admits that Mormonism is to be frowned upon: "As an

immoral propaganda it has been condemned by the social mind of America; as an alien religion based on a fraud it has been hated by the churches; as an ambitious state within a state it has been feared by patriots."[213] Still, despite his negativity, his last sentence gives a nod to Mormonism's permanent presence as an acknowledged part of American prosperity and colonization in the West—an acknowledgment that his predecessors could not, and would not do; their hope was that Mormonism would end with greater missionary efforts and that Protestants would fill the Mormons place in society, but as Rowe simply points out, Mormonism was not going anywhere: "In spite of opposition it has prospered, and in its section of the country it has filled a larger place than any other institution, political, social, or religious."[214]



Sweet in *The Story of Religion in America* puts Mormonism in the chapter entitled "Religion in the Restless Thirties and Forties" and prefaces his treatment of Mormonism with "the strange and unusual religious movements . . . will now be treated. . . . Along with the many strange religious phenomena which characterize the period . . ."[215] So although Sweet's treatment of Mormonism avoids the polemics of the 19th century, he still places Mormonism outside the

"big stream of American religion" warning and bracing his readers that they are in for a "strange," "unusual," and "restless" study of religion in America epitomized by Mormonism.[216] With that said though, Sweet's treatment of Mormonism is still more objective than any other historian before him—it seems however, that the early 20th century still held certain opinions of Mormonism as strange and unusual that would not be shaken any time soon.

He reviews the historical context of upstate New York's spirit of revivalism and places Mormonism's birth as a result of the "rather unsavory" mingling of an intelligent and industrious class of people—this inevitably led to a "peculiar psychological character to the people, producing on the one hand, sane and progressive social movements, and, on the other, tendencies toward fanaticism."[217] Originating from this cultural and spiritual milieu was the "greatest [spiritualistic movement] of them all"—Mormonism.[218]

Sweet then accurately recounts Joseph Smith's upbringing and the bringing forth of the *The Book of Mormon.* He does not make ridiculing remarks towards Joseph's visions, revelations, and process of translating; he simply reports the content and context of them both. He then reviews the controversies of the origins of *The Book of Mormon* by recounting the Solomon Spaulding theory, which Dorchester previously held to be uncontestably true. The impressive thing is his next line: "But whatever the origin of the Book of Mormon, the Prophet Joseph and his new revelation were soon accepted as genuine by numerous followers."[219] Instead of making a moral judgment call like previous historians, Sweet simply reports the facts without inflating the "strangeness" of it.

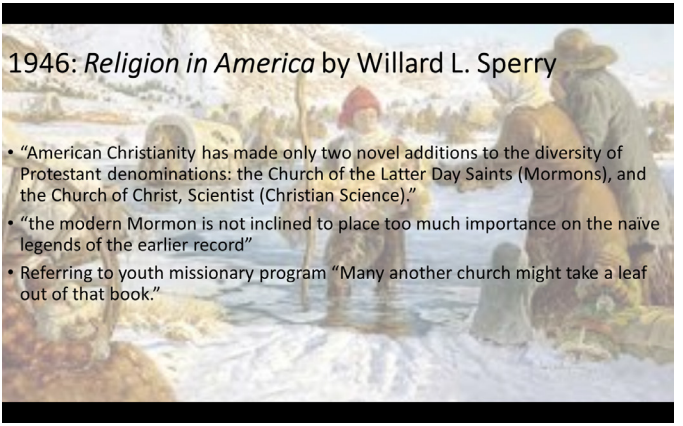
A slight shift, however, occurs as Sweet's next few paragraphs on Mormonism contain some incomplete reporting and reductionist conclusions. He reduces the exodus from Ohio to Missouri as a

result of Joseph Smith's "violation of the law against unchartered banks" when in fact it was much more "two-sided" than Sweet makes it to be.[220] Additionally, Sweet reports the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri as a result of Joseph's revelations, Sidney Rigdon's speech which caused "trouble," and a "war of extermination."[221] While there is a basis to Sweet's point, the story of the Saints' troubles in Missouri is much more complex. Sweet in his treatment of Mormonism emphasizes that conflict, war, and expulsion were mutual, with the Mormons mostly at fault—yet Sweet makes no mention of the Hawn's Mill Massacre, Joseph's numerous false arrests, or the extermination order issued by Governor Lilburn Boggs—all historical facts that demonstrate the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri was serious and often-violent violation of Church members' rights.[222]

As was said earlier however, Sweet's treatment of Mormonism during the Nauvoo period is balanced and fair as he caps his report with the Martyrdom: "Here on the night of the twenty-seventh of June, 1844, a mob with the evident collusion of the militia broke into the prison and the two brothers were brutally shot."[223] The accuracy and especially the tone in this report is vastly different from Robert Baird's reporting of the Martyrdom—Sweet reports not just the mob action but the collusion of the state while Baird reports the Martyrdom as a deserved punishment for despotism.[224]

Sweet ends his generally fair treatment of Mormonism with the trek towards and colonization of the West in which he praises the Church as a "magnificent social and economic institution."[225] He does not however, and this is an important distinction, praise the Church as an *American religious* institution. More will be said on this distinction later but Sweet, in his praise for the Church as a social and economic colonizing institution, is merely reflecting the scholarship of his day in praising a society that civilized the frontier

and embraced American expansionism.[226] Praise for the Church as a *religious* institution and especially as fundamentally *American* will not come until the end of World War II.



Just after the end of World War II, Dean Sperry of the Harvard Divinity School, published his written history of religion in America for a British audience.[227] Following the trend set by Sweet to be more academic in approach, Sperry gets his sources from the Church itself. After recounting a brief history of the major movements of Church history and a basic review of LDS theology, Sperry admits that he received official statements from the Church but cautioned critics that "it is only fair to say that disinterested visitors to Utah find the text faithful to the fact;" this disclaimer adds a measure of objectivity and validity to his treatment of Mormonism.

The most interesting aspect of Sperry's treatment of Mormonism is his preface. Writing to a British audience he posits that "American Christianity has made only two novel additions to the diversity of Protestant denominations: the Church of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons), and the Church of Christ, Scientist (Christian Science)." The first observation from this preface is

that Sperry refers to the Church as part of American Christianity (which is refreshing, to say the least), but specifically, he claims that Mormonism is one of only two Christian sects that are unique to *American* Christianity. Sperry then introduces Mormonism in a similar way: "the history of the Latter Day Saints has become one of the more romantic and perhaps characteristic chapters of American life."[228] The distinction that Sperry makes to point out the *American*-ness of Mormonism and to posit that Mormonism is "*characteristic*" of American life is unique because it totally reverses the trend of labeling and placing Mormonism as a perverted and twisted outgrowth of Christianity and acknowledges it as a uniquely American institution.

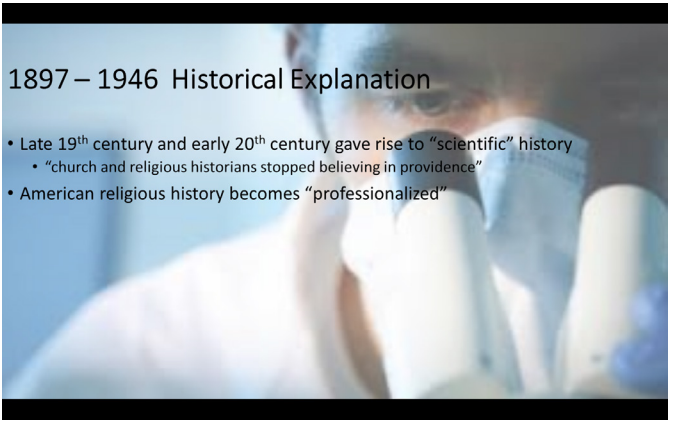
After reviewing Mormon history, theology, and the Church's welfare system with accuracy and even some praise, Sperry makes one last note. Referring to the Church's practice of sending out the youth as missionaries, Sperry concludes his treatment of Mormonism with, "Many another church might take a leaf out of that book."[229] To encourage a domestic and international audience to emulate an aspect of the Church is change indeed.

However, one common element that Sperry has with his predecessors is condescension. Though the condemnation has nearly ceased in the 20th century, Sperry still holds Mormon mythology as somewhat childish and ridiculous. Instead of allowing Mormonism's beliefs to stand alone and its believers to accept their truth claims as legitimate faith claims, Sperry like others before him, qualifies each claim with the preface "*professed* to have had heavenly visitations . . . . He *claimed* also 'to have received historical records on golden plates.'" This subtle prefacing patronizes the saints' beliefs and when Sperry concludes Mormon mythology with "the *modern* Mormon is not inclined to place too much importance on the *naïve legends* of the earlier record,"

he is really not giving due respect to *any* Mormon who happens to believe in the "professed," "claimed," and "naïve legends" of Mormonism.[230] Despite the praise and accuracy Sperry gives Mormonism and his position that it epitomizes the uniquely American Christian experience, Mormonism is still considered strange, weird, superstitious, naive, and even a little embarrassing. As an academic seriously reviewing all religious beliefs and practices of American religiosity, Sperry does not show credence but incredulousness.[231]

1897 – 1946 *treats Mormonism as a historic movement during the Second Great Awakening but a strange one at that. Moral judgments of condemnation are significantly reduced. Mormonism is enigmatic and unbelievable but nevertheless a force to be reckoned with. Americans should have sympathy in regards to tragedies committed against them; nevertheless, Mormons are at least partly to blame considering their disposition to be provocative. However, Mormons do hold a special place in American history as a religion that was uniquely born in America and a major contributor to colonizing the West. Mormonism does have some redeeming*

qualities to emulate.

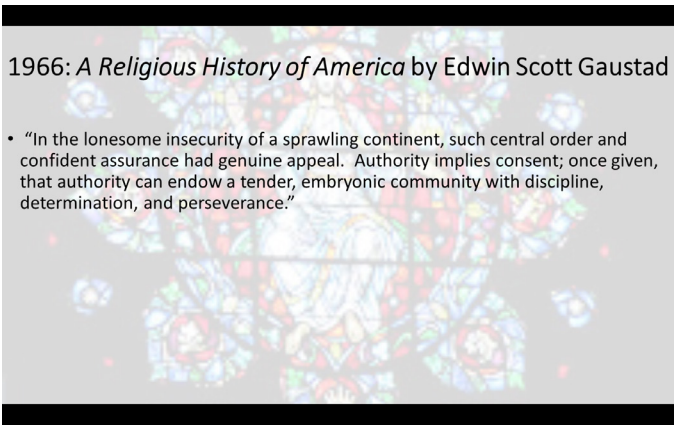


In the late 19th century and early 20th century, the rise of "scientific" history made it so "church and religious historians stopped believing in providence." This movement of historical writing could not "make transcendent forces responsible for the things that happened in the past." Religion was downplayed in this period and historians tried to remain "objective," though this seemed hard to do as many historians in this period still viewed Mormonism as a nuisance to society. Nevertheless, the attempt was made by such pioneers as William Warren Sweet to be objective and scientific.[232]

William Warren Sweet's historical narrative, written in 1930, was the first history of American religion written by a professional historian with a focus on American religious history. William Warren Sweet was a professor at the University of Chicago in history; although he maintains a Protestant-centric tone, Sweet attempts to deliver a more "academic," even a "scientific" account of American religion as opposed to having an obvious "evangelizing" tone of Protestant approval or condemnation of other religions.[233]

In fact, Sweet was "known during his generation as the 'Dean of American Church Historians,'" and was the founder of "establishing American religious history as a field of academic study."[234]

Although Sweet (and others) attempts to be more "scientific" in his approach to religion and Mormonism, he still treats Mormonism as an "appendix" to his history of religion—to Sweet, Mormonism is acknowledged as a historically accountable religion, but still "strange."[235] Likewise, Sperry treats Mormonism as part of the fabric of the Second Great Awakening but still condescendingly treats Church beliefs as "naïve."[236]

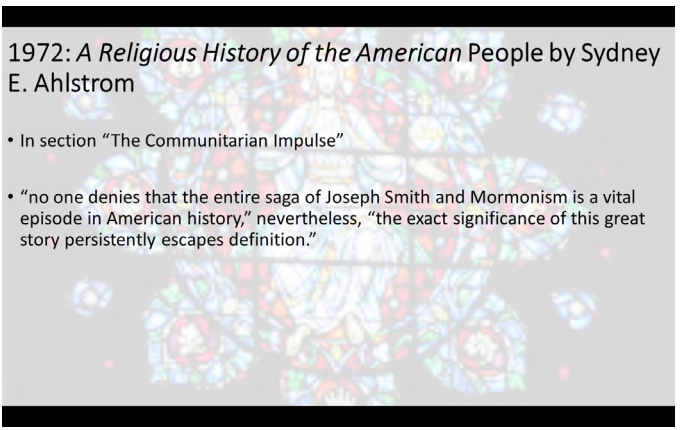


The 1950's did not furnish one single historical narrative of American religion but the 1960's produced five major works.[237] Gaustad's written history was and is regarded as an authoritative representative of that time and a solid survey of American religious history.[238] It has been reprinted and revised numerous times and is still used today in college classrooms.[239]

Not only did the 60's break the silence of the 50's, it also broke the historical precedence of treating Mormon beliefs and practices as silly. Unlike others before him who paint Latter-day

Saints as ignorant, naïve, and blind followers of an autocratic theocrat (presumably the Prophet), Gaustad ends his treatment of Mormonism with admiration: "In the lonesome insecurity of a sprawling continent, such central order and confident assurance had genuine appeal. Authority implies consent; once given, that authority can endow a tender, embryonic community with discipline, determination, and perseverance."[240]

Gaustad mainly focuses on Mormonism's success as a utopian society as he puts Mormonism under the section "Utopianism." Furthermore, like others before him, Gaustad places Mormonism in its historical and regional context by reviewing Mormonism in his chapter entitled "Freedom and the Frontier," positioning Mormonism as a result of what happens when there is radical religious freedom and unfettered geographical space to live it out. He is sympathetic and friendly towards the Matyrdom, the Mormon trek West, and the Church's missionary efforts.[241]



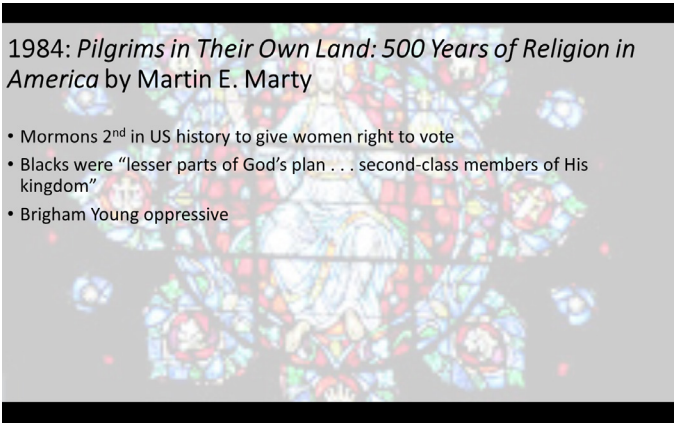
This survey of religious history in American religion contains significant coverage of Mormonism.[242] Ahlstrom gives reason for this: "For the drama in its story no less than for its revelations of

the American religious character, Mormonism deserves far more extensive and intensive consideration than any of its contemporary parallels."[243] Ahlstrom places, like Gaustad did, in his section entitled "The Communitarian Impulse"—a fascinating section, but Mormonism still doesn't seem to fit in with the mainstream Protestant storyline—Ahlstrom's leading plot.[244] Picking up on Sperry's position that Mormonism not only was uniquely "made in America," but actually *reflected* the character of American religiosity in its revelations and history, once again, is a stark contrast from any 19th and early 20th century histories.[245]

Unlike Sperry however, instead of using official statements furnished by the Church in reporting Church history and theology, Ahlstrom relies heavily on Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History,* which is a controversial interpretative reflection of Joseph Smith and the Church.[246] However controversial Fawn Brodie's biography is though, Ahlstrom's use of her insights into Joseph and the Church do paint a more positive picture of Mormonism. Where 19th century historians like Baird, Schaff, and Bacon refer to Mormons under Joseph's leadership as delusional dupes conned by an impostor, Schaff quotes from Brodie that Mormonism is "a real religious creation, one intended to be to Christianity what Christianity was to Judaism: that is, a reform and a consummation."[247] Where Dorchester posits the Solomon Spaulding theory of the Book of Mormon as fact, Ahlstrom emphatically refutes that fabrication theory as "farfetched."[248] Ahlstrom, once again, employs Brodie to explain the Book of Mormon's origins as a reflection of 19th century American cultural and spiritual tension that Joseph did not create (because he was incapable of such magnificent a creation due to his rudimentary education) out of pure genius but out of a complex psychological "openness" to the religious needs of the time.[249] Though this theory can be disputed as well as the

Spaulding theory, Ahlstrom's emphasis that the Book of Mormon is a psychologically motivated religious innovation is, nevertheless, better than calling it plagiarism. In this regard, though it is more positive than many of its predecessors, it nevertheless does not represent the Church in the way the Church would represent itself.

Additionally, Ahlstrom does not explain *how* Mormonism's revelations and history reflect American religiosity. He ends his treatment of Mormonism puzzled. While he acknowledges that "no one denies that the entire saga of Joseph Smith and Mormonism is a vital episode in American history," nevertheless, "the exact significance of this great story persistently escapes definition." Referring to the complexity of explaining how Mormonism fits into the fabric of American Christianity, Ahlstrom admits that "contradictory interpretations [are] inescapably felt by every historian . . . . the movement yields innumerable clues to the religious and social consciousness of the American people" but the complexities of Mormonism "renders almost useless the usual categories of explanation."[250] Ultimately, it seems Ahlstrom leaves the explanation of how Mormonism represents American religion as a charge for future historians to figure out.



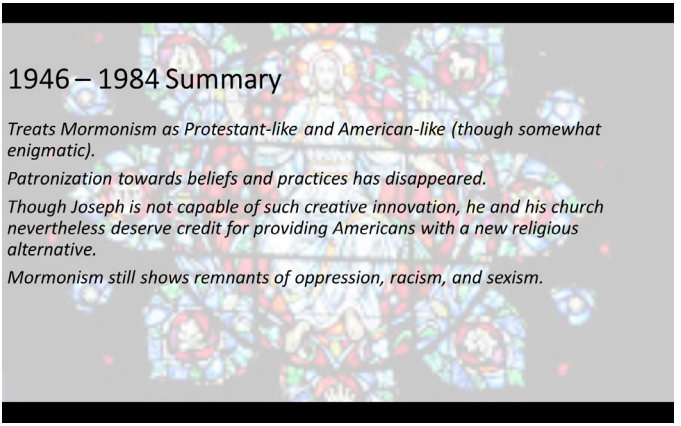
From the 80's, Martin Marty's written history of religion in America is considered a "standard."[251] A decade after Ahlstrom's written history, Martin Marty would write his own and would be the first American religious historian to include in his narrative aspects of Mormonism that were neglected in past accounts. Besides polygamy, earlier historians, unlike what Marty does, did not mention the women's suffrage movement, race and the Priesthood, or the Utah War.[252]

However, the context in which Marty mentions these events is highly negative. Marty mentions that Utah was the second US territory to allow women to vote in 1870, but the reason for their suffrage was to discriminate against "gentiles"—while there is some truth to this, discrimination was certainly not the reason LDS women were allowed to vote.[253] For blacks and the Priesthood, Marty says that they were "lesser parts of God's plan . . . second-class members of His kingdom"—a reductionist statement not considering the complex facts.[254] In regards to the Utah War, Marty is a little friendlier than outright anti-Mormon sentiment but still he chose sources that depict Brigham Young as an apathetic despot; in regards

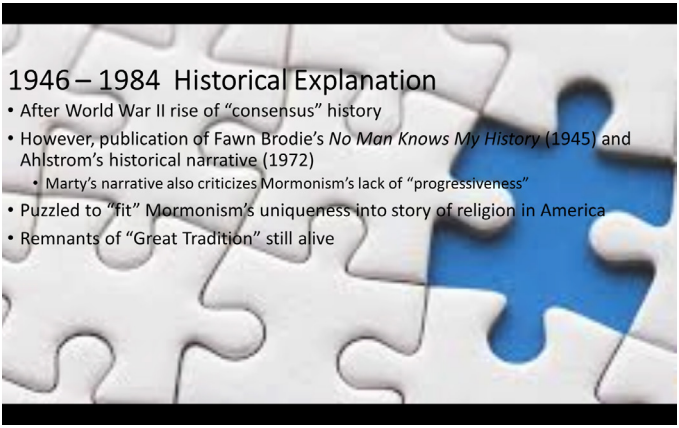
to the Martin and Willy handcart company tragedies.[255] Marty reports: "As news came back from the trail, the nation called Young a murderer of the many scores who died. He wrote off their deaths. 'It is the will of the Lord' was the head Mormon's conclusion."[256]

The reason for the negative tone of these events can be found in Marty's bibliography. His main source for the Brigham Young years of the Church (the time these events occurred in) is Stanley P. Hirshson's *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young*—source material that even Marty, in his bibliography admits is "flawed."[257] According to Leonard Arrington, a respected historian of Mormon history by Mormons and non-Mormons alike, Hirshson's biography is "based on hearsay, rather than on the kind of hard evidence that the scholar unearths by his diligence and insight in working through primary sources,"—most of Hirshon's sources are from east coast newspapers and he did not use one primary source from any of the publicly accessible Church Archives, a flaw that no graduate student or PhD dissertation could get away with Arrington says, let alone a professional scholar in the field.[258] Why Marty chose such a biography as basis for his narrative is puzzling. At the very least, Marty gives voice to the slanted views many Americans would have held about Brigham Young and his nineteenth-century flock.

One positive contribution to the field that Marty makes in regards to his treatment of Mormonism is in his index. His was the first to index Mormonism under "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons)" instead of the usual alphabetical placement under "Mormonism" that most scholars index the Church under. Although much of Marty's content is based off of questionable sources, he does show proper respect in his index for the Church's official name—something his predecessors did not do.



1946 – 1984 *treats Mormonism as Protestant-like and American-like (though somewhat unexplainable) but with communitarian impulses that marvelously have survived while other communitarian societies have withered and died. Patronization towards beliefs and practices has all but disappeared. Mormonism deserves sympathy, friendship, and many of its beliefs and practices are admirable. Mormonism is a psychologically creative religious alternative. It reflects the American religious character of being free and open to cultural and spiritual phenomenon. Though Joseph is not capable of such innovation, he and his church nevertheless deserve undue credit for providing Americans with spiritually pleasing theology, giving women the right to vote early, and braving persecution with dignity. However, Mormonism's motives are not trustworthy as they show remnants of oppression, racism, and still, to a large degree, sexism.*



After World War II, the rise of "consensus" history marked religion as "an essential part of the national identity and a key element to the hostility toward communism."[259] It is no wonder then that during this time Mormonism was seen as an American religious institution laden with sympathy, friendship, and admiration towards certain beliefs and practices. Nevertheless, with the publication of Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History* (1945) and Ahlstrom's historical narrative (1972), which borrows heavily from Brodie, Mormonism is still seen as a "strange" by product of early American revivalism.[260] Through "consensus" history, Ahlstrom and others make Mormonism part of American society but somehow, they cannot explain how Mormonism is especially significant to American religiosity: "no one denies that the entire saga of Joseph Smith and Mormonism is a vital episode in American history," nevertheless, "the exact significance of this great story persistently escapes definition."[261] This era ended "The Great Tradition" of Protestant polarization of Mormonism but it still did not have a framework to "fit" Mormonism's unique *American*-ness and *religious*-ness harmoniously into the story of religion in America.[262]

1992: *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* by Mark A. Noll

- "Smith's religion drew on themes prominent in the early national period, including a republican conception of world order and a democratic belief in the ability of common people to grasp religious truth. Even more than this, Mormonism represented a new religious movement, dependent upon the traditions of Jews and Christians but also . . . transcending these traditions. Thus, the *Book of Mormon* presupposed the Judeo-Christian Scriptures but constituted an addition to the canon. His followers viewed Joseph Smith as a new oracle who reenacted the deeds of prophets in past times. . . . The result was a religious movement that arose out of specific conditions in the early national period but that also laid the foundation for the worldwide movement that Mormonism has since become."

Nearly a decade after Marty's historical narrative, Mark Noll, renowned professor of history at Notre Dame published his history of American religion.[263]

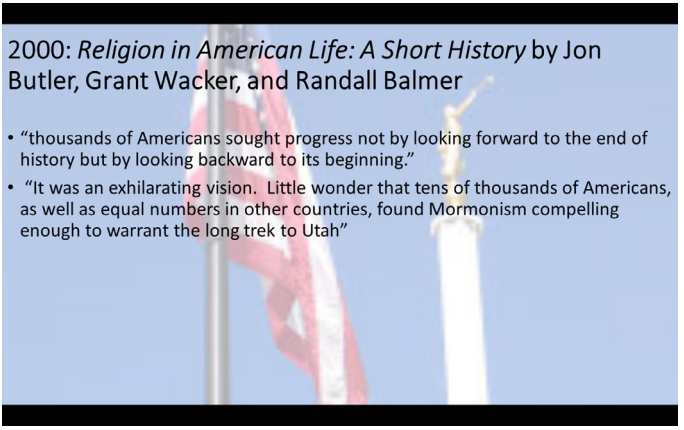
Noll places Mormons in chapter 8 entitled "Outsiders" but, unlike Baird who places Mormons in his chapter entitled "Unevangelicals," not only does Noll not treat Mormons as outsiders but places them under section III entitled "The 'Protestant Century"'—connoting a different message than it denotes. Noll positions Mormons the way the Church was treated in the 19th century (as outsiders) but he reassures readers that though Mormons "managed to create substantially different patterns [of Protestantism] . . . these patterns drew on themes from the history of Christianity or the history of the United States shared by insider groups [mainstream Protestantism]."[264] Meaning, Noll acknowledges the distinction of Mormonism, but explains it in a way that reveals Mormonism as a natural branch of Christianity's multi-denominational evolution (not necessarily a natural branch of traditional Christianity) and American historical context, not, as Dorchester personified Mormonism, a "wild excrescence."[265]

Noll reviews Joseph's family as "intensely religious," "spiritual seeker[s]," and heavily influenced by their surroundings—the "burned-over district"—aka upstate New York—during the Second Great Awakening. This especially intense religious revival and reform period in American history had its epicenter in and near Joseph's neighborhood.[266] Noll, both friendly and objective, explains Mormonism in a way that "fits" American Christian history but also how Mormonism really "transcends" the traditional context, making Mormonism capable of acceptability to a worldwide audience:

> Smith's religion drew on themes prominent in the early national period, including a republican conception of world order and a democratic belief in the ability of common people to grasp religious truth. Even more than this, Mormonism represented a new religious movement, dependent upon the traditions of Jews and Christians but also . . . transcending these traditions. Thus, the *Book of Mormon* presupposed the Judeo-Christian Scriptures but constituted an addition to the canon. His followers viewed Joseph Smith as a new oracle who reenacted the deeds of prophets in past times. . . . The result was a religious movement that arose out of specific conditions in the early national period but that also laid the foundation for the worldwide movement that Mormonism has since become.[267]

This succinct but insightful treatment of Mormonism suggests that perhaps the 1990's is the decade that Mormonism, at least in the context of American religious historical narratives, finally comes out of obscurity and is seen in it's true light as a legitimate American (and even international) religious movement. Noll doesn't explain in detail how this comes to be (perhaps it needs much more room

than a general survey text allows for) but he explains *enough*—better than any of his predecessors' attempts—for readers to grasp the main idea that Mormonism is not an unexplainable enigma but fits naturally with the American religious historical context.



A new millennium would bring new life into the treatment of Mormonism as these leading scholars from Yale, Duke, and Dartmouth would have Oxford University Press, the "gold standard," publish their historical narrative of American religion.[268] Grant Wacker, Professor of Christian History at Duke University, treats Mormonism much more extensive and comprehensive than Noll before him. He reviews Mormon history from its beginnings in New York until its settlement in the Salt Lake Valley.

Wacker begins his treatment of Mormonism with Joseph Smith's parents. Insightfully, he attributes Joseph's "uncertainty about the current religious choices," as an "inheritance" he receives from his parents' uncertainty. But unlike Joseph Sr. who was "freethinking" but not "too sure about his unbelief" and Lucy Mack, who was "Presbyterian, but . . . unclear of her commitments," Joseph, "more than either of them . . . determined to settle the truth

for himself."[269] Wacker doesn't make Joseph, like Brodie/Ahlstrom do, to be the accidental the creator of Mormonism. His conclusion of how Joseph created Mormonism is to take Joseph's word for it. He simply tells the story of how Joseph was curious about religion, an attribute he naturally inherits from his parents, and then proceeds to tell *Joseph's* story of how his heavenly Parent, supernaturally answered young Joseph's question.

Wacker then inserts, verbatim, Moroni's visit, as found in the Church's *Pearl of Great Price,* regarding the origins of the *Book of Mormon*. He doesn't speculate like others before him try to do, he simply admits, "It is hard to know how to account for the *Book of Mormon's* origin or its success . . . Whatever one believed about the authorship of the book, the volume clearly offered answers to questions people of the 1830's were asking . . . . Above all, it helped believers see America itself as a uniquely chosen place, for God had selected Americans to serve as the carriers of a restored gospel."[270] This type of treatment Wacker offers Mormonism is fair and reflective of how Mormon's view themselves. Additionally, it presents Mormonism as a legitimate religious option and explains *why* many Christians in America were willing to join the Church.

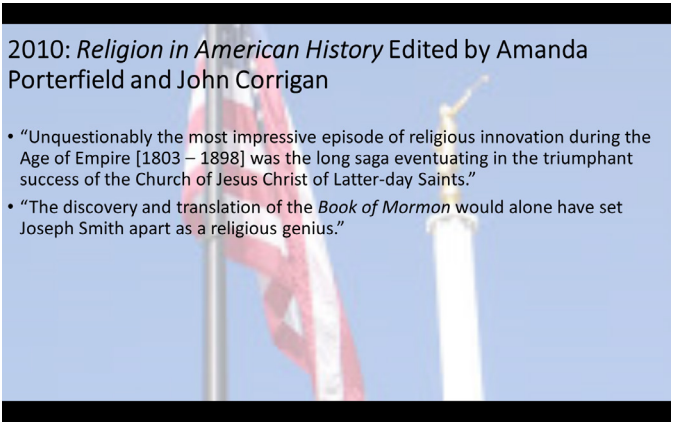
Wacker places Mormonism in chapter eleven entitled "Restorers of Ancient Ways," and as such, emphasizes how the Church was the epitome of an American Christian impulse to restore—not just New Testament Christianity embodied by Barton Stone's "Christians" and Alexander Campbell's "Disciples of Christ"—but Wacker explains that Mormons wanted to restore:

> the perfect order . . . in both the Old and the New Testaments . . . . They saw themselves not simply copying the ancient Israelites and Christians, but *re-creating* both the Old Testament Israelites and the New

Testament Christians in the modern world.[271]

Once again, as Noll did in the 90's and Sperry and Ahlstrom tried to do in their respective narratives, Wacker explains Mormonism by contextualizing its perpetuation as a result of "*thousands* of Americans [seeking] progress not by looking forward to the end of history but by looking backward to its beginning."[272] The tone of Wacker and Noll is that Mormonism is normal, natural, and even popular, at least popular in the sense that Mormonism is not just for the few "dupes," as Baird and company call them, but that *thousands* of Americans flocked to Mormonism and that it made sense that Americans *wanted* a restoration—for so many found themselves as Joseph and his family did—uncertain of moving forward without making sense of the past.

Wacker ends his treatment of Mormonism with this observation: "It was an exhilarating vision. Little wonder that tens of thousands of Americans, as well as equal numbers in other countries, found Mormonism compelling enough to warrant the long trek to Utah"—a fitting observation to ring in a new century of American religious historical treatment of Mormonism.



The last historical narrative in this review, published in 2010, brings together experts from the field of American religious history and treats Mormonism in a refreshing way.[273] This last narrative, however, is different from the other histories treated thus far. It is an edited collection of different authors' essays, and thus there is not a single narrative voice throughout the entire history as in the other narratives covered so far. This approach reflects the methodological approach that scholars began to take after the 70's. Although single narratives were still published (as evident in this project), the "grand narrative" approach was significantly questioned. Arguing that no single narrative could adequately tell the story of religion in a pluralistic religious America, American religious history began to take a paradigmatic path of multiple narratives.[274] Admittedly, Porterfield and Corrigan explain in their introduction that the only single narrative that they try to point readers to throughout their work of multiple narratives is the "overlap" of America's "complex and dynamic phenomenon"—a conception that cannot be retained, they say, in a "grand narrative."[275]

Robert Fuller, Professor of Religion at Bradley University, begins his treatment of Mormonism by stating, "Unquestionably the most impressive episode of religious innovation during the Age of Empire [1803 – 1898] was the long saga eventuating in the triumphant success of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."[276] He then, after reviewing the coming forth of the *Book of Mormon,* says, "The discovery and translation of the *Book of Mormon* would alone have set Joseph Smith apart as a religious genius."[277] But, as Fuller recounts, there was much more "religious innovation" that Joseph produced: the creation of a "New Israel," the doctrine of eternal progression culminating in potential godhood, the three degrees of glory, and finally, the restoration of temple ordinances, especially celestial marriage. Fuller concludes and

explains that these "bold religious innovations were destined to stir up resentment and acrimony among their neighbors"—which led to the several successful, though tragic at times, exoduses of the Saints.[278]

Heather D. Curtis, Assistant Professor at Tufts University, highlights polygamy. The way she treats polygamy is in context of many religious groups' experiences during the 19th century—Protestants, Catholics, and Jews all challenged or adapted their particular views of gender relations in resolving tensions with the dominant culture of America in those times. Curtis "normalizes" polygamy, to the extent that readers come to understand that polygamy was just one way to deal with the reality of gender and family life issues and strains in American society. As she reviews several religious traditions' unique way of dealing with gender, sexuality, and family life, Curtis treats Mormonism in that context so as to alleviate any suggestion that polygamy is "weird" or "immoral." She does note, however, that America at that time, did find it morally reprehensible and she reviews the illegalization of polygamy and the eventual shift the Church made to embrace the law of the land.[279]

Other scholars throughout the book highlight Mormon dietary laws, clothing (including garments) standards, rules of chastity, and missionary efforts. They all treat Mormon belief and practice parallel with their treatment of Protestant, Catholic, Jew, and even Muslim belief and practice suggesting that Mormonism is part of the same religious fabric as any other faith tradition—that each has their unique beliefs and practices that contribute to the pluralistic society that Americans are so privileged to be a part of.[280]

Peter Williams, Professor of Comparative Religion and American Studies at Miami University, concludes treatment

of Mormonism mentioning the complexity of the principle of pluralism in relation to the Church's missionary efforts and Evangelical relations with Mormons. He suggests that had there been "enhanced" religious toleration and pluralism,[281] Mitt Romney's 2008 Presidential bid would have been different with more Evangelical support: Romney's Mormonism "provoked doubt among many evangelicals as to the suitability of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for that office."[282] J.B. Haws, expert on the Mormon image in the American mind concerning the presidential bids of Romney, confirms this observation but does concede that the 2012 presidential bid of Romney *did* receive the support from most Evangelicals—other key factors, not Mormonism or religious bigotry, would unsuccessfully end Romney's run.[283] Pluralism, no doubt prompted by politics, improved interfaith relations. Moreover, Williams concludes that Mormonism has, and will, continue to transform their social identity (which he suggests still suffers from misconception) through missionary work. The principle of pluralism, embodied by the Church's missionary efforts (combined with its public relations, humanitarian, and welfare projects) has resulted in a Mormon international community. Williams admits that "In this achievement they not only successfully emulated but outdid earlier efforts by American Protestants to spread their faith through aggressive spiritual colonialism."[284]

Overall, Porterfield and Corrigan, as editors of this history, treat Mormonism as a unique but united thread in the complex fibers of American pluralism—making Mormonism a significant contributor to America's status as a "great importer as well as exporter in a diverse world market of religious practices."[285]

1984 – 2010 *treats Mormonism as the essence of the American religion in the sense that it was born and lives out the American ideals of a republican order of authority, a democratization of revelation, and a transcendental practical life. Mormonism is an understandably attractive religion for Americans because it teaches faith in God's ability to restore the American past in new ways and promotes finding the truth for oneself. Mormonism is an understandably attractive world religion because it restores the Old World religious framework of prophetic revelation, offers new scripture, and emphasizes in new ways the family of God, the importance of family, and the brotherhood of man. Furthermore, Mormonism is a viable American import and export in a religiously pluralistic nation and world. Joseph is a religious genius and his innovations are unmatched. Polygamy is historically understandable considering the gender tensions in society at the time. Mormonism's "peculiar" practices are not so different after all, especially when compared with other traditions in America and abroad. Mormonism could use even more interfaith interaction so that Americans and the world can benefit from its people, its theology, and its culture.*

Perhaps the most impactful shift of Mormon treatment occurs in this time. Several historical factors starting in the 60's and 70's but really climaxing in the 80's and 90's contributed to this evolution.

Even before historians mistreated the history of Mormonism—before even "The Great Tradition"—the Lord inspired Joseph and others to collect records and write their own history.[286] This commitment of collecting records, manuscripts, and diaries served the Church immensely especially in the mid – late 20th century. Though Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, B.H. Roberts and many more dedicated Church historians attempted to foster a legitimate history of the Church, the "dean of Mormon history" is considered to be Leonard Arrington—the founder of "The New Mormon History."[287] Trained in America's finest schools and writing books on Mormon history along with other prominent scholars, Arrington and others (including the Church) developed the Mormon History Association (1965), the journal *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* (1965), the Church Historical Department (1972—headed by Arrington under the official auspice of the Church), and the publication *Journal of Mormon History* (1973). These

developments by professionally trained historians gave academia an "insider" approach to Mormon history that fostered sympathy, respect, and attention to Mormonism as an academically legitimate institution who could defend themselves using the same "language" as the scholars in the field of American religious history. Though it took several years after the 60's and 70's to catch on to "The New Mormon History," scholars and historians beginning to write their own versions of American religious history began to implement the scholarship of these trained Mormon historians' publications and began to interpret the Church through the lens of these Mormon scholars.[288]

Another major factor in the shift in academic Mormon treatment was the cultural shifts in America itself. Though Sydney Ahlstrom puzzled to "fit" Mormonism into the larger American religious historical storyline, he readily admitted that shifts in American culture demanded a new framework in which to interpret the history of American religion. He explains in his article poignantly entitled "The Problem of the History of Religion in America" certain cultural forces that must be reconciled with historical writing:

> The decade of the sixties revolutionized the church historian's general situation. The names of John XXIII, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Malcolm X … Presidents Johnson and Nixon, all call to mind the forces that have given us a radically new angle of vision . . . . Pluralism has asserted itself. The supreme court, a no-longer-anti-Catholic electorate, the Black revolution, the war in Southeast Asia, moon shots, the student protest movement, the Beatles, the radical theologians, the so-called "new Morality," and assorted other manifestations of a similar nature have ushered in a post- Puritan, post-Protestant, post-Christian, post-WASP [White Anglo-

Saxon Protestant] America.[289]

A new era of radical pluralism, civil rights for blacks and women, mass immigration from Asia and the South Pacific, global cultural exchanges, and continued warfare forced historians to reconsider their methodological framework for writing American religious history. "The Great Tradition" of Protestant centric providence was transforming itself into "The New Religious History," a highly influenced off shoot of "The New Social History's" "bottom-up, decentralized, outsider-focused paradigms."[290] The problem of diversity according to The Great Tradition now became the solution to contextually writing the history of religion in America.

Essentially, "The New Religious History's" methodological approach was to take "outsider" religions and ask the question: "What can we learn generally about religion in America by specifically analyzing a "fringe" religion?[291] Using this approach, historians now could take paradigms from the social sciences to identify "mechanisms or basic patterns of action and reaction that undergird different religious episodes in American history." What these historians began to find with this new paradigm shift was that religion was a vital aspect to the very existence of communities. They also discovered that phenomena like the Second Great Awakening and other similar religious revivals were not just spiritual but these very phenomena were interconnected with political, social, and cultural reforms as well. Essentially, what they realized was that religion and American culture were inseparable entities challenging, harmonizing, and inevitably impacting each other.[292] Mormonism became the experiment, epicenter, and lens of this paradigm shift in understanding 19th century American

religious history.[293]

As the ultimate "outsider" or "fringe" religion, scholars saw the *Book of Mormon* as "one of the greatest documents in American cultural history," Joseph Smith as "the ultimate popular theocrat," and the entire Mormon movement as "intensely populist" and an "antebellum spiritual hothouse."[294] Thus, Mormonism came out of obscurity and into the light of the scholarly worldview's understanding of Americans' deepest religious, social, and even political desires.

The combination of the perpetuation of Mormon historical vigor and America's cultural and intellectual changes resulted in Mormonism becoming the "American religion." The late 20th and early 21st century scholarly perspective shifted far away from its Protestant roots and into the wide open spaces of pluralism. Mormonism's unique "outsider" perspective gave American religious historians new "insider" information in realizing America's rich pluralistic capacities.

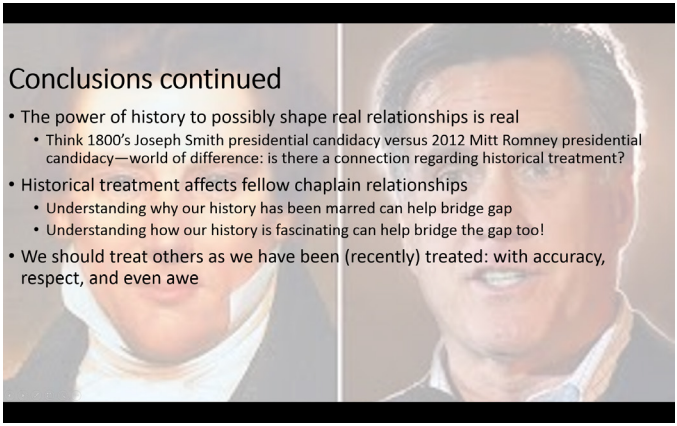
Thus, with the movement away from American-centricity to a global community of shared resources, including especially religion—Mormonism was no longer "the worst product of America," (as 19th century historians believed) it was America's "poster boy" for religion—a religion that was intrinsically American but internationally adaptable.[295]

Conclusions

- Other religions like Mormonism have been academically mistreated (especially Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian Scientists, Seventh Day Adventists, and Catholicism)—chaplains should be sensitive to these religions especially, but any religion for that matter
- Scholarly treatment does not equal accurate treatment—be careful with what "credible" sources you trust—do your homework but never settle on a conclusion until you've done more homework
- Scholarly treatment can and does change from erroneous to emulative (and sometimes vice versa)
- Chaplains can learn much from the scholarly perspective of trying to understand particular religions better through theoretical applications

Conclusions continued

- Scholarly corroboration of Mormonism's strengths does not produce testimony, but certainly can strengthen it
- Early Mormons, who had no scholarly backing, were stalwart and faithful despite lack of worldly affirmations—we should be the same
- Early Mormons kept and wrote their own history which eventually helped debunk many historical inaccuracies—we should do the same



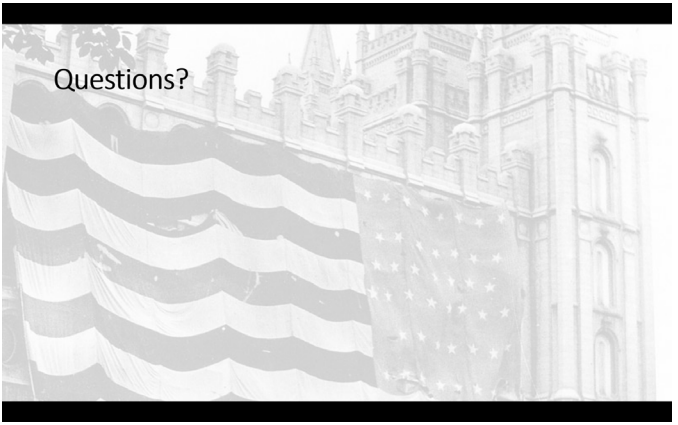
There are many conclusions to draw from this information brief but also from the process of formulating a brief like this.

(Simply read these slides and ask people if they have any questions or comments.)

End with this:

Mormonism, perhaps more than any other American religion, has gone through the most dramatic change in academic perception, treatment, acceptance, and assimilation—Mormonism is not only the "American religion" but Mormonism reflects religion in America.[296] Indeed, an evolution has taken place in the historiography of the treatment of Mormonism in the historical narratives of American religious history. To say it has gotten better is an understatement. In four major shifts through time, Mormonism's treatment has evolved dramatically from being viewed as a pariah on the periphery to a crucial crucible to consider when considering the full scope of American religious history. Mormonism has changed, no doubt,

but so has the perceptions of historians who strive to understand Mormonism in the American religious experience—a total inclusion of Mormonism in the understanding of American religious history has ensued.



Subject to your questions, this concludes this brief, thank you for your time.

Bibliography

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. "The Problem of the History of Religion in America." *Church History* 39, no. 2 (June 1970), 224–235.

Arrington, Leonard J. "[book review of] the Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young." *Brigham Young University studies* 10, no. 2 (1970): 240-45.

Bacon, Leonard Woolsey. *A History of American Christianity*, 1897. Reprint, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931.

Baird, Robert. *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations*. Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844.

Baird, Robert. *Religion in America; or an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relation to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of the Unevangelical Denominations*. 1856. Edited by Henry Warner Bowden. Reprint, New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

Baird, Robert. *Religion in America*. 1856. Reprint, New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

Bloom, Harold. *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992.

Brundage, Anthony. *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing*. 4th ed. Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 2008.

Butler, Jon, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer. *Religion in American Life: A Short History*. 2000. Reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Church History in the Fulness of Times. 1989. 2nd ed. Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003.

Dolan, Jay. "The New Religious History." *Reviews in American History* 15, no. 3 (Sep., 1987): 449-54.

Dorchester, Daniel. *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time*. 1888. Reprint, New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1890. Microfiche.

Flake, Kathleen. *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Fleming, Stephen "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography." *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 3-22.

Garr, Arnold. "Joseph Smith: Campaign for President of the United States." Ensign. February, 2009. Accessed March 31, 2015. https://www.lds.org/ensign/2009/02/joseph-smith-campaign-for-president-of-the-united-states?lang=eng.

Gaustad, Edwin S. *Religion in America: History and Historiography*. Washington, DC: Amer Historical Assn, 1973.

Gaustad, Edwin S. *A Religious History of America*. New York: Harper & Row, 1966.

Gaustad, Edwin S., and Leigh Eric Schmidt. *The Religious History of America*. Rev. ed. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002.

Givens, Terryl. *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture That Launched a New World Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Haws, J. B. *The Mormon Image in the American Mind: Fifty Years of Public Perception*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Holland, David F. *Sacred Borders: Continuing Revelation and Canonical Restraint in Early America*. Religion in America Series. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Holland, David, and Catherine Brekus. "Narratives of American Religion: The Canon and Its Revisions." Harvard Divinity School. Accessed February 23, 2015.http://div.hds.harvard.edu/academics/courses/course-detail.cfm?CrsNumber=2185§ion=01&term=Spring&year=2016.

LeSueur, Stephen C. *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987.

Marty, Martin E. *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1984.

McGrath, Alister E. *Christian Theology: An Introduction*. 5th ed. Chichester, West Sussex, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.

Moore, R Laurence. *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Nibley, Hugh. *No, Ma'am, That's Not History: A Brief Review of Mrs. Brodie's Reluctant Vindication of a Prophet She Seeks to Expose*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1946.

Noll, Mark A. *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1992.

Porterfield, Amanda, and John Corrigan, eds. *Religion in American History*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

Rowe, Henry K. *The History of Religion in the United States*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924.

Schaff, Philip. ed. Perry Miller. *America, a sketch of its political, social, and religious character,* 1856. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961.

Sperry, Willard L. *Religion in America*. 1946. Reprint, Boston: Beacon Press, 1963.

Stein, Stephen. "'Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed, Something Left to Do': Choosing a Textbook for Religion in America." *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1993), 217-227.

Sweet, Leonard I., "'Ringmasters," "Blind Elephant Feelers," and "Mules": The Textbook Literature of American Religious History." *Critical review of books in religion.* Journal of the American Academy of Religion and the Journal of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, Ga. 1988.

Sweet, William Warren. *The Story of Religion in America*. 1930. 3rd ed. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.

Texas Archival Resources Online. "William Warren Sweet Papers." Accessed March 23, 2015.http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/

smu/00180/smu-00180.html.

Turner, John G. *Brigham Young, Pioneer Prophet*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012.

Tweed, Thomas A., ed. *Retelling U.S. Religious History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997.

Wilson, John Frederick. *George H. Shriver Lecture Series in Religion in American History*. Vol. no. 1, *Religion and the American Nation: Historiography and History*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003.

Endnotes

1. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003):3-22.

2. Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844).

3. Philip Schaff, Perry Miller. *America, A Sketch Of Its Political, Social, And Religious Character,* ed. Perry Miller (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961).

4. Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (1888; repr., New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1890), microfiche.

5. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *A History of American Christianity,* (1897; repr., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930).

6. Henry K. Rowe, *The History of Religion in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924).

7. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950).

8. Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* (1946; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1963).

9. Edwin S. Gaustad, *A Religious History of America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).

10. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).

11. Martin E. Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984).

12. Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1992).

13. Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer, *Religion in American Life: A Short History* (2000; repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

14. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

15. Edwin S. Gaustad and Leigh E. Schmidt, *The Religious History of America*, (San Francisco: Harper, 2002), ix.

16. Anthony Brundage, *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing*, 4th ed. (Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 2008), 71.

17. Jorn Rusen, "Historical Narration: Foundation, Types, Reason," *History and Theory* 26, no. 4 (December 1987): 89.

18. Ibid., 89.

19. Ibid., 89.

20. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, s.v. "Mormonism," accessed March 30, 2015, http://eom.byu.edu/

21. Merriam-Webseter Dictionary, s.v. "Scholar, Academician," accessed March 30, 2015, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/academician.

22. Edwin S. Gaustad, *Religion in America: History and Historiography* (Washington, DC: America Historical Assn, 1973); Thomas A. Tweed, ed., *Retelling U.S. Religious History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997); Stephen Stein, "'Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed, Something Left to Do': Choosing a Textbook for Religion in America," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1993).

23. For an excellent sample of a historical survey on popular opinion of Mormonism, see J B. Haws, *The Mormon Image in the American Mind: Fifty Years of Public Perception* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013).

24. Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844).

25. Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844), 649.

26. John G. Turner, *Brigham Young, Pioneer Prophet* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 3.

27. Robert Baird, *Religion in America* (1856; repr., New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 273.

28. Ibid., xiii. This fact was stated by the editor (an authority in his own time 1906-1990) Henry Warner Bowden in his introduction to this reprint.

29. Robert Baird, *Religion in America* (1856; repr., New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 273.

30. Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844), 647.

31. Ibid., 647-649.

32. According to Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 17—The Second Great Awakening was during the 1790's to the 1840's and was a period of robust religious revivalism and reform in America and especially in New York.

33. Edwin S. Gaustad and Leigh E. Schmidt, *The Religious History of America*, (San Francisco: Harper, 2002), 149.

34. Amatus,"The Bible the Only Revelation to Man." *The Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* 5 (March 1805), 349. (emphasis in original) Used in David F. Holland's, *Sacred Borders: Continuing Revelation and Canonical Restraint in Early America*, Religion in America Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 128.

35. David F. Holland, *Sacred Borders: Continuing Revelation and Canonical Restraint in Early America*, Religion in America Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 128-129.

36. Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844), 647. All of my parenthetical rebuttals can be found in the introductory matter of any copy of the *Book of Mormon*.

37. Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844), 647.

38. For excellent synoptic treatment of these periods see chapters 8, 11, 14, 16, and 21 in *Church History in the Fullness of Times*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003).

39. Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844), 649.

40. Ibid., 649.

41. Robert Baird, *Religion in America; or an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relation to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of the Unevangelical Denominations*, ed. Henry Warner Bowden (1856; repr., New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 273-274. This quote, as well as Robert Baird being the "founder" of American religious history, was used in Stephen Flemings, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon*

Historical Studies 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 4. Additionally, there seems to be at least three versions of Robert Baird's publication of essentially the same text: the original in 1844, the revision in 1856 (where this quote is used), and the abridged version of the 1856 revision—I use all three.

42. Edwin S. Gaustad, *Religion in America: History and Historiography* (Washington, DC: Amer. Historical Assn, 1973), 37.

43. Philip Schaff. ed. Perry Miller. *America, a sketch of its political, social, and religious character,* 1856. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961).

44. Ibid., Table of Contents.

45. Ibid., 198.

46. Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 5th ed. (Chichester, West Sussex, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 114, 225.

47. Philip Schaff. ed. Perry Miller. *America, a sketch of its political, social, and religious character,* 1856. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 199.

48. Ibid., 199.

49. Philip Schaff. ed. Perry Miller. *America, a sketch of its political, social, and religious character,* 1856. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 199.

50. Ibid., 200-201.

51. Ibid., 203.

52. Ibid., 198.

53. Ibid., 203.

54. Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (1888; repr., New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1890), microfiche.

55. Philip Schaff. ed. Perry Miller. *America, a sketch of its political, social, and religious character,* 1856. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 203.

56. Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (1888; repr., New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1890), microfiche, 780, 646, 541, 650 respectively. Excrescence is an abnormal, morbid, or disfiguring outgrowth—from *Oxford English Dictionary*, online ed., s.v. "excrescence."

57. Ibid., 538.

58. Ibid., 538.

59. Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (1888; repr., New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1890), microfiche, 780, 646, 541, 650 respectively.

60. Ibid., 539.

61. Ibid., 539.

62. Ibid., 540-541.

63. Ibid., 542.

64. Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 5.

65. Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (1888; repr., New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1890), microfiche, 648-649.

66. Ibid., 780.

67. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *A History of American Christianity,* (1897; repr., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930).

68. Ibid., 335.

69. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *A History of American Christianity,* (1897; repr., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), 335.

70. Henry K. Rowe, *The History of Religion in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), 117.

71. Ibid., 117.

72. Ibid., 117.

73. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950).

74. Edwin S. Gaustad, *Religion in America: History and Historiography* (Washington, DC: Amer Historical Assn, 1973), 41, 52.

75. "William Warren Sweet Papers," Texas Archival Resources Online, accessed March 23, 2015,http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/smu/00180/smu-00180.html.

76. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 273-274.

77. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 8.

78. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 274.

79. Ibid., 274.

80. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 276.

81. Ibid., 276; for fairer treatment on the banking crisis and exit from Ohio see chapter 14 of *Church History in the Fullness of Times*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003), 169-180.

82. See Chapter sixteen of *Church History in the Fullness of Times*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003) which explains the persecutions and expulsion from Missouri, 193-210.

83. As well as chapter sixteen from the above cited Church publication, chapter 3 from Stephen C. LeSueur's, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987) has excellent coverage of this time period.

84. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 277.

85. See my earlier review of Baird's treatment of the Martyrdom under the label, 1844: *Religion in the United States* by Robert Baird.

86. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 277.

87. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 7.

88. Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* (1946; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1963).

89. Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* (1946; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 83.

90. Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* (1946; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 84-85.

91. Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* (1946; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 82-83.(emphasis mine).

92. Terryl Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture That Launched a New World Religion*(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Authors Note.

93. Edwin S. Gaustad, *Religion in America: History and Historiography* (Washington, DC: American Historical Assn, 1973), 42.

94. Stephen Stein, "'Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed, Something Left to Do': Choosing a Textbook for Religion in America," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1993), 217.

95. Ibid., 218-219; Also, Dr. Rachel Cope (Professor, BYU American Christianity course Fall 2014) selected Gaustad's revised edition as required reading (with a slightly different title and added author)—Edwin S. Gaustad and Leigh Eric Schmidt, *The Religious History of America*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: Harper, 2002).

96. Edwin S. Gaustad, *A Religious History of America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 138.

97. Edwin S. Gaustad, *A Religious History of America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 136-138, 171.

98. Ibid., 138.

99. Edwin S. Gaustad and Leigh Eric Schmidt, *The Religious History of America*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: Harper, 2002), 180.

100. R Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 13-14.

101. Edwin S. Gaustad and Leigh Eric Schmidt, *The Religious History of America*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: Harper, 2002), 177-178.

102. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).

103. Ibid., 502.

104. John Frederick Wilson, *George H. Shriver Lecture Series in Religion in American History*, no. 1,*Religion and the American Nation: Historiography and History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 38.

105. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 1021.

106. Hugh Nibley, *No, Ma'am, That's Not History: A Brief Review of Mrs. Brodie's Reluctant Vindication of a Prophet She Seeks to Expose* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1946). This is a rebuttal of Brodie's thesis.

107. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 502.

108. Ibid., 503.

109. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 503.

110. Ibid., 508-509.

111. Leonard I. Sweet, "'Ringmasters," "Blind Elephant Feelers," and "Mules": The Textbook Literature of American Religious History" in *Critical review of books in religion.* Journal of the American Academy of Religion and the Journal of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, Ga. 1988, Sweet on p. 90 says: "There are three standard narrative surveys of American religion, each a classic in its own right, each able to complete the sentence: "If a class could read only one general history of religion in America, I would recommend..." The three are Winthrop S. Hudson's *Religion in America* (first published in 1965), Sydney E. Ahlstrom's, *A Religious History of the American People* (1972), and Martin E. Marty's *Pilgrims in Their Own Land* (1984)."

112. Martin E. Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984), Women's Suffrage—246-247, blacks and the Priesthood—201, Utah War—206-208.

113. Ibid., 247.

114. Ibid., 201.

115. Marty positions the handcart company as a prelude to the Utah War—the public response of Brigham's "heartless scheme" to "test the loyalty" of Saints by pushing handcarts was at least one factor, according to Marty, in sending the Army to Utah, Ibid., 206.

116. Ibid., 206.

117. Marty positions the handcart company as a prelude to the Utah War—the public response of Brigham's "heartless scheme" to "test the loyalty" of Saints by pushing handcarts was at least one factor, according to Marty, in sending the Army to Utah, 483.

118. Leonard J. Arrington, "[book review of] the Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young," *Brigham Young University studies* 10, no. 2 (1970): 240-45.

119. Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1992).

120. Ibid., 192.

121. Excrescence is an abnormal, morbid, or disfiguring outgrowth—from *Oxford English Dictionary*, online ed., s.v. "excrescence."; Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (1888; repr., New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1890), microfiche, p. 650 is where Dorchester calls Mormonism a "wild excrescence," among other euphemisms.

122. Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1992), 196.

123. Ibid., 196-197.

124. Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer, *Religion in American Life: A Short History* (2000; repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

125. Ibid., 217.

126. Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer, *Religion in American Life: A Short History* (2000; repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 219.

127. Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer, *Religion in American Life: A Short History* (2000; repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 219. Emphasis in original.

128. Ibid., 213. Emphasis added.

129. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

130. John Frederick Wilson, *George H. Shriver Lecture Series in Religion in American History*, no. 1,*Religion and the American Nation: Historiography and History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 51.

131. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 8.

132. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 198-199.

133. Ibid., 199.

134. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 200.

135. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 224.

136. Ibid. 300, 312, 313, 319.

137. Harvard's Professor of Comparative Religion Diana Eck, distinguishes pluralism as an engaging interfaith dialogue, interaction, and commitment with others from merely "tolerating" them and/or acknowledging their "diversity,"—Eck, Diana L. "What is Pluralism?" accessed 28 Mar. 2015, http://www.pluralism.org/pluralism/what_is_pluralism>.

138. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 298.

139. J B. Haws, *The Mormon Image in the American Mind: Fifty Years of Public Perception* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapters nine and ten discuss the evangelical evolution in favor of Mormonism from the 2008 to 2012 elections.

140. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 298.

141. Ibid., 319.

142. R Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 7-9.

143. Philip Schaff. ed. Perry Miller. *America, a sketch of its political, social, and religious character,* 1856. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 203—Schaff said Mormonism was "one of the unsolved riddles of the modern history of religion"; Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *A History of American Christianity,* (1897; repr., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), 335—Bacon here says that Mormonism is "incidental" to American religion. Both Schaff and Bacon show disgust towards Mormonism.

144. R Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 13-14.

145. Edwin S. Gaustad, *Religion in America: History and Historiography* (Washington, DC: Amer Historical Assn, 1973), 41, 52.

146. "William Warren Sweet Papers," Texas Archival Resources Online, accessed March 23, 2015, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/smu/00180/smu-00180.html.

147. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 273-274.

148. Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* (1946; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 93.

149. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 10.

150. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 502.

151. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 508-9.

152. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 11.

153. *Doctrine and Covenants* section 47 (March 1831) is one of the earliest revelations to appoint John Whitmer to replace Oliver Cowdery as Church Historian—since then, there has always been an official Church Historian.

154. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 10.

155. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 10-13.

156. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "The Problem of the History of Religion in America," *Church History* 39, no. 2 (June 1970): 231-32.

157. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 10-13.

158. Thomas A. Tweed, ed., *Retelling U.S. Religious History* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1997), 5, 21-22.

159. John Frederick Wilson, *George H. Shriver Lecture Series in Religion in American History*, no. 1,*Religion and the American Nation: Historiography and History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 5, 46-7

160. Jay Dolan, "The New Religious History," *Reviews in American History* 15, no. 3 (Sep., 1987): 449-54.

161. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 13.

162. Philip Schaff. ed. Perry Miller. *America, a sketch of its political, social, and religious character,* 1856. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 198; Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 319.

163. Harold Bloom, *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992). Bloom treats Joseph Smith and Mormonism especially as the "American religion" in chapter's four to six.

164. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 10-13.

165. Arnold Garr, "Joseph Smith: Campaign for President of the United States," Ensign, February, 2009, accessed March 31, 2015, https://www.lds.org/ensign/2009/02/joseph-smith-campaign-for-president-of-the-united-states?lang=eng.; "2012 Presidential General Election Results," 2012 Presidential General Election Results, accessed April 2, 2015, http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/national.php.

166. Harold Bloom, *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992). Bloom treats Joseph Smith and Mormonism especially as the "American religion" in chapters four to six; Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 3; Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1992), 196-197.

167. J. B. Haws, *The Mormon Image in the American Mind: Fifty Years of Public Perception* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), 277, 259. Emphasis in original.

168. Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844).

169. Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844), 649.

170. John G. Turner, *Brigham Young, Pioneer Prophet* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 3.

171. Robert Baird, *Religion in America* (1856; repr., New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 273.

172. Ibid., xiii. This fact was stated by the editor (an authority in his own time 1906-1990) Henry Warner Bowden in his introduction to this reprint.

173. Robert Baird, *Religion in America* (1856; repr., New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 273.

174. Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844), 647.

175. Ibid., 647-649.

176. Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844), 647. All of my parenthetical rebuttals can be found in the introductory matter of any copy of the *Book of Mormon*.

177. Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844), 647.

178. For excellent synoptic treatment of these periods see chapters 8, 11, 14, 16, and 21 in *Church History in the Fullness of Times*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003).

179. Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America: Or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of Unevangelical Denominations* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1844), 649.

180. Ibid., 649.

181. Robert Baird, *Religion in America; or an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relation to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of the Unevangelical Denominations*, ed. Henry Warner Bowden (1856; repr., New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 273-274. This quote, as well as Robert Baird being the "founder" of American religious history, was used in Stephen Flemings, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 4. Additionally, there seems to be at least three versions of Robert Baird's publication of essentially the same text: the original in 1844, the revision in 1856 (where this quote is used), and the abridged version of the 1856 revision—I use all three.

182. Edwin S. Gaustad, *Religion in America: History and Historiography* (Washington, DC: Amer. Historical Assn, 1973), 37.

183. Philip Schaff. ed. Perry Miller. *America, a sketch of its political, social, and religious character,* 1856. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961).

184. Ibid., Table of Contents.

185. Ibid., 198.

186. Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 5th ed. (Chichester, West Sussex, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 114, 225.

187. Philip Schaff. ed. Perry Miller. *America, a sketch of its political, social, and religious character,* 1856. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 199.

188. Ibid., 199.

189. Philip Schaff. ed. Perry Miller. *America, a sketch of its political, social, and religious character,* 1856. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 199.

190. Ibid., 200-201.

191. Ibid., 203.

192. Ibid., 198.

193. Ibid., 203.

194. Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (1888; repr., New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1890), microfiche.

195. Philip Schaff. ed. Perry Miller. *America, a sketch of its political, social, and religious character,* 1856. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 203.

196. Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (1888; repr., New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1890), microfiche, 780, 646, 541, 650 respectively. Excrescence is an abnormal, morbid, or disfiguring outgrowth—from *Oxford English Dictionary*, online ed., s.v. "excrescence."

197. Ibid., 538.

198. Ibid., 538.

199. Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (1888; repr., New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1890), microfiche, 780, 646, 541, 650 respectively.

200. Ibid., 539.

201. Ibid., 539.

202. Ibid., 540-541.

203. Ibid., 542.

204. Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 5.

205. Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (1888; repr., New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1890), microfiche, 648-649.

206. Ibid., 780.

207. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *A History of American Christianity,* (1897; repr., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930).

208. Ibid., 335.

209. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *A History of American Christianity,* (1897; repr., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), 335.

210. R Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 7-9.

211. Philip Schaff. ed. Perry Miller. *America, a sketch of its political, social, and religious character,* 1856. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 203—Schaff said Mormonism was "one of the unsolved riddles of the modern history of religion"; Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *A History of American Christianity,* (1897; repr., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), 335—Bacon here says that Mormonism is "incidental" to American religion. Both Schaff and Bacon show disgust towards Mormonism.

212. Henry K. Rowe, *The History of Religion in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), 117.

213. Ibid., 117.

214. Ibid., 117.

215. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 273-274.

216. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 8.

217. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 274.

218. Ibid., 274.

219. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 276.

220. Ibid., 276; for fairer treatment on the banking crisis and exit from Ohio see chapter 14 of *Church History in the Fullness of Times*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003), 169-180.

221. See Chapter sixteen of *Church History in the Fullness of Times*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003) which explains the persecutions and expulsion from Missouri, 193-210.

222. As well as chapter sixteen from the above cited Church publication, chapter 3 from Stephen C. LeSueur's, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987) has excellent coverage of this time period.

223. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 277.

224. See my earlier review of Baird's treatment of the Martyrdom under the label, 1844: *Religion in the United States* by Robert Baird.

225. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 277.

226. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 7.

227. Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* (1946; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1963).

228. Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* (1946; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 83.

229. Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* (1946; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 84-85.

230. Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* (1946; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 82-83.(emphasis mine).

231. Terryl Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture That Launched a New World Religion*(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Authors Note.

232. R Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 13-14.

233. Edwin S. Gaustad, *Religion in America: History and Historiography* (Washington, DC: Amer Historical Assn, 1973), 41, 52.

234. "William Warren Sweet Papers," Texas Archival Resources Online, accessed March 23, 2015, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/smu/00180/smu-00180.html.

235. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 273-274.

236. Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* (1946; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 93.

237. Edwin S. Gaustad, *Religion in America: History and Historiography* (Washington, DC: American Historical Assn, 1973), 42.

238. Stephen Stein, "'Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed, Something Left to Do': Choosing a Textbook for Religion in America," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1993), 217.

239. Ibid., 218-219; Also, Dr. Rachel Cope (Professor, BYU American Christianity course Fall 2014) selected Gaustad's revised edition as required reading (with a slightly different title and added author)—Edwin S. Gaustad and Leigh Eric Schmidt, *The Religious History of America*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: Harper, 2002).

240. Edwin S. Gaustad, *A Religious History of America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 138.

241. Edwin S. Gaustad, *A Religious History of America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 136-138, 171.

242. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).

243. Ibid., 502.

244. John Frederick Wilson, *George H. Shriver Lecture Series in Religion in American History*, no. 1,*Religion and the American Nation: Historiography and History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 38.

245. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 1021.

246. Hugh Nibley, *No, Ma'am, That's Not History: A Brief Review of Mrs. Brodie's Reluctant Vindication of a Prophet She Seeks to Expose* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1946). This is a rebuttal of Brodie's thesis.

247. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 502.

248. Ibid., 503.

249. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 503.

250. Ibid., 508-509.

251. Leonard I. Sweet, "'Ringmasters," "Blind Elephant Feelers," and "Mules": The Textbook Literature of American Religious History" in *Critical review of books in religion.* Journal of the American Academy of Religion and the Journal of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, Ga. 1988, Sweet on p. 90 says: "There are three standard narrative surveys of American religion, each a classic in its own right, each able to complete the sentence: "If a class could read only one general history of religion in America, I would recommend..." The three are Winthrop S. Hudson's *Religion in America* (first published in 1965), Sydney E. Ahlstrom's, *A Religious History of the American People* (1972), and Martin E. Marty's *Pilgrims in Their Own Land* (1984)."

252. Martin E. Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984), Women's Suffrage—246-247, blacks and the Priesthood—201, Utah War—206-208.

253. Ibid., 247.

254. Ibid., 201.

255. Marty positions the handcart company as a prelude to the Utah War—the public response of Brigham's "heartless scheme" to "test the loyalty" of Saints by pushing handcarts was at least one factor, according to Marty, in sending the Army to Utah, Ibid., 206.

256. Ibid., 206.

257. Marty positions the handcart company as a prelude to the Utah War—the public response of Brigham's "heartless scheme" to "test the loyalty" of Saints by pushing handcarts was at least one factor, according to Marty, in sending the Army to Utah, 483.

258. Leonard J. Arrington, "[book review of] the Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young," *Brigham Young University studies* 10, no. 2 (1970): 240-45.

259. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 10.

260. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 502.

261. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 508-9.

262. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 11.

263. Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1992).

264. Ibid., 192.

265. Excrescence is an abnormal, morbid, or disfiguring outgrowth—from *Oxford English Dictionary*, online ed., s.v. "excrescence."; Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (1888; repr., New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1890), microfiche, p. 650 is where Dorchester calls Mormonism a "wild excrescence," among other euphemisms.

266. Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1992), 196.

267. Ibid., 196-197.

268. Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer, *Religion in American Life: A Short History* (2000; repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

269. Ibid., 217.

270. Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer, *Religion in American Life: A Short History* (2000; repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 219.

271. Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer, *Religion in American Life: A Short History* (2000; repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 219. Emphasis in original.

272. Ibid., 213. Emphasis added.

273. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

274. John Frederick Wilson, *George H. Shriver Lecture Series in Religion in American History*, no. 1,*Religion and the American Nation: Historiography and History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 51.

275. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 8.

276. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 198-199.

277. Ibid., 199.

278. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 200.

279. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 224.

280. Ibid. 300, 312, 313, 319.

281. Harvard's Professor of Comparative Religion Diana Eck, distinguishes pluralism as an engaging interfaith dialogue, interaction, and commitment with others from merely "tolerating" them and/or acknowledging their "diversity,"—Eck, Diana L. "What is Pluralism?" accessed 28 Mar. 2015, http://www.pluralism.org/pluralism/what_is_pluralism>.

282. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 298.

283. J B. Haws, *The Mormon Image in the American Mind: Fifty Years of Public Perception* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapters nine and ten discuss the evangelical evolution in favor of Mormonism from the 2008 to 2012 elections.

284. Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 298.

285. Ibid., 319.

286. *Doctrine and Covenants* section 47 (March 1831) is one of the earliest revelations to appoint John Whitmer to replace Oliver Cowdery as Church Historian—since then, there has always been an official Church Historian.

287. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 10.

288. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 10-13.

289. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "The Problem of the History of Religion in America," *Church History* 39, no. 2 (June 1970): 231-32.

290. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 10-13.

291. Thomas A. Tweed, ed., *Retelling U.S. Religious History* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1997), 5, 21-22.

292. John Frederick Wilson, *George H. Shriver Lecture Series in Religion in American History*, no. 1,*Religion and the American Nation: Historiography and History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 5, 46-7

293. Jay Dolan, "The New Religious History," *Reviews in American History* 15, no. 3 (Sep., 1987): 449-54.

294. Stephen Fleming, "Becoming the American Religion: The Place of Mormonism in the Development of American Religious Historiography," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 13.

295. Philip Schaff. ed. Perry Miller. *America, a sketch of its political, social, and religious character,* 1856. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 198; Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 319.

296. Harold Bloom, *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992). Bloom treats Joseph Smith and Mormonism especially as the "American religion" in chapter's four to six.