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A Qualitative Analysis of the
Non-LDS Experience in Utah

A Thesis

Presented to the

David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies

Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts


Jesse Smith Bushman

August 1995

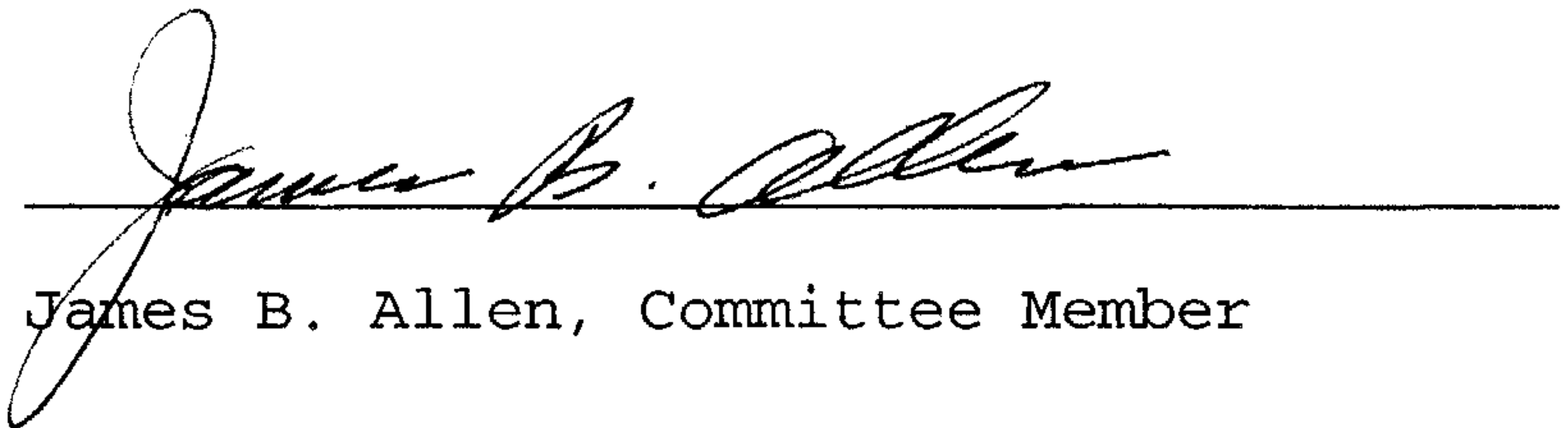
Acknowledgments

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This thesis by Jesse Smith Bushman is accepted in its present form by the David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.



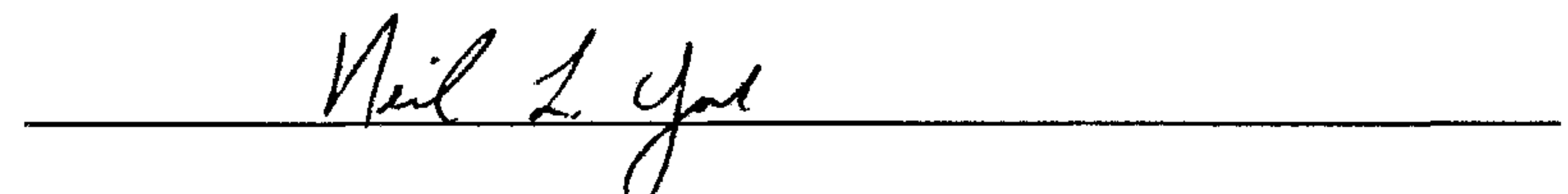
Thomas G. Alexander, Committee Chair



James B. Allen, Committee Member



Steven Epperson, Committee Member

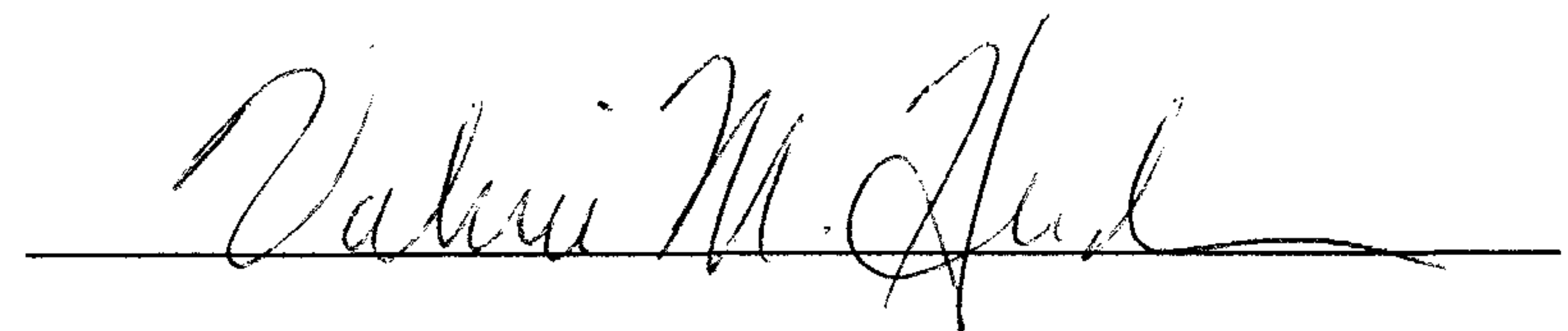


Neil L. York, Graduate Subfield

Coordinator

8-29-95

Date



Valerie Hudson, Director of Graduate Studies

Preface

During the 1994-95 school year I had the pleasure of working as a research assistant for Dr. James B. Allen, at a time when he was completing a history of Utah since WW II. During that time I conducted a number of interviews to help him with a chapter on Utah's religions. While my main focus during these interviews was to gather information on the history of various denominations and congregations, I began to see an emerging pattern in their comments about the nature of life for themselves and their co-congregants in Utah. Many of them characterized their experience in almost identical terms, regardless of which denomination or tradition they came from. This trend sparked the idea for this thesis and piqued my curiosity to explore in a more in-depth fashion the nature of the experience of those Utahns who live in faith families distinct from that of the LDS.

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Introduction

Soon after its founding, the Mormon church began to gather its members to central locations. They gathered not only for the moral support gained by numbers, but also because of a religious belief that it was necessary for the "Saints" to form the community of "Zion." Eventually, the political power of such concentrated groups (Mormons often voted as a block), along with the unusual nature of their doctrines, provoked criticism and persecution. This persecution resulted in their repeated flight from place to place until they eventually altogether left what was, in 1846, territory of the United States.¹

As the Mormon pioneers arrived in Utah, they worked to set up communities under their own control that could not be destroyed by antagonistic, outside forces. The persecution that church members suffered in the Midwest, and before that in the East, created an "us against them" feeling among the Mormons. The settlements that resulted in Utah realized the Mormon ambition to be a people apart under a theocratic government.²

This situation effected a blurring of the lines between

¹James West Davidson, et. al. Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic, (San Francisco: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 503-13.

²Being the majority allowed the Mormons to dictate how the social, political and economic currents of the state would run. See, Eugene E. Campbell, "Governmental Beginnings," in Utah's History, ed. Richard D. Poll, et. al. (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1989), 153-173.

church, state and community. Essentially, all three were subsumed under the umbrella of Mormonism. During the first two decades or so, after the pioneers arrival in Utah, very few people belonging to any other faith lived within the Utah territory, and so Utah culture became, in essence, Mormon culture.³ After the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, larger populations of non-LDS people began to move into the state. They encountered a society dominated by the Mormons and many reacted quite negatively to this situation.

Over the years, Mormon society gradually accommodated to a number of the demands and pressures of the members of other faiths (and the unchurched) within its boundaries. They abandoned polygamy as an official practice, helped create two viable political parties, and sought, and in 1896, received, statehood. With these changes, life became somewhat more comfortable for those living in Utah who did not share the LDS tradition.⁴

With the advent of WW II, the total number of non-LDS people in Utah increased as industries to support the military opened up bringing in a large group of non-LDS employees. Some of these industries have remained since the end of the War, others have closed. These increases,

³See Appendix A

⁴See, Robert J. Dwyer, The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict, (1862-1890), (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971).

however, were more than matched by the increase in LDS Utahns. In fact, proportionally, Utah's non-LDS population reached its greatest heights during the first three decades of the twentieth century.⁵ In the last three decades or so, Utah's positive economic climate has continued to attract various companies, including service and financial businesses, various manufacturers, aerospace companies, bio-medical and computer related companies. A large number of non-LDS people have continued to come into the state as a result of this economic growth. However, even with this increase, the percentage of LDS people within Utah has remained between 70 and 75 percent for the past four decades, making Utah a national anomaly and non-LDS people a decided minority.⁶

Many (if not all) non-LDS people agree that the Mormon population in Utah makes life in the state unique; different than any other state. What is it about Mormonism that makes life in Utah so unusual? Is Mormonism per se responsible for what non-Mormons experience in Utah, or does their experience owe its distinctiveness to merely human factors, such as typify any society, rather than theological reasons, such as specific beliefs about people(s) outside the LDS

⁵See Appendix A.

⁶Church News (Salt Lake City), 19 June 1983; and Barry A. Kosmin and Seymour P. Lachman, One Nation Under God: Religion in Contemporary American Society (New York: Harmony Books, 1993), 88-89. See Appendix A.

tradition? It is the purpose of this thesis to discuss the experiences of a small number of Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, Buddhists and Jews, living in a state whose population is, with the exception of a few major metropolitan areas, overwhelmingly Mormon, and to put that experience into an understandable framework.

Chapter 1

Religious Belief and Intergroup Relations

In a landmark study commissioned and supported by the Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, sociologists Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark completed a survey of several thousand Christian Americans with the purpose of discovering whether the religious beliefs of these individuals affected their attitudes toward, and treatment of Jews. They concluded that religious belief does indeed have an impact on Christian attitudes toward Jews.⁷ This classic study suggests that religious belief and affiliation should be taken into consideration when reviewing intergroup relations.

Armand L. Mauss, a Mormon sociologist who studied under Glock and Stark, used the same type of survey to enquire into the beliefs and behavior of Mormons with respect to Jews, African Americans and Native Americans, all three of which groups have played distinctive roles in LDS theology.⁸ Mauss concluded that religious belief does indeed impact the way Mormons feel about and treat individuals in these three groups. Mauss surveyed Mormons

⁷Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).

⁸Armand L. Mauss "Mormons and Minorities" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1970).

from the San Francisco area, as well as from the Salt Lake valley, in Utah. Interestingly, those Mormons from the Salt Lake area were consistently more prejudiced in their religious and secular lives, than those from San Francisco.⁹ However, Mauss points out that other studies have shown that secular variables among Mormons such as education, urban origin, etc. have more impact on their racial attitudes than does any particular religious doctrine.¹⁰

These studies suggest that the experience of minorities, although in part due to the religious beliefs of those who surround them, may also stem from other factors. It is the purpose of this thesis to provide a body of qualitative data concerning the non-LDS population of Utah, from which conclusions may be drawn as to which aspects of their experience can be attributed to the religious belief of the surrounding Mormon population, and which part may be said to be typical of the experience of any minority group, and hence a product of a large number of other variables, not linked to distinctive Mormon doctrines or practices. To be able to make this distinction, it will first be necessary to come to an understanding of typical minority/majority interactions.

Peter Rose states that "Even in the simplest of

⁹Mauss, 178

¹⁰Ibid.

societies--where subsistence is apt to be the primary concern--distinctions are made on the basis of age groupings, sex roles, family and kinship ties."¹¹ These, and other distinctions are often used to make lines between large numbers of people, creating ethnic groups. Norman R. Yetman defines an ethnic group as "a distinctive culture or subculture in which group members feel themselves bound together by a common origin, history, values, attitudes and behaviors--in its broadest sense, a sense of peoplehood."¹² Furthermore, "Ethnic groups are inherently ethnocentric, regarding their own cultural traits as natural, correct, and superior to those of other ethnic groups who are perceived as odd, amusing, inferior, or immoral," or all of the above.¹³

Ethnic groups tend to stratify themselves, playing out along lines of power, or dominance. In this social ordering, members of the dominant group may sometimes actually be fewer in number than those they control, but through their access to privilege, resources, or coercive force, dominant groups generally get their way in society. A dominant group may not only work to

¹¹Peter I. Rose, They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States 3rd edition (New York: Random House, 1981), 3.

¹²Norman R. Yetman, Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Race and Ethnicity in American Life (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1991), 2.

¹³Ibid.

control political and economic positions, but "also seek to put its distinctive stamp on the character and shape of the national culture and community."¹⁴ This dominance may give rise to prejudice or discrimination, both of which reinforce the power of the more dominant group.

Prejudice grows out of several different roots. S. Dale McLemore identifies several theories of prejudice and discrimination. Cultural transmission, or the passage of discriminatory practices or prejudicial attitudes from one generation to the next, can happen "much the same way that they [the rising generation] learn to speak a particular language, dress in a given manner, or use certain eating utensils."¹⁵ An example of cultural transmission of prejudice would be a child learning, from the example of adults or other children, to hurl epithets before he/she even understands what they mean.

Some psychologists have also argued that certain personality types have, because of unresolved issues in their own lives, a great deal of free-floating animosity that needs something on which to attach. These persons subscribe to a certain prejudice, or act in a discriminatory manner out of some inner need, rather than from conditioning.

¹⁴Benjamin B. Ringer and Elinor R. Lawless, Race-Ethnicity and Society (New York: Routledge, 1989), 84.

¹⁵S. Dale McLemore, Racial and Ethnic Relations in America (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1980), 105.

Others may act in a prejudicial or discriminatory manner because of benefits accrued to them or their own group as a result. This theory, basically Marxist, divides society up into two sections. "On the one side are the owners and controllers of these means [economic power]; on the other are those who are dependent on these means of production for their livelihood and life chances but who do not own or control them."¹⁶ Those who control the means of production will discriminate against other groups that are seen as a threat to this economic interest. Some of the most ardent Southern racists have been those who were in direct competition with African Americans for jobs and social benefits.¹⁷

Marxist theory, however, holds implications beyond the economic sphere. Various scholars have extrapolated Marx's theory to other areas of life. Ludwig Glumpowicz, in the late nineteenth century, championed a version of Marxism based on political/legal control. Political power allows the dominant class to secure economic benefits, as well as a sense of ethnic superiority. Glumpowicz argued that political dominance led to the economic benefit. As a result, the political arena becomes the center of conflict within society.¹⁸

¹⁶Ringer and Lawless, 31.

¹⁷McLemore, 114-120

¹⁸Ringer and Lawless, 32-33.

More modern studies have sought to show that in the long run, discriminatory practices tend to impoverish not only the subordinate class, but also that dominant. By not allowing out-group members the same privileges that they enjoy, in-group members prevent them from making a contribution to society equal to their ability and in this way, all eventually suffer. John Dollard has argued that the maintenance of stratified classes, then, must have some other basis than simply economics. He suggested that dominant group members gain through such avenues as social respect and prestige, psychological feelings of superiority, and sexual access by dominant group males to subordinate group females, which is not reciprocated.¹⁹ Such "prestige gains" may, in the minds of the dominant group members, make up for any economic loss caused by damning the potential of the subordinate group members.

Finally, the theory of group-identification posits that people discriminate and subscribe to prejudice as a way to identify those not of their group, and hence, to clarify what they are and which group they belong to. This often takes the form of negative definition and frequently does not admit the existence of positive characteristics in the out-group. If positive characteristics are admitted, they are often admitted in a way to make the subordinate group

¹⁹McLemore, 118-119.

look bad.²⁰

Individuals within subordinate groups react to discrimination and prejudice in various ways. The traditional model is one of contact, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation. "Assimilation involves efforts to integrate or incorporate a group into the mainstream of society. The objective of assimilation is a homogeneous society."²¹ Persons belonging to subordinate groups may abandon their own background completely, in favor of that of the dominant group. The phenomenon of "self-hate" has been identified as a result of an out-group member accepting the negative portrayal of his/her group by members of the in-group and this self-hate may serve to speed up assimilation.²²

The assimilationist model, however, has been challenged in recent years by a number of other theories. Some subordinate groups may try to create a new culture or society, borrowing from both subordinate and dominant groups to build a syncretic society. Finally, some subordinate group members may struggle to obtain legitimacy for their own tradition with the goal of creating a pluralistic society. W. O. Brown points out that persons who are not

²⁰The U.S. assertions that Soviets stole their technology to be able to beat the U.S. into space is one example of this behavior.

²¹Yetman, 211

²²Rose, 151-52

allowed to assimilate into the dominant society may "turn back toward their own group and become its leaders in a developing race consciousness and expressed hostility toward the dominant group."²³ Some marginalized individuals may feel so antagonistic towards the dominant group that they not only reject any attempts at assimilation or peaceful coexistence, but also engage in behaviors considered deviant by the larger society.²⁴

The dominant group may respond to these efforts in a number of ways, including genocide, expulsion, oppression, or separation. Genocide, obviously, constitutes an effort by the dominant group to kill off those of the subordinate group(s), under the assumption that they have no right to live, or that the members of the subordinate group pose a mortal threat to those of the dominant. Subordinate groups experience expulsion when they are physically removed from the territory of the dominant group. Oppression is the practice of denying subordinate peoples equal participation in society and differs from expulsion in that some opportunity is afforded the subordinate groups. Separatism "implies social and cultural equality among ethnic groups, not the superiority of one."²⁵ Separatism is not an effort to single out one group as being inferior, but the

²³Ringer and Lawless, 127

²⁴Rose, 145

²⁵Yetman, 218

preservation of the unique qualities of each group and the affirmation of their value as individual cultures.²⁶ Interestingly, in societies that are becoming, or have become pluralistic in nature, those members of the minority groups "tend to exaggerate the extent to which this [pluralization] happens; those from the dominant ethnic group, to minimize it."²⁷ This may well be because of a reluctance on the part of the dominant group to recognize its waning power, and an eagerness on the part of subordinate group members to affirm their success, value, and equality in society.

Mormons and "Minorities"

Over the past three decades a growing literature has developed on the sociological aspects of Mormonism. Much of this focuses on the Mormons themselves, rather than their interactions with their neighbors, although some work does seek to explain their attitudes with respect to minorities, particularly African Americans and to a lesser extent the Jews.²⁸ Another body of literature, more popular than scholarly, and consisting mostly of interviews with non-LDS

²⁶Ibid., 215-220

²⁷Ringer and Lawless, 86

²⁸Armand L. Mauss, "Sociological Perspectives on the Mormon Subculture," Annual Review of Sociology 10 (1984), 437-460.

people, has begun to treat the subject of how Mormons, particularly those in Utah, treat those around them who do not share their beliefs.

Most notable among the professional sociologists, Armand L. Mauss has probably done more to research Mormon attitudes towards minorities than anyone else. His Ph.D. dissertation, already cited, reveals some interesting pieces of information. Mauss found that although Mormons may hold generally more negative religious attitudes towards Jews, their secular attitudes are generally much more positive than those of other Christian denominations.²⁹ That is to say that although Mormons may accept the religious idea that the Jews are being punished by God for having killed Christ, Mormons do not extrapolate that to secular feelings such as that Jews are greedy and more likely to cheat in business. Mauss also found that Mormons who tested more orthodox, or more dogmatic, expressed less racial prejudice against blacks, which contradicts the general trend in Christian churches.³⁰

Dr. Carol Markstrom-Adams, a professor of psychology at Utah State University, and a Presbyterian, has published two papers dealing with the experience of Presbyterian adolescents in Utah. One paper simply reported on a conversation about Mormons that she held with her six member

²⁹Mauss, 107-108

³⁰Ibid., 177

youth Sunday school class. She reported that the interviewees felt more discrimination and prejudice in the elementary grades than in high school, that they were somewhat socially isolated, that some had problems dating in their community because of not being Mormon, and finally, the group expressed criticism of some LDS theological ideas.³¹

Markstrom-Adams' other paper focused on attitudes of Mormons and non-Mormons in Utah toward intergroup dating. She concluded that Mormons express more reluctance to date outside their own group, mainly because of their religious beliefs about the value of endogamy. Mormons also tended to see dating as a path towards marriage, rather than an enjoyable social activity. Interestingly, 42 percent of the Mormon sample felt that barriers to dating consisted of unacceptable beliefs, standards, values and moral conduct on the part of non-Mormons.³²

Phillip R. Kunz, a Brigham Young University sociologist, has conducted studies on BYU students with respect to their attitudes towards blacks, between 1979 and 1989. He uses the Bogardus Social Distance scoring method

³¹Carol Markstrom-Adams, "A Qualitative Analysis of the Impressions and Experiences of Religious Minority Adolescents," Religious Education 84 (Summer 1989): 417-427.

³²Carol Markstrom-Adams, "Attitudes on Dating, Courtship, and Marriage: Perspectives on In-Group Versus Out-Group Relationships by Religious Minority and Majority Adolescents," Family Relations 40 (January 1991), 91-96.

to measure the social distance between his subjects and members of the African American community.³³ Kunz found that from 1979, after the LDS church had allowed blacks into the ranks of its priesthood, social distances between his subjects and African Americans gradually, and consistently closed. The 1989 sample tested at a social distance of 1.8 on the scale, still somewhat lower than the mean of 1.6, but still indicating a generally wide acceptance of African Americans. Kunz points out that social distances have generally decreased and, hence, the subsequent decline in social distance between Mormon BYU students and African Americans may be due as much to a more open society in general, than to any specific religious belief.³⁴

In a study on stress among rural Utahns, Richard

³³The Bogardus scale is based on a series of questions numbered from 1 to 7, which ask a subject whether or not they would admit members of some other group to the following relationships: 1, to close kinship by marriage; 2, to a club as a personal friend; 3, to a street as a neighbor; 4, to employment in the same occupation; 5, to citizenship in one's country; 6, as visitors only to one's country; and 7, would exclude them from one's country. Several members of a test group will be asked to rank member of some other group on this scale, according to what relationships they would find acceptable. The resulting numbers can be averaged to show the social distance between the two groups, as perceived by the test subjects. Hence, a score of 1.8 shows that most of the Mormon test subjects in Kunz's study would admit African Americans to a club, or to a close personal friendship, and that a few, though not all, would feel comfortable with African Americans marrying into their families.

³⁴Phillip R. Kunz and Yaw Oheneba-Sakyi, "Social Distance: A Study of Changing Views of Young Mormons Toward Black Individuals" Psychological Reports 65 (1989), 195-200.

Krannich, Pamela J. Riley and Ann Leffler found that non-Mormons reported a consistently higher level of stress than did Mormons. They speculated that this may be due to their exclusion from the informal Mormon support structure, but did not offer any firm reasons to explain this difference.³⁵ This may be expected in light of the fact that rural Utah communities tend to be more heavily LDS than do urban areas.

Deborah Byrnes and Gary Kiger did a study in an unnamed Rocky Mountain area state, on religious prejudice in elementary school children. Because nearly all of the subject children were LDS, and because both authors work at Utah State University, it may well be that their test area was in Utah. At any rate, it dealt with a majority population of Mormons. They found that rural children tended to be more religiously prejudiced than their urban counterparts, as judged by the frequency of their making blanket positive or negative statements about various religious groups during interviewes conducted as the basis of the study. However, these results correlate with other studies where the majority consisted of some group other

³⁵Richard S. Krannich, Pamela J. Riley, and Ann Leffler "Perceived Stress Among Nonmetropolitan Utah Residents" Lifestyles: Family and Economic Issues 9 (Winter 1988), 281-296.

than Mormons.³⁶

In an article that does not deal directly with Mormons, Morris Rosenberg discussed a study of how a child is affected by living in an area which is dominated by some religious group other than his/her own. The study focused on the experience of high school students in New York City. Rosenberg found that students raised in areas where their religion was in a decided minority not only reported more incidents of teasing or exclusion based on religion, but also developed a lower sense of self-worth than did those who were raised in areas where their religion predominated, or where a mixed environment existed.³⁷

Most of the popular literature concerning relations between Mormons and their neighbors comes from local magazines such as This People, Sunstone, and Utah Holiday, as well as a few magazines published by the various denominations which maintain churches in the area. These articles, based mostly on interview data, treat social isolation, religious pressures, political frustrations, and prejudicial behavior based on religious affiliation as their main themes. Much of what they report is mirrored in the

³⁶Deborah Byrnes and Gary Kiger, "Structural Correlates of School Children's Religious Intolerance," Educational Research Quarterly 11, no. 3, 18-25.

³⁷Morris Rosenberg, "The Dissonant Religious Context and Emotional Disturbance," in Social Psychology of the Self-Concept, ed. Morris Rosenberg and Howard B. Kaplan (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1982), 314-325.

data that will be presented later in this thesis, as well as by that already discussed.³⁸

Methodology

This thesis consists of a report on oral interviews conducted with members of the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Baptist (National Baptist Convention) churches, as well as with a smaller number of Jews, and Buddhists who live in Utah. These groups were selected for different reasons. The Roman Catholics were selected because of their size, being the largest church group in Utah after the LDS church. The Presbyterians are one of the two or three largest Protestant groups in the state and were also selected for their size. Baptists, when all conventions are combined, are the third largest church group after the LDS and the Catholics, so it seemed natural to select one convention to focus on. The National Baptist Convention consists of mostly African American churches, and was selected for the racial ingredient that would be added to the study. Jews and Buddhists are two of the largest groups in Utah that are outside the Christian tradition and will be used to provide

³⁸See Fred Lilly, "How Christians Adjust to Life in Mormon Country," National Catholic Register 59 (January 23, 1983), 1,8: Sam Lucere, "Utah Catholics Challenged to Witness Their Faith," Our Sunday Visitor (September 8, 1985): Paul Swenson, "Mormons and Gentiles," Utah Holiday 6 (November 8, 1976), 6-17, 40-41: Maureen Jensen Ward, "Leaving Them Out?" This People 9 (Spring 1988), 21-26.

a contrast to the experience of the Christian groups.

Interviews were conducted with four clergy members of each of the first three groups, and with a single clergyman from each of the latter two. Eight interviews each, with Catholic, Presbyterian and Baptist laypersons were conducted, and four with Jewish and Buddhist laypeople, resulting in a total of 46 interviews. These interviews were then transcribed, resulting in a total of 521 single spaced pages of transcription. This information forms the basis of this thesis.

Qualitative data may suggest areas for further quantitative research, and will also provide a human backdrop which can be used to flesh out and vivify more numbers oriented studies. Such research also can suggest topics of future research.

Clergymen to interview were chosen at random from the phonebook and were located from Fruit Heights, in northern Davis County, to Payson, about twenty miles south of Provo, with most being in the Salt Lake area. Laypeople were chosen at random from lists of possible interview candidates provided by the clergymen who lived in the same general area. The makeup of each group of interviewees will be discussed below, when each group is individually examined. Questions that were asked were uniform, although sometimes the subject requested a clarification and the question was repeated in a modified form. Follow up questions were asked

for clarification or to bring out further information during the interviews. Interview results will be reported based on the order of these questions, which are listed in appendixes B and C, respectively.

A brief introduction to the history of each group will be provided, and then the results of these interviews will be examined group by group to evaluate whether or not the characteristics of the experience of these people fit within the traditional framework of majority/minority interactions.³⁹ The interviews with the different groups will then be compared with each other to see if any great differences appear.

³⁹These denominational historical sketches were largely written while I worked as a research assistant for Dr. James B. Allen of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History at Brigham Young University. Appendix A was also prepared during this same time. This information became the basis for a chapter that Dr. Allen wrote on religion in Utah for a forthcoming history of the state since World War II and is here used by his permission.

Chapter 2

The Roman Catholics⁴⁰

Catholic involvement in Utah started in 1776, when Fathers Silvestre Velez de Escalante, and Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, along with several other men, traveled through Utah in a failed attempt to find a route between Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Monterey, California. However, the two kept a diary that eventually influenced people in their decision to come to trap and trade in the Utah region as did the maps that the Catholic Fathers made while traveling.

The next Catholic clergyman, to enter Utah, Father Bonaventure Keller, came in 1859 as a result of the establishment of Camp Floyd, a camp for Johnston's army, which came in 1858 in response to rumors of a Mormon rebellion. Father Keller was probably the first non-Mormon ecclesiastical leader to hold services in the state. The priests who followed Bonaventure were challenged by the transitory nature of the Catholic presence in the state.

⁴⁰Anyone seeking to learn about Catholic history in Utah, must turn to: Bernice Mooney, The Salt of the Earth: The History of the Catholic Church in Utah, 1776-1987 (Salt Lake City: Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, 1992), as the definitive history to date. The historical information on Catholics for this section comes, in the main, from Mooney's book. See also, James B. Allen, "Education and the Arts in Twentieth Century Utah," in Utah's History, ed. Richard D. Poll, et. al. (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1989), 614-615.

Employment in the army, mule freighting, stage coaching, and especially mining created an unstable population, and no church was established until 1871, when the church of St. Mary (which would later become the cathedral of the Madeleine) was dedicated in Salt Lake City.

Bishop Lawrence J. Scanlan came to Salt Lake City in 1873 and began vigorous efforts to build up the Catholic faith in Utah. It was his lot to try to bring together a rather disparate and transitory population. An outgoing man, he made many friends within the community and it was under his guidance that the Cathedral of the Madeleine was actually built and, in 1909, dedicated for use. Catholic cathedrals differ from regular parish churches in that they become the seat of the Bishop and provide a central headquarters for each diocese, hence, the Salt Lake Diocese had a premenant home.

Bishop Joseph M. Glass, who succeeded Bishop Scanlan, worked to send Utahns to train for the priesthood, to increase the number of Catholic clergymen in the state, and to build up the Catholic educational system, consistent with American Catholic educational policy. From his appointment as the Bishop of Salt Lake City in 1915, until his death in 1926, Bishop Glass saw the establishment of six new schools in Utah.⁴¹

For the next six years, John L. Mitty served as Utah's

⁴¹Mooney, 346-351: Allen, 614

bishop. During his tenure he worked to improve services for the Hispanic Catholics. He also saw the opening of four more Catholic schools.⁴²

Bishop James E. Kearny served the Catholics of Utah for the next five years until 1937. Under his leadership, the Cathedral of the Madeleine was finally consecrated, as prior to that time it had not been paid for completely. Once the Cathedral debt had been retired, the building could, without reservation, be consecrated to God and turned over to Him through the symbolic consecration ceremony.

Duane G. Hunt, the second longest serving bishop of Utah, presided from 1937 until 1960. Hunt was the first and only bishop to have been chosen from among the priests already in the diocese. Hunt was active in communicating his beliefs. He continued to write for the diocesan newspaper, the *Intermountain Catholic*, which began in 1926 before his ordination, and participated in a number of speaking tours around the nation. Bishop Hunt also invited a number of religious orders to come to Utah, including the Sisters of St. Benedict who eventually set up St. Benedict's hospital in Ogden. Hunt also saw the establishment of St. Joseph's Villa for the elderly, as well as the formation of a Trappist monastery in Huntsville. Hunt also broadcast a weekly service for some twenty five years each Sunday on KSL

⁴²Ibid.

Radio.⁴³

From 1960 until 1980, Msgr. Joseph Lennox Federal officiated as Utah's Bishop. He presided over the building of a new Judge Memorial High school, laying the cornerstone in November of 1960. He also participated in the Second Vatican Council and was responsible for implementing the momentous reforms of the Council in the Salt Lake Diocese. Bishop Federal also oversaw a restoration project on the Cathedral of the Madeleine. After his 1980 retirement, he continued to live in the area and serve his church in various ways.⁴⁴

From 1980 until 1993, Bishop William K. Weigand held the office of Bishop in Salt Lake City. Prior to his appointment, he had spent a number of years in Cali, Colombia, working in a poor parish of some 60,000 members. His success there brought him the ordination to bishop, and he worked to bring a number of Colombian priests to Utah with him, one of whom participated in this thesis project. Bishop Weigand began a practice of offering mass, annually, for each ethnic group in the diocese. He also worked to improve diocesan services for the various groups within the Catholic fold, such as Native Americans and Hispanics. Bishop Weigand also worked to help write a position paper on the poor which became a pastoral letter to the Catholic

⁴³Mooney, 208-217

⁴⁴Mooney, 352-361

church.⁴⁵ In 1995, George H. Niederauer was ordained as Bishop of Salt Lake City, taking the place left vacant when Bishop Weigand had been named to a Bishopric in Sacramento in 1993.

Currently, more than 75,000 Catholics, in 43 parishes make their home in Utah.⁴⁶ Most of the parishes went through a mission stage where a limited membership could not support a full-time priest, during which time various Fathers would often commute to say Mass for them.

For example, in 1941, St. Thomas Aquinas Parish was established in Logan. However, this parish was to serve Catholics in Box Elder, Cache, and Rich counties, as well as those in the Logan metropolitan area. Thus, Father Joseph H. Valine, OP and his assistant, Rev. Colin V. McEachen, OP, took turns traveling to Corinne, Brigham City, and Tremonton to offer mass in private homes, American Legion buildings, the facilities of other churches, or in the local city hall. In 1950, Brigham City became its own congregation, and no longer needed the services of these roving priests.⁴⁷

Often, a spurt of growth in some local company would bring in additional Catholics, and a church would be constituted. During periods of growth, these small mission

⁴⁵Mooney, 392-402

⁴⁶Deacon Mayo, Phone interview by Jesse S. Bushman, 3 January 1995, Salt Lake City, Utah, notes on interview in possession of Dr. James B. Allen, Brigham Young University.

⁴⁷Mooney, 255-256.

congregations also received financial assistance from larger parishes within the diocese. As with all denominations, dedication of a chapel and acceptance as a full-fledged parish usually gave the Catholics a greater sense of community, independence, and completeness.

Catholics have also participated in a large number of social programs and efforts in Utah since WW II. In 1957 a Newman Center for college students was opened near the University of Utah, and was eventually combined with St. Thomas Aquinas Church. The purpose of the Newman Centers is to "foster the spiritual, educational, and social welfare of Catholic students attending non-Catholic universities."⁴⁸ Newman Centers were also organized at Dixie College (organized in the early 1980s), Southern Utah University, Weber State University (organized in 1957), Snow College (organized in 1985), and the College of Eastern Utah.⁴⁹

The Guadalupe Center, a clearinghouse for information and assistance for Hispanics of any religious affiliation, was opened in 1962 and then in 1966 moved into an old warehouse in Salt Lake City. Services offered through the center include those of Westside Catholic Credit Union, the Voluntary Improvement Program for basic adult education, the Westside Family Market, the Utah non-profit Housing Corporation, and SOCIO (Spanish-speaking Organization for

⁴⁸Ibid., 411.

⁴⁹Ibid., 411-415.

Community, Integrity and Opportunity), a Chicano advocacy group. The Utah Migrant Council and the Thunderbird Youth Center also operate out of Guadalupe's facilities. La Morena Cafe opened up in conjunction with the center to provide funds for its operation. The cafe proved to be the main source of income for Guadalupe for some time. After the construction of the Triad Center in Salt Lake City, La Morena took up residence there, but closed its doors in 1986. The Guadalupe Center continues to be an influence and an aid to the Hispanics in Salt Lake.⁵⁰

In 1964, St. Thomas House for Men, a homeless shelter, opened in Salt Lake City. In a further effort to serve Salt Lake City's poor, in 1967, a number of Catholic Sisters opened St. Vincent de Paul Thrift Store, meant to supply affordable clothing to the indigent. Eventually meals began to be served at the facility, and it has grown into one of the largest soup kitchens in the metropolitan area, serving several hundred meals every day, as well as providing a wide range of services to the elderly.

St. Vincent de Paul receives support from a number of different denominations. When, in 1986, it was destroyed by fire, a fund raising drive brought support from all over the community, with sizeable donations being given by many different denominations so that a new facility could be built.

⁵⁰Ibid., 232-233.

In 1947, several Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word, at the request of then Bishop Duane G. Hunt, established a home for the aged, St. Joseph's Villa, in Salt Lake City. Today, St. Joseph's has 175 beds, caters to mostly non-Catholic patients, is one of two non-profit organizations of its type in Utah, and is the largest nursing home in the state.⁵¹ The Villa has facilities for physical therapy, a beauty shop and recreational areas. Currently, a large addition to the facility is being added greatly increase the number of services St. Joseph's can supply. These services include apartments for seniors who can care for themselves, but need health care facilities close by, increased residential areas, for those needing minimum supervision, a transitional care unit for seniors recovering from illness or accident, an adult day care center to operate during normal working hours, a senior clinic providing geriatric care to the community, a special care unit for people suffering from alzheimers or other dementia, and expanded long term care.⁵²

Holy Cross Hospital, which first opened its doors in late 1875 had, at the time of the end of WW II, some 155 beds. In 1958, an expansion project began to update the hospital, provide modern surgery, and emergency rooms, a

⁵¹Deseret News, (Salt Lake City), May 29, 1993.

⁵²Lori Peterson, phone interview by Jesse S. Bushman, 10 January, 1995, Salt Lake City.

business office, a laboratory, and also x-ray and dietary departments. Eighty eight additional beds were also added to the hospital, and a helipad opened in mid 1968. An eye care center opened at Holy Cross in 1974. Through the 1970s the hospital established five local clinics to serve communities at a distance from health care facilities, including three in the Salt Lake area, one in Magna, and one in West Jordan.

In 1977, the hospital again modernized its surgery and intensive care units, as well as the emergency rooms. A center for breast problems opened in 1984. In 1987, a major renovation to replace the old west wing, built in the early 1900s began, with the fundraising drive to finance construction being spearheaded by former Utah governor, Scott Matheson and his wife Norma. A school of nursing operated at the hospital from 1901 until 1973. In 1986, St. Benedict's Hospital in Ogden became a subsidiary of Holy Cross Health System.⁵³

In 1946, Bishop Hunt dedicated St. Benedict's Hospital, a 150 bed facility in Ogden, run by the Sisters of St. Benedict, St. Joseph, Minnesota. The hospital was paid for largely through a grant from the federal government. In 1947, the hospital established a school of nursing that endured for some twenty years, and in 1949, a psychiatric unit began operation. In 1973, the psychiatric unit became

⁵³Mooney, 85-90.

a substance abuse and dependency treatment center. In 1977, with the construction of a new facility, St. Benedict's moved to a different location where it remains to this day. The new facilities included a radiation therapy center to treat cancer patients. The Eccles family also donated money for an eye center in 1978.⁵⁴

Catholics have also been involved in a number of educational endeavors, both in terms of parochial schools, providing religious instruction, and in adult literacy programs. From 1875, when Catholics founded their first school, St. Mary's Academy, in Salt Lake City, to the present, they have established elementary and high schools, nursing schools, and two college level institutions. Presently, eleven schools in Utah, nine elementary and two high schools are under Catholic supervision. Some 3800 students are enrolled and 300-400 are on a waiting list each year. The majority of the schools are located in the Salt Lake area, with two others in Ogden, and one in Price. Despite a national downward trend, Utah's Catholic schools continue to do quite well and have a rosy outlook.⁵⁵

Two Catholic Indian Centers were also established; one in Brigham City, and the other in Fort Duchesne. In Brigham City priests of the Society of Jesus began religion classes for Catholic Students in 1954. In 1978, these classes were

⁵⁴Ibid., 276-279.

⁵⁵Deseret News (Salt Lake City), November 1, 1992.

moved to a new facility built by the Catholics across the street from the school. In conjunction with this effort, in 1950, Our Lady of Victory Missionary Sisters began to work with Navajos boarding at the school. For twelve years, beginning in 1950, these sisters held an annual Christmas party, providing a gift for all who attended. The Brigham City center closed in 1984 when the Intermountain Indian School shut its doors. The Kateri Tekakwitha Indian Center opened in Fort Duchesne in 1982, to provide social support and instruction for the Ute Indians.⁵⁶

In the mid 1980s, a project began to renovate the Cathedral of the Madeleine, one of Salt Lake City's principal landmarks. Unable to raise the necessary \$8.1 million, the Catholics appealed to the community for help. A twenty person advisory board was set up to help raise the necessary funds, with half of those persons coming from outside the Catholic community. Donations came not only from the Catholics of Utah, but also from the Episcopal Diocese, the LDS church, other religious bodies, and numerous Utah businesses and industries, enabling work to begin in early 1991.

The building was thoroughly cleaned, inside and out. Frescoes and paintings were restored, wood paneling cleaned, and a new altar, baptismal font, Bishop's screen, and organ were installed. On February 20th, 1993, the Cathedral was

⁵⁶Mooney, 422-423.

re-dedicated by the Most Reverend Bishop William K. Weigand, of the Salt Lake Diocese. In recognition of the assistance from the LDS church, Thomas S. Monson, a member of the LDS First Presidency, was asked to speak at the rededication mass. He commented on the positive addition that Catholics make to Utah, and congratulated them on their refurbished cathedral.⁵⁷ The newly renovated cathedral provides an elegant home for a people that have added much, and continue to add much, to Utah's environment and way of life.

Interview Results

Clergy

1. Background Information

All Roman Catholic clergy were male priests, two of whom were born and raised in the U.S., and two Hispanics who were raised in El Salvador, and Colombia, respectively. The two priests of who grew up in the United States were ages 71 and 72, the two Hispanics, 42 and 43. The oldest priest had spent his entire 46- year ministry in Utah and was retired. He had served in the Salt Lake area, Ogden, and Moab. The other older priest had worked in Utah for

⁵⁷Deseret News (Salt Lake City), 27 February 1993, Church News Section, 3.

fourteen years in the Salt Lake area, Delta, and in Payson. Of the two younger priests, one had ministered in Utah for a total of ten years, both in the Salt Lake area, and throughout Carbon County. The last of the four has spent just short of three years in Utah, all in the Provo area.⁵⁸

2. Social and Interdenominational Ministry

All four priests indicated that their congregations have worked in some kind of community-oriented social ministry at one time or another. These activities consisted mostly of providing basic needs for the poor through food and shelter operations, but also included a low rent housing for men who were getting off of an addictive substance. One priest operated a series of English instruction classes at his church for Hispanic parishioners.

When asked about community response to these efforts, one priest indicated that he was not personally involved in

⁵⁸Father Thomas J. Kaiser, interviewed at St. Vincent de Paul Catholic Church in Sandy, Utah, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 24 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1, 5: Father Leonidas Lopez, interviewed at Sacred Heart Catholic Church in Salt Lake City, Utah, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 5 June 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 2: Father Walter Riendeau, interviewed at San Andres Catholic Church in Payson, Utah, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 9 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1: Father Pedro Umana, interviewed at St. Francis Assisi Catholic Church in Provo, Utah, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 11 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1.

the activities and could not say.⁵⁹ The other three indicated that responses had been uniformly positive. No negative experiences were expressed.⁶⁰

Interdenominational work received mixed attention from these priests. Two stated that they were aware of ministerial associations in their areas, but one did not attend those meetings and the other went occasionally.⁶¹ One of these priests said that as far as interdenominational work, "everybody's sort of shy in a way," because of being unsure about who was a friend and who an antagonist.⁶² The other of these two felt that when exchange was necessary, it was generally friendly and cordial, but was not strongly participative.⁶³

The latter two priests have both participated in a number of interdenominational services. The Provo based priest has held joint services during December and on Martin Luther King, Jr. Day and says that the last service was attended by over 60 representatives of five different faiths. This same priest works with various denominations in a single food and shelter effort because the churches individually do not have the resources to take care of the

⁵⁹Riendeau, 2-3

⁶⁰Leonidas, 2: Kaiser, 1-2: Umana, 1-2

⁶¹Riendeau, 3-4: Leonidas, 2

⁶²Riendeau, 3

⁶³Leonidas, 2

needs of the community in that area. Once in a while, he states that the Provo church can also allow a person to sleep in their building for a single night. He characterized the cooperation between the churches as being good when it does happen, with the best cooperation occurring in the area of providing for people's physical needs.⁶⁴ The final priest, who is retired, helped to set up ministerial associations in both Ogden and Magna. He worked to have mixed activities with Catholics, Baptists, Lutherans and Episcopalians. He felt that there was a lot of good cooperation in ministering to physical needs, but still a great deal of divergence doctrinally.⁶⁵

No priest has worked independently with an LDS leader in a co-operative setting. All four have worked exclusively with LDS ecclesiastical leaders through the forum of local ministerial associations. Two mentioned that they have had more interactions with LDS individuals than with LDS leaders.⁶⁶ The retired priest stated that over the years he has seen an improvement in the attitude of LDS leaders toward their local ministerial associations. LDS attendance at these meetings has increased and they have seemed more open to cooperation in terms of social ministry and joint worship services. The same priest also noted that Charles

⁶⁴Umana, 2-3

⁶⁵Kaiser, 2-3

⁶⁶Riendeau, 4: Kaiser, 3-4

Redd, a wealthy Mormon, donated land in La Sal for the building of a Catholic church so that his mainly Hispanic ranch hands could have a place to worship.⁶⁷

3. Social and Political Impressions

None of the four priests have ever actively led their congregations in any political cause, though two made sure to point out that they could and did hold strong personal political opinions. Personal involvement on the part of parishioners was encouraged by three.⁶⁸ When describing Utah's politics, three priests characterized Utah's politics as "dominated by the [Mormon] church," or "cliquish" and not very open to outside, non-traditional voices [i.e. non-Mormons, or politicians and constituents with more liberal political agendas].⁶⁹ One of these same priests felt that although the Mormon church hierarchy did not directly meddle in politics, the LDS people in office and involved in politics used their influence to favor the LDS point of view, to the exclusion of others, although he did not explain where that exclusion takes place.⁷⁰ That any non-LDS person could get elected in Utah surprised one

⁶⁷Kaiser, 3-4

⁶⁸Umana, 6: Kaiser, 4: Riendeau, 4-5

⁶⁹Riendeau, 5: Leonidas, 4: Umana, 6-7

⁷⁰Umana, 6-7

respondent.⁷¹ When questioned more closely, none of the four felt that the LDS church leaders plotted to control politics, but that they were lopsided as a result of the LDS people acting on their own beliefs. One noted that it would be the same in a Catholic dominated area.⁷²

The clergy all responded differently to the request to typify the clerical experience in Utah. One stated that it challenged him personally to see where his own tradition fit into the majority culture, and to discover what good he could take from the LDS faith to bolster his own.⁷³ Another stated that aside from being aware of the LDS majority, he often had to deal with people who had started life as Catholics, converted to the LDS religion, and then chosen to return to their original faith.⁷⁴ The one priest who worked in a rural parish remarked that rural work in Utah could become discouraging and depressing as a result of the sparse Catholic population, but that very good bonds between clergymen developed as a result of this challenge.⁷⁵ The last felt that "for all practical purposes, the Mormons have their world, and we have our

⁷¹Kaiser, 5

⁷²Riendeau, 5

⁷³Leonidas, 2-3

⁷⁴Umana, 7

⁷⁵Riendeau, 8-9

world.⁷⁶ The same priest felt that clergy who had been reared in Utah had trouble shaking off a minority mindset and that it was easier for those priests who had lived in predominantly Catholic areas to keep from becoming antagonistic and bitter.⁷⁷

Two priests characterized Utah's culture as being "less polyglot" than other states, or more "narrow."⁷⁸ They felt that Utah's religious homogeneity fostered a higher level of conformity. One added that it is difficult to fit in if you are not Mormon and that some parishioners call Utah "another nation."⁷⁹ One priest compared Utah to Scandinavia, saying that the state reminded him of that region. He also remarked on the cleanliness, open space, and neatness of Utah.⁸⁰ The last priest said, simply, "I wish it was the same culture that was all over the United States."⁸¹ He elaborated that the value placed on church attendance and involvement impressed him.

Reactions to the question on the social environment varied. "Generally friendly," was one characterization.⁸²

⁷⁶Kaiser, 9

⁷⁷Kaiser, 8

⁷⁸Riendeau, 5-6: Umana, 5

⁷⁹Umana, 5

⁸⁰Leonidas, 3

⁸¹Kaiser, 4

⁸²Riendeau, 6

Two pointed out that LDS wards consume most of the social time available to Mormon congregants and constitute much of the social activity for those communities.⁸³ One of these two felt that Catholics should just realize this and live with it. The other felt that it was not right and related a story about a man who had felt somewhat left out for five years, and then, after joining the LDS church, felt quite accepted.⁸⁴ The last stated that Utah seemed to hold to rural, protectionist attitudes, and was not very accepting of outside influences. He felt that there was a rather zealous protection of the life of the state and added that there may be some streaks of racism.⁸⁵

When asked to characterize Utah's religious environment, one priest said, simply, "Religion, I think, is the blood of this state."⁸⁶ Another felt that the LDS influence promoted religion generally and that as a result, all faiths were stronger in Utah than in other places.⁸⁷ One priest repeated his characterization of Utah as another nation, and mentioned that in Utah, people care about what you are, as opposed to other states where no one seems to

⁸³Kaiser, 5: Umana, 5

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Leonidas, 3-4

⁸⁶Leonidas, 4

⁸⁷Riendeau, 6

worry about which church their neighbors attend.⁸⁸ The last priest felt Utah's religious climate to be "100 percent better than anywhere else in the United States."⁸⁹ Again, he felt this resulted from the seriousness with which people treated their church affiliation.

4. Children, Teenagers, and Adults

When asked about the experience of children in their congregations, two priests responded that life in Utah led to positive results. They felt that because the children would be challenged for their faith, they would learn to stand up for who and what they were, and hence, would be stronger individuals, and firmer members of their faith community. Although, one of these priests maintained that it might be somewhat more difficult to develop that strength, as the Catholic infrastructure is not as strong in Utah as in other areas where Catholics are more numerous.⁹⁰

The other two priests focused on the fact that some of their children experience being ostracized in the public schools and in the neighborhoods. One pointed out that this seems to be worse in rural areas where the locals are less exposed to diverse cultures. Both did hasten to add that

⁸⁸Umana, 4-5

⁸⁹Kaiser, 6

⁹⁰Leonidas, 5-6: Kaiser, 6

not all children experience this isolation, but that it does definitely occur.⁹¹

Teenagers have problems with dating because of the limited number of other Catholics, particularly in outlying areas and some parents have even moved out of the area so their children would have more prospects in this area.⁹² Two priests felt that peer pressure in the teen years accounted for some conversions of Catholic youth to the LDS religion. One added that he felt this to be a form of manipulation and strongly objected to it.⁹³ One priest felt, again, that the experience in Utah would mainly serve to strengthen Catholic teens in their faith, while another stated that some teens do exactly the opposite, acting out and doing visible things, such as smoking and drinking coffee, just to annoy the Mormons around them, or to identify themselves as not conforming.⁹⁴

All four priests agreed that life becomes easier for Catholics in Utah as they reach adulthood. At that stage in life they can choose how to live their lives, who their contacts are, as well as other things. However, some adults may become very aggressive in their opinions, and may even react by seeking to ostracize, or belittle other religions,

⁹¹Riendeau, 7: Umana, 7-8

⁹²Riendeau, 8

⁹³Leonidas, 6: Umana, 8

⁹⁴Kaiser, 8: Umana, 8-9

particularly that of the Mormons around them.⁹⁵ Some adults are still very affected by social barriers and may leave for that reason, although, said one priest, some leave simply because of the snow, so only a portion of departures can be blamed on social or religious pressures.⁹⁶ One priest felt that adults had very little, if any, problems in Utah because of their Catholicism, while another stated that it generally depended on the attitude of the person in question.⁹⁷ Some people, according to one respondent, should just leave, while others could fit themselves into Utah life quite nicely.⁹⁸

5. Impressions of the LDS

Interestingly, when asked to characterize the LDS people that they knew, all three who responded were quite positive. They used such words as, "having sincere desire to set things right," "good, true and beautiful," and "nice people."⁹⁹ One added that LDS people strike him as being rather ambitious and also very harsh on their own

⁹⁵Leonidas, 7

⁹⁶Umana, 9

⁹⁷Riendeau, 8: Kaiser, 8

⁹⁸Kaiser, 8-9

⁹⁹Leonidas, 7-8: Kaiser, 9: Umana, 9-10

members.¹⁰⁰ This uniformly positive reaction may be due to the fact that they can choose their LDS friends, and, hence, choose good people to interact with. From some of the former comments, it would seem that these clergymen must have had at least some negative experiences with LDS people, but more likely than that, their parishioners, who number in the hundreds have brought their troubles to these priests and thus, they have stored up a number of negative experiences which may contrast with their own interactions.

To these Catholic clergy, the LDS church seems quite well organized and operated. Each of the three who responded to this question, however, added one piece of information. One felt that the LDS church did not allow enough room for dissent or discussion, life, as it were.¹⁰¹ Because another priest sees a number of LDS people who come looking for help, he wonders if the LDS services are not somewhat spiritually empty, although he cannot say from personal experience.¹⁰² The third priest felt that for a long time, the LDS church and its members tended to overlook the other faiths in the state, but that this has been changing in the past years as the LDS have developed a more positive view of their neighbors.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰Leonidas, 8

¹⁰¹Leonidas, 8-9

¹⁰²Umana, 10

¹⁰³Kaiser, 9-10

6. Final Comments

The open question at the end of the interview garnered four different responses. One priest reiterated the fact that the rural clergy members often gained support from each other in their rather challenging role.¹⁰⁴ Another felt that the Catholic and LDS churches could learn from each other, the former could share its experience in balancing liberal and conservative factions, while the latter could teach organizational skills.¹⁰⁵ The third priest reiterated, as he had several times during the interview, that Utah Catholics seem to be stronger in their faith, and added that he admires the Mormons and has a positive image of them.¹⁰⁶ The last simply related an experience he had had with some youths whom he saw as LDS visitors who had talked and laughed under their breath at one of his services, until he asked them to quiet down.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴Riendeau, 9

¹⁰⁵Leonidas, 9

¹⁰⁶Kaiser, 10

¹⁰⁷Umana, 10-11

Laypeople

1. Background Information

Of the eight Catholic laypeople interviewed, three were women and five men. Only one spent any time of her growing up years in Utah, the rest came from various places around the United States, mostly the West. Seven of the eight were married, the eighth one being twice divorced. All interviewees had children, but the children of two had either married or left the house. Interviewees included three lifetime Catholics and one who reconverted to the Catholic church after having been a member of the LDS church for some years. The others all converted to Catholicism. All but one characterized themselves as very active in their local parish. Three live in the Salt Lake area, two in Payson, one in Woodland Hills, one in Mapleton, and one in Salem. Interviewees had lived in Utah for different lengths of time, running from twenty five to two years, the average being a little over thirteen years. During two interviews, other members of the family sat down and began to add information, and some of their comments are reflected in this report.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸Ken Jensen, interviewed at his home in Woodland Hills, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 15 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: Brad Watson (real name withheld), interviewed at his office in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 1 June 1995. Transcript in possession

2. Social and Political Impressions

When asked to characterize Utah's culture, three of the laypeople responded in unequivocally positive terms. They used such superlatives as, "extraordinary," and "wonderful," or stated that they loved living here and would greatly miss it if they had to leave, that the sense of community in Utah made it a good place to live.¹⁰⁹ One respondent felt Utah to be a rather protected place, and expressed a liking for that fact.¹¹⁰ One simply called Utah a theocracy, noting that most elected officials were LDS.¹¹¹ One held a mixed opinions, saying that while he liked the outdoor activities that are popular in the state, he felt that the people themselves do not accept feedback well, and that they are too accustomed to being told what to do, and will not act

of the author, 1: David Eshelman, interviewed at his home in Payson, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 16 May, 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: Fred and Mary Klug, interviewed at their home in Salem, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 15 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: Steve Hart, interviewed at his home in Sandy, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 25 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: Christina Brzezinski, interviewed at her home in Payson, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 13 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1: Louise and Dean Hobbs and daughter Pat Edwards, interviewed at their home in Mapleton, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 13 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1: Rhea Hristou, interviewed at St. Vincent de Paul Catholic school, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 5 June 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1.

¹⁰⁹Hristou, 1-2: Hart, 2-3: Watson, 2

¹¹⁰Klug, 2

¹¹¹Brzezinski, 2

until they get the word from some authority figure.¹¹²

Only one person held a generally negative attitude, saying that Utah is out of balance because of the LDS predominance, that a greater mix of races and religions would make things move more smoothly and that the LDS dominance enforced a homogeneity on the area which kept it somewhat parochial.¹¹³

Six respondents felt Utah's social atmosphere to be quite good. They mentioned having favorable relationships with their neighbors, and having good friends in both Catholic and LDS circles. They did note that they had a tendency to make friends where they congregated, either at work or in their parish. One mentioned that he would most likely not fit into some religious circles, but that was ok, because the LDS people he knew would not fit into his own religious circles. The fact that much socializing is done in church circles was recognized, yet one man made sure to note that people in Utah have a wide variety of social activities to choose from, regardless of their faith.¹¹⁴ Sometimes, however, Mormons make the assumption that everyone around them is LDS and act as if everyone in shares a common social network, and this sometimes offends people

¹¹²Jensen, 2-6

¹¹³Eshelman, 3-4

¹¹⁴Hart, 3-4: Klug, 3: Hristou, 2: Brzezinski, 2: Watson, 2

of other faiths. The man who noted this also added that young people face some social barriers but that adults usually know what they want and are able to get it.¹¹⁵ Only one man felt the social environment of Utah to be generally closed. He stated that most activity in Utah is church oriented, and that even when such things as sports teams are community sponsored, they are dominated by the LDS participants. This domination, he said, makes deviant behavior more attractive to some people.¹¹⁶

When asked about the political atmosphere of Utah, interestingly, only three responded that there did not seem to be enough of a separation between church and state, and when pressed on this issue, they added that this influence stemmed more from officials who let their own feelings and beliefs influence their public lives more than they should, rather than some mandate from LDS church headquarters. One of these three even added that he hopes the church as an organization will not withdraw from politics because he feels it has had a very beneficial influence on the state.¹¹⁷

Three other people felt that generally politics are politics wherever you go and that Utah is not really different than any other place. They did note that Utah

¹¹⁵Jensen, 6-7

¹¹⁶Eshelman, 4-5

¹¹⁷Hobbs, 3-4: Hart, 4-5: Jensen, 7-10

happens to be rather conservative and overwhelmingly Republican, but that this did not seem to be a problem. One of the respondents served on her city council and felt that politics were probably fine in other areas of the state. Another added that her political action through the Junior League of Salt Lake had been very well received, that people had expressed much interest in the causes she led as well as willingness to participate.¹¹⁸

Two men felt that Utah would go its own way, politically, regardless of national political winds. The severity of Utah's abortion laws exemplify this independence. It seemed to one that local communities maintained a fierce independence and that this made for a lack of uniformity throughout the state in terms of local laws and ordinances.¹¹⁹ One man felt that the LDS people wanted to maintain control of politics in the state and that they let that influence their voting. He said that he knew a Catholic man who had run for city council six times and lost each time. Then this person converted to the LDS church and in the next election he won.¹²⁰ This sort of thing is chalked up, by one interviewee, to a very effective and fast acting network among LDS people.¹²¹

¹¹⁸Hristou, 2: Klug, 10: Watson, 3

¹¹⁹Jensen, 7-10: Eshelman, 5

¹²⁰Hobbs, 3-4

¹²¹Jensen, 7-10

All interviewees felt that religion plays a much bigger role in Utah than it does in any other state. Two mentioned that people seem to be preoccupied with what religion others belong to, and sometimes this can cause friction, particularly among children.¹²² Mormons also tend to talk more openly about church subjects. The subject of religion and church activity seemed, to two people, to be too consuming and at times annoying.¹²³ Two women mentioned that religion played a greater role not only in the lives of LDS people here, but also in their own lives and those of other people not of the LDS faith.¹²⁴ Women, it seems to two interviewees, do not get the respect in Utah that they deserve. One went so far as to say that in Utah, women are "substandard" human beings.¹²⁵

3. Children, Teenagers, and Adults

Catholic children seem to have mixed experiences. Three of the adults interviewed felt that these children have a similar experience in Utah, to what they would have anywhere else in the United States. One added that her children had no unique problems, but that this might be

¹²²Jensen, 11-13: Hristou, 3

¹²³Klug, 3-4: Hart, 5-6

¹²⁴Brzezinski, 3

¹²⁵Eshelman, 5-6: Jensen, 11-13

because she and her husband had consciously chosen to put them in Catholic schools and kept them involved at church.¹²⁶ One man felt that Catholic children might experience some pressure to participate in LDS activities and noted, once again, that much social activity is tied up in that denomination.¹²⁷

Two respondents felt that Catholic children face a rough time in Utah. One said that some LDS parents prevented their children from playing with Catholic children simply because of religious affiliation. Another stated that some Catholic children were teased, called names, and told that they were devil worshippers, because "it goes with what the LDS church teaches; that if it's not of the Mormon church, it's of the devil."¹²⁸ Interestingly, one of these same two people stated that her own father would not let her, as a child, participate in a girl scout type activity in her community because of its being sponsored by a local Baptist church.¹²⁹

Teenagers tend to have more pressure applied to them in terms of invitations to participate in the LDS church, than do younger children, who seem to face teasing more as a result of being recognized as different, or outside the

¹²⁶Hristou, 4: Brzezinski, 3-4: Klug, 4, 9: Hart, 6

¹²⁷Jensen, 14

¹²⁸Hobbs, 5-7: Eshelman, 6-7

¹²⁹Hobbs, 10-11

larger group. Five of the eight Catholic respondents felt that teenagers went through a lot of pressure to attend LDS events, and three mentioned that they either had, or knew children, who had converted to the LDS church.¹³⁰ Dating and marriage also posed problems, as Catholics did not seem to be able to very easily date or marry LDS people, without converting.¹³¹ Ironically, of the eight people interviewed, half were, themselves converts to Catholicism, and of those four, three had done so to be able to marry a Catholic woman. Additionally, one of the women interviewed had married a man who converted from the LDS to the Catholic faith. One man recognized this situation and admitted that if a Catholic majority existed, it would be difficult for non-Catholics to date or marry.¹³² One man felt the environment for Catholic teens in Utah to be better than that in Wyoming where he grew up, because more Catholics live in the area than did in his home town.¹³³

Adults generally have the easiest time of any of the age brackets. Three people agreed that adults, because of the control they can exercise over their own lives, do not have much of a unique experience here in Utah.¹³⁴ Two

¹³⁰Hobbs, 7-8: Klug, 9-10: Jensen, 15

¹³¹Hobbs, 7-8: Klug, 9-10: Eshelman, 7

¹³²Eshelman, 7

¹³³Watson, 4

¹³⁴Hobbs, 8: Klug, 5: Watson, 4-5

people felt that the adult experience depends on the place where Catholics work and live, stating that some business people feel that they are not given a fair shake because they are Catholic and that others feel they have been passed over for promotions because they are not LDS.¹³⁵ Two women felt that adults simply experience the heightened sense of religion that pervades the state, but are not negatively impacted by that. One woman stated that people around here had a tendency to be curious in a positive way about her Catholicism.¹³⁶ One man mentioned that sometimes LDS adults only seem to be interested in you for religious reasons. He mentioned that local ladies had visited his wife when they first moved in, yet when they found out she was not interested in attending LDS activities and meetings, these ladies quit coming by. He also felt that if he converted to the LDS faith, socially, he would be "in like Flynn."¹³⁷

Four people felt that their being Catholic had not affected the way that people they met reacted to them.¹³⁸ Two stated that they felt their being Catholic positively affected the way that people reacted to them, that they received more respect than they thought they would normally

¹³⁵Hart, 7: Eshelman, 7

¹³⁶Brzezinski, 4: Hristou, 4-5

¹³⁷Jensen, 15-16

¹³⁸Watson, 5: Klug, 5-6: Hristou, 5: Hobbs, 9

receive in other areas of the nation.¹³⁹ Thus, in their personal interactions, these people seem to have had a more positive experience than they think the typical Catholic adult goes through.

Three people felt that their own (positive) experiences are typical of most other Catholic adults they know.¹⁴⁰ One qualified this by saying some Catholic adults develop a persecution complex and complain a lot, particularly those who are not native Utahns.¹⁴¹ Two people felt that they could not typify the Catholic experience and that it depended on personal attitudes, or career choice.¹⁴² Two men felt that things would be more difficult for Catholics with children, than for them. One added that he felt that his present job as a police officer allowed him insights into life in Utah that others did not share, and hence, shaped his own opinions in a different way.¹⁴³

¹³⁹Hart, 7-8: Eshelman, 7

¹⁴⁰Brzezinski, 4-5: Hobbs, 9: 6

¹⁴¹Klug, 6

¹⁴²Hristou, 5: Watson, 5

¹⁴³Jensen, 16-17: Eshelman, 7-8

4. Impressions of the LDS

When asked how they would characterize the LDS individuals they know, all eight responded positively. Again, they used a wide variety of superlative and glowing phrases. Only two qualifications were added. One man felt that the LDS people were sometimes hypocritical, but that the ones he personally dealt with were decent, good people.¹⁴⁴ Sometimes LDS people can also be a bit "clannish," or "cliquish," according to another individual, and this can be damaging, especially to smaller children who are excluded as a result of this social structure. The same man, however, offered generally positive remarks about the LDS people he interacted with.¹⁴⁵ This generally positive response may indicate that respondents are picking negative experiences from those they have heard about through other Catholics, or also that they simply choose good people to associate with.

The LDS church as an organization drew mixed responses. Four respondents commented on the quality of the structure, mentioning that they admired different parts of the organization, ranging from the LDS welfare system, to its youth program.¹⁴⁶ Two persons mentioned that the LDS

¹⁴⁴Eshelman, 8

¹⁴⁵Jensen, 8-9

¹⁴⁶Hristou, 6: Klug, 7-8: Hart, 9-10: Jensen, 18-19

church seemed like any other organized religion, with a spiritual and business aspect.¹⁴⁷ Another man felt that the business aspects have overpowered the spiritual aspects, that the churches skyscraper office building is the real symbol of its work, not the temple.¹⁴⁸ Three people felt that sometimes the church did not allow its members enough room to think for themselves, that it was too authoritarian in nature, however, one of these men related a story about N. Eldon Tanner to illustrate how tolerant of other religions some church leaders could be.¹⁴⁹ One of these three also noted that things might be the same, as far as ecclesiastical domination goes, if the area was predominantly Catholic, or Baptist or any other denomination.¹⁵⁰

5. Final Comments

To conclude their interviews, two people simply mentioned that the Catholic church could make some improvements in its Utah infrastructure, or with intra-group relations between the various ethnic groups within the

¹⁴⁷Brzezinski, 5: Watson, 5

¹⁴⁸Eshelman, 8-9

¹⁴⁹Hristou, 6: Hobbs, 11-14: Jensen, 18-19

¹⁵⁰Hobbs, 11-14

Catholic church.¹⁵¹ Two mentioned that they felt that their Utah experience had strengthened them and that they were more active here than they had been in other areas.¹⁵² Another mentioned that he had simply enjoyed being a Catholic.¹⁵³ Finally, two women brought up the issue of diversity in Utah. They felt that sometimes different points of view were overlooked by the LDS. To sum it up, one said, "diversity means more than belonging to different wards."¹⁵⁴

Conclusion

Principal themes in the Catholic interviews centered around social interactions. Most felt that barriers exist on most age levels to their participation in various group activities. Some are willing to admit that these activities, being church sponsored, are not necessarily a place where they should have access, however, they often felt that the amount of church activity in Utah left little room for community sponsored events. The pressure to convert to the LDS religion also seemed to be a recurring theme, with teens feeling the most pressure in this area.

¹⁵¹Jensen, 20-22: Hart, 10

¹⁵²Jensen, 20-22: Hobbs, 14

¹⁵³Watson, 6

¹⁵⁴Brzezinski, 6: Hristou, 7

Others minor themes included the dominance of politics and personal lives by the LDS church, as well as the pervasive concern with religion in Utah. In general, Catholic people described having had either a predominantly favorable, or a mostly challenging experience. Those who had positive experiences tended to answer most questions in positive ways, with occasional reservations. The reverse seemed the case for those who had negative experiences. The strongest condemnations of the LDS church and Utah culture most often came from these people.

Chapter 3

The Presbyterians

The first Presbyterian passed through what was then Utah Territory, in 1864. Dr. Henry Kendall, the Secretary of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church stopped in Salt Lake City and noted that the town held possibilities for the establishment of a Presbyterian church. Some time before this, in 1860, the Reverend Sheldon Jackson had received an appointment as the superintendent of home missions for the whole of the west from Iowa to Nevada and from Mexico to Canada, as well as for Alaska. Under Jackson's supervision, the seeds of a permanent Presbyterian presence in Utah were sown.

In June of 1869, the Reverend Melancthon Hughes arrived in the predominantly non-Mormon railroad town of Corinne, twenty miles north of Ogden. For two months Hughes held his Sunday services in the local courthouse. Hughes, with the help of Jackson, established a building committee, but soon left to get married and never came back to Utah. Edward E. Bayliss replaced him in April of 1870.

Bayliss faced the challenge of high rental prices, but soon established himself and set up a Sunday School with 41 students attending. By November of 1870, under Bayliss' direction, the congregation in Corinne finished the

construction of their own chapel on two lots that had been donated by the railroad and on a third which came from a local townsman. The church listed nine people as the first official members.¹⁵⁵

Upon the request of Reverend Jackson, the Home Mission Board in New York sent Josiah Welch to Salt Lake City to set up the first Presbyterian congregation in that location. Only able to rent a loft in a livery stable, Welch held services in these rather uncomfortable conditions for nearly a year before securing a different location. Through hard work and an appeal to Eastern Presbyterian women, Welch eventually saw the dedication of the first Presbyterian church in Salt Lake City in October of 1874 at the corner of Second South and Second East.¹⁵⁶

Over time, more and more missionaries were called to the Utah Territory and assigned to new areas. Usually they encountered stiff resistance from the Mormon majority and often found it difficult to rent a place to in which to live or hold services. Some of the resistance they brought on themselves through vociferous denunciations of Mormon theology and society. Some of the antagonism between the two groups stemmed from the past treatment of Mormons in

¹⁵⁵George K. Davis, "A History of the Presbyterian Church in Utah," in Journal of The Presbyterian Historical Society 23 (Philadelphia: Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1945), 242.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., 246

the Midwestern states, and the feelings of resentment that those experiences had left with the Mormons. Many Mormons also disliked the fact that the Presbyterian teachers used their schools as a tool for the conversion of Mormon children. Duncan J. McMillan, who established a school and church in Mt. Pleasant was subjected to a personal attack by Brigham Young, and other Mormon leaders for just this reason.¹⁵⁷ Some Presbyterians had their homes vandalized. Furthermore, the people who helped these missionaries were often ostracized by their Mormon neighbors. Eventually, however, most missionaries were able to establish themselves and to create new congregations. Congregations eventually took root in Mt. Pleasant in 1875, American Fork in 1876, Manti in 1878, Brigham City in 1877, Ogden and Logan in 1878.¹⁵⁸ In 1883, the Synod of Utah, formed by permission of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, included fifteen churches.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷George K. Davies, "A History of the Presbyterian Church in Utah," in Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society 24 (Philadelphia: Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1946), 47. In his own account of the experience, McMillan states that Brigham Young held meetings with the Mormons in Mt. Pleasant where he publicly referred to McMillan as "a vile, godless man, worse than an infidel, teaching sedition, infidelity...and free love." Young then asked the people to unite to drive McMillan out of the community. It is likely, however, that this tale has grown some in the telling.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., 46-68

¹⁵⁹George K. Davies, "A History of the Presbyterian Church in Utah," in Journal of The Presbyterian Historical Society 25 (Philadelphia: Department of History of the

Many smaller congregations have come and gone since these early days, often for demographic reasons. The Presbyterians never had much success converting the Mormon population and often relied on incoming people or previously established non-Mormon residents for their membership. The population increases of the 1940s saw a rash of new churches established as World War II industries such as Geneva Steel, Morton Thiokol, and Hill Air Force Base brought in numerous non-Mormon individuals and families. Dependence on such a population, however, brought problems. For example, the Brigham City congregation built a large new facility in 1964 to house the people who had come to the area over the previous 20 years. However, in that same year, Morton Thiokol cut back its work force, and the new building became a burden for the reduced congregation. It was with relief that they burned their mortgage in 1977.¹⁶⁰

The Presbyterian Church in Utah experienced steady growth through the 1960s and then saw a small decline. In 1966, membership in Utah numbered 6,368 and in 1975,

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1947), 62. The fifteen were located in Brigham City, Mt. Pleasant, Springville, Payson, Salt Lake City, Parowan, St. George, Logan, Kaysville, Manti, American Fork, Silver Reef, Nephi, Ogden, and Fillmore.

¹⁶⁰Sara Yates, A Centennial History of the Community Presbyterian Church of Brigham City, Utah, 1878-1978 (Brigham City, Utah: Publisher unknown, 1978?), 17.

4,867.¹⁶¹ This rise and decline in membership followed a national trend for most mainline churches.¹⁶² The reasons for this demographic swing are not entirely clear. From the 1970s into the 1990s, the Presbyterian population in Utah has gradually grown back to post World War II levels. As of 1990, the Presbyterians in Utah numbered 6,658 in some 23 congregations.¹⁶³ Most of this growth resulted from an overall increase in Utah's population, as well as the establishment of large software, financial services, medical and manufacturing firms inside the state, which brought in a large number of non-Mormon employees, including a number of Presbyterian church members.

In the early years, the Presbyterian church decided to face four principal challenges in Utah: 1) the existence of polygamy; 2) the perceived anti-American nature of the Mormon church; 3) the power of the Mormon priesthood; and 4) the lack of adequate, unbiased, public schools. Presbyterians engaged themselves in all of these issues and did have a marked effect on the eventual creation of a

¹⁶¹H. Jeffrey Silliman, "Presbyterians in Utah." Unpublished 16 page paper. Copy in possession of the author. p.15.

¹⁶²Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, vol 2. (Garden City, NY: Image Books, 1975), 607-608.

¹⁶³Martin B. Bradley, Norman M. Green, Jr., Dale E. Jones, Mac Lynn, and Lou McNeil, comps., Churches and Church Membership in the United States, 1990 (Atlanta: Glenmary Research Center, 1992), 392-94; and, Presbytery of Utah Directory (Salt Lake City: Presbytery of Utah, 1994)

public school system, the abolition of polygamy, and the acceptance of Utah into the Union. It is likely that Presbyterians invested more effort in establishing a system of schools than in any of the other areas noted above.

Almost from the beginning, the Presbyterian missionaries saw that the nature of Mormon society with its co-operative style and its authoritarian structure would make direct proselyting very difficult. A confrontational relationship existed between the two groups, based on previous persecution of the Mormons in the Midwest (which had often been led by Presbyterian clergy) and the general Protestant revulsion for the peculiarities of Mormon doctrine and society.¹⁶⁴ This situation made open attempts at proselytizing very difficult, and so the Presbyterians began to establish schools as an indirect means to affect the Mormon youth. Presbyterians also established schools as a means to protect their own children and those of other non-Mormons from the influences of Mormon school teachers, many of whom could not afford to afford texts other than the Book of Mormon, and the Bible for instruction.¹⁶⁵

Until 1890, Utah did not have a public school law, and school attendance and the quality of instruction was

¹⁶⁴See, Dwyer, The Gentile Comes to Utah

¹⁶⁵See, Thomas Edgar Lyon, "Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities in Mormon Dominated Areas: 1865-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1962).

therefore minimal and generally of inferior quality.¹⁶⁶ Through the support of eastern mission societies, the Presbyterians were able to bring in college educated teachers and establish numerous schools throughout the state. Often, these small schools would precede the establishment of a congregation, reversing the order of priorities in other areas of the country. The Presbyterians created a master education plan, which included grammar schools, high schools and a college, so that students could gain a complete education. By 1884 some 33 schools had been started. At its high point in 1889, the Presbyterian system operated 36 grammar schools and four academies scattered all over the state, which served several hundred students, many of them Mormons.¹⁶⁷ With the passage of the public school law in 1890, most of the Presbyterian schools were closed. Some were given, gratis, to the state to serve as new, public schools.¹⁶⁸ Today, only Wasatch Academy in Mt. Pleasant and Westminster College in Salt Lake City remain.

Presbyterians saw the Mormon faith as essentially non-Christian, and believed that allowing a state with a

¹⁶⁶Bruce L. Campbell and Eugene E. Campbell, "Early Cultural and Intellectual Development," in Utah's History, ed. Richard D. Poll, et. al. (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1989), 300.

¹⁶⁷Silliman, "Presbyterians in Utah," 13

¹⁶⁸Dr. Donald Baird, interviewed at First Presbyterian Church in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 7 November 1994. Transcript in possession of the author.

predominantly Mormon population into the Union would be a mistake.¹⁶⁹ They made sure that the government in Washington received a vivid picture of the Mormons un-American activities and general depravity and vigorously opposed attempts at making Utah a state.¹⁷⁰ However, the announcement in 1890 by Mormon President Wilford Woodruff that the Mormon church would no longer perform polygamous marriages helped break down the barriers to statehood. Another event that brought statehood closer was the establishment of opposing national political parties. Prior to the 1890s, two parties had existed in Utah; the People's party (basically Mormon) and the Liberal party (all others). When the Mormons dissolved the People's party in 1891 and, basically by fiat, created Democratic and Republican

¹⁶⁹Most Protestants saw several Mormon beliefs, such as extra-Biblical scripture, modern revelation, the Mormon beliefs about the ultimate fate of humanity, and especially polygamy, as being in direct opposition to their understanding of real Christianity. Furthermore, the Mormon practice of referring civil disputes to their bishops, rather than to the territorial courts, seemed a direct challenge to democracy as the Protestants knew it. See, Edwin Brown Firmage, Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). A 1990 statement by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), entitled "A Present Day Look at the Latter-day Saints," has presented a thoughtful and well informed look at the LDS, creating somewhat of an about face from the nineteenth century Presbyterian position of antagonism towards the LDS church.

¹⁷⁰Ken Mulholland, interviewed at the offices of Utah Institute for Biblical Studies in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, Salt Lake City, on 24 October 1994. Transcript in possession of the author.

parties, the non-Mormons in Utah felt somewhat less threatened by the power of a Mormon political block. Thus, their support for statehood grew. In 1896, Utah became a state, further alleviating tensions between the two groups.

Presbyterians have been involved in interdenominational efforts for some time in Utah.¹⁷¹ Tensions with the Mormon community prevented any kind of dialogue or cooperative efforts until recent years, and Presbyterian relations with the Catholics have sometimes been less than cordial. In contrast, the cooperation between Presbyterians and other Protestants in Utah has been nothing short of amazing.¹⁷² In 1915, the Protestant churches in Utah realized that the dominance of the Mormon church precluded the establishment of a multiplicity of Protestant churches, particularly in smaller, rural areas. To prevent crippling competition between denominations, the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Baptists formed the Utah Interdenominational Commission and the Utah Home Mission Workers Council. These organizations worked to

¹⁷¹Silliman, "Presbyterians in Utah," 15.

¹⁷²Roman Catholics have always drawn fire from Protestant groups, and the influx of Catholic immigrants during the latter half of the nineteenth century created a nativism that fed this anti-Catholic rhetoric. The Episcopalians in Utah were very careful to avoid confrontation with the Mormons, refusing to criticize them publicly, or to attempt to openly convert them. This more relaxed approach bothered some Protestants. See, John Dixon Stewart, A History of Saint Mark's Cathedral Parish, 1867-1967, (Salt Lake City: Episcopal Diocese of Utah, 1967).

consolidate Protestant efforts in each small town. Thus, some rural Utah towns would have a single Protestant church, attended by people from various religious traditions and supported by the Interdenominational Council. The Council split up the towns, either consolidating things into a single, previously established church, or establishing only one in each new field. This organization died out in 1950, but was replaced by Shared Ministry in Utah, which was formed in 1971. Shared Ministry now includes six denominations and some 68 congregations.¹⁷³ They hold joint training for teachers and church administrators, coordinate mission work in Utah, release public statements and provide a forum for the clergy to interact and discuss issues of concern. It is the only organization of its type in the United States.¹⁷⁴ Presbyterians have also shared two Japanese congregations with the United Church of Christ since 1924.¹⁷⁵

Although participation in social ministry today is done

¹⁷³These groups are the United Presbyterians, USA, the United Church of Christ, the American Baptists, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the United Methodists, and the Disciples of Christ.

¹⁷⁴Silliman, "Presbyterians in Utah," 15 and Baird interview. It is likely that this organization is unique because of the demographic situation in Utah. In most other towns across the nation, there are enough un-churched people to support churches of more than one denomination. In many small Utah towns, there simply are not enough non-Mormons to support more than one church of any denomination.

¹⁷⁵Silliman, "Presbyterians in Utah," 14

on a congregational basis, many of Utah's Presbyterian congregations have made, and continue to make, significant contributions to the life of the community and to individual wellbeing. They support such activities as the Crossroads Urban Center, one of Salt Lake City's largest homeless shelters; the Women in Jeopardy center for battered women, the YWCA, local juvenile detention centers, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, a gasoline voucher program for stranded motorists, and the Salvation Army's meals program.¹⁷⁶ Through these efforts, and others, the Presbyterians continue to make an impact on Utah, and its people.

Interview Results

Clergy

1. Background Information

The four clergy interviewed have all been pastors in Utah for substantial amounts of time; 9, 10, 10, and 25 years. All four are married and have children, most of whom are either married or in their late teens. Three of them serve congregations in the Salt Lake area, and the fourth

¹⁷⁶Baird interview, and H. Jeffrey Silliman, interviewed at Mt. Olympus Presbyterian Church in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 2 November 1994. Transcript in possession of the author.

serves a congregation in Fruit Heights. The pastor who has served for 25 years split that time between the Salt Lake congregation and a smaller one in Richfield, Utah.

Interviews with clergy tended to be about sixty percent longer than those with lay people.¹⁷⁷

2. Social and Interdenominational Ministry

Presbyterian churches engage in a variety of social ministries. First Presbyterian operates a day care, works with Crossroads Urban Center, a shelter for the homeless, works with the Ulster project to bring Irish Protestants and Catholics together, provides gas for stranded motorists, works with the Rescue Mission for women and offers the use of its sanctuary to a number of different musical groups.¹⁷⁸ Cottonwood Presbyterian church also supports Crossroads Urban Center, as well as some other local soup kitchens.¹⁷⁹ The Fruit Heights congregation works with the Davis County Family Support Center, which is a child abuse center, with St. Mark's Gardens, a seniors housing facility

¹⁷⁷Baird, 1: David Crockett, interviewed at Cottonwood Presbyterian Church, in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 11 March 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1: Russell Durler, interviewed at Wasatch Presbyterian Church, in Fruit Heights, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 25 February 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: Silliman, 1.

¹⁷⁸Baird, 1-3

¹⁷⁹Crockett, 1

and a local food bank.¹⁸⁰ The Mount Olympus church also works with Crossroads Urban Center, as well as the YWCA's Women in Jeopardy program and the YWCA Teen Home. They also volunteer time at a juvenile detention center on occasion.¹⁸¹

When asked how the community responded to their efforts to provide social ministry, all four pastors responded that the community had been very open, and quite positive about having their help.¹⁸² One pastor, however, made the point that the Presbyterian churches can offer a lot of help for which they are not asked. For example, during the flooding that affected Salt Lake City some years ago, the LDS church was asked by the city to provide sandbagging volunteers and his congregation was not. He felt that when a problem arose, the LDS church often received requests for help from local civic authorities, but that other denominations were basically ignored, when they could make a valuable contribution to the community.¹⁸³

Interchurch cooperation seems to be somewhat better in Utah than in other areas where these men have served. Three of them stated that the predominance of the LDS presence helps their neighbors to overlook differences that might not

¹⁸⁰Durler, 2

¹⁸¹Silliman, 4-5

¹⁸²Baird, 4: Crockett, 2: Durler, 2: Silliman, 5

¹⁸³Baird, 4

be so easily passed over in other areas.¹⁸⁴ All four pastors referred to the creation of Shared Ministry and mentioned its unique character. The pastors felt that in a way they were driven together out of necessity.¹⁸⁵

Two made the point that with the amount of effort needed to maintain a Protestant church in Utah, clergy often have a tendency to "mind their own shop," which makes it very easy to become wrapped up in their own programs, to the exclusion of interchurch work. This experience seems to intensify in the rural areas, or in smaller towns outside the main population centers along the Wasatch Front.¹⁸⁶

One pastor made the statement that "I think, strangely, it's more competitive here...There's more definition that goes on here, rather than common work."¹⁸⁷ He further explained that the LDS presence forces people to consider closely who and what they are and to define that. For this reason, he felt that churches in Utah sometimes spend a great deal more energy in examining themselves, than in working with their neighbors.

Of the four clergymen, three commented on attempts to cooperate with the LDS Church on various issues. Two of

¹⁸⁴Baird, 5: Crockett, 2: Silliman, 6

¹⁸⁵Baird, 4-5: Crockett, 2-3: Durler, 3-7: Silliman, 5-7

¹⁸⁶Crockett, 2-3: Silliman, 6

¹⁸⁷Crockett, 2

them stated that cooperation was somewhat minimal, while one church carried on a great deal of interaction with the local LDS stake, even receiving help from that stake when working to raise funds for a new building.¹⁸⁸ All three respondents felt official interaction, particularly with people in the LDS hierarchy, such as area presidents and public affairs specialists, to be generally better than that with the run of the mill lay Mormon, but even then, the nature of interaction often depended on the persons with whom they worked. All three, however, conveyed the impression that relations with the LDS church and its members have improved over the years, and they expect that trend to continue.¹⁸⁹

3. Social and Political Impressions

All four clergymen stated that they have not espoused, from the pulpit, any particular political cause or position. They have, however, sought to help their people be politically active.¹⁹⁰ Three of the four felt that the LDS church has an inordinate amount of influence on the politics

¹⁸⁸Durler, 3

¹⁸⁹Baird, 6: Crockett, 3: Durler, 3

¹⁹⁰Baird, 7-8: Crockett, 3: Durler, 11-12: Silliman, 8-9

of the state.¹⁹¹ Two expressed the belief that the state legislators are mostly LDS, one even stated that 82 percent of the legislators are either LDS Bishops or Stake Presidents and that he was personally horrified by two thirds of what came out of the legislature (although this seemed to be somewhat of an exaggeration, just to make his point).¹⁹² Both of these men said that there are phone lines installed in the chambers of the legislature that run directly to the offices of the LDS church which legislators could use to receive counsel on the various issues before them. A quick call to the state House of Representatives, however, proved this assertion to be fanciful.¹⁹³ They may have meant that legislators do have the option of calling an ecclesiastical leader for counsel if they so desire. All three of the clergy who responded at length to this question felt that the LDS influence is not overt and planned, but a steady undercurrent. One pastor reported having been told by state legislators that they could only offer him an opinion on certain issues after having consulted with the

¹⁹¹Baird, 7-8: Durler, 8-9: Silliman, 9-10

¹⁹²Durler, 8. The statement that Utah's legislators are 82 percent LDS is not entirely inaccurate. However, the assertion that these same legislators are all LDS Bishops and Stake Presidents is completely inaccurate.

¹⁹³Linda Adams (Secretary, Utah House of Representatives), in a 4 August 1995 phone conversation with Jesse S. Bushman. Notes in possession of the author.

leadership of the LDS church.¹⁹⁴ This influence, however, was seen by another pastor as simply a natural outgrowth of the legislators trying to live out their faith, rather than some planned program.¹⁹⁵ The fourth pastor simply noted that the politics of Utah are extremely conservative.¹⁹⁶

When asked about the culture, all four clergymen responded that the LDS church influenced what went on in terms of social and cultural events.¹⁹⁷ The overriding sentiment expressed was that Utah culture is "Very parochial. Very self-centered. A wonderful collection of navel-gazers."¹⁹⁸ The clergy have the sense that the LDS draw upon their own people to meet their needs, overlooking the existence and the possible contribution of other groups within Utah. One pastor theorized that the LDS ignored others not because they disliked them, but simply because they did not know how to treat them. In Richfield, this pastor had simultaneously served as a city councilman, and in that capacity he received numerous calls and made a lot of contacts with people who knew exactly how to treat him. However, when he acted as a pastor, people seemed somewhat

¹⁹⁴Baird, 7

¹⁹⁵Silliman, 9-10

¹⁹⁶Crockett, 3

¹⁹⁷Baird, 10-11: Crockett, 6: Durler, 10-11:
Silliman, 12-14

¹⁹⁸Durler, 10

leery of him and did not quite know how to behave.¹⁹⁹ He credited this to the fact that many of these small town populations have been in place for a long time and, having had little or no contact with other church groups, have become kind of "ingrown."²⁰⁰ However, all of the pastors felt that relations with the LDS people are lightening up and that Mormons are becoming more aware and more sensitive of their neighbors' existence, talents, and needs.

Three pastors commented on the experience of clergy in Utah. One pastor mentioned that clergy can frequently fall victim to two dangers. He sees clergy who begin to say that all Christians are one big family and they all ought to just join together, ignoring very real differences. Others may become angry and paranoid about the Mormons. He feels that both attitudes are not conducive to effective ministry in Utah.²⁰¹ Community use for clergy in Utah did not seem so great to one pastor. He commented that the number of talented people in the LDS community makes it unnecessary to go looking for help in other areas. He also felt that some pastors may get caught up in a competitive type feeling.²⁰² The last pastor to comment on the clerical experience in Utah stated that when the Presbytery interviews candidates

¹⁹⁹Silliman, 13-14

²⁰⁰Silliman, 12

²⁰¹Baird, 12-13

²⁰²Crockett, 9

for ministerial employment in Utah, they reject anyone who comes with the goal of converting Mormons because this attitude develops animosity between the groups and is not something they want.²⁰³

The clergy saw the religious environment as somewhat oppressive. They also generally believed that aspects of religious life spill over into other areas. This can be the cause of greater religious consciousness, as all of them noted, and it can also be somewhat irritating to them and their congregations. However, the pressure from LDS people to define what one is, religiously, often drives people into greater activity when they move to Utah. One pastor stated that his classes on the Trinity in Utah were always packed, whereas, in other areas where he has pastored, his congregants responded to the invitation to such a class by saying, "Oh yawn, you know, bore me more."²⁰⁴ The religious presence in Utah also seemed to stimulate a greater degree of public morality, according to the clergy, and made it possible to do something as odd as discuss theology while waiting for a hamburger. The clergymen obviously enjoyed this benefit of living in Utah.

On the flip side, the overwhelming presence of the LDS has also created a sort of anti-majoritarian counter-culture in Utah, particularly among young people. One pastor called

²⁰³Durler, 13

²⁰⁴Baird, 9

it a "non" culture. "I mean, they're just people that want to have identity, but they don't want the identity that the predominant religious community affords them."²⁰⁵ These people may tend to respond to the pressures of conforming that exist in Mormon society by becoming somewhat belligerent, or by scapegoating the LDS church for a broad range of problems. In addition, in an effort to be completely unassociated with the LDS culture, they may take up different styles of dress, grooming or behavior that clearly mark them as not in compliance with LDS norms. The pastors who brought this up stated that in many ways this kind of bitterness is overplayed, but they were quick to add that in many cases it has a basis in real experiences.²⁰⁶ However, what proportion of this rebellion is a part of normal teenage behavior and what is due to the social/religious climate in Utah cannot be stated by this study. It is likely that both factors play a part in creating this anti-culture, as other interviewees have pointed out that some LDS kids "go off the deep end" as well.

One pastor related the story of how a congregant went to court to discuss the custody of her child, and was not given any time to state her position. The judge allowed her ex-husband to testify for forty five minutes, and then,

²⁰⁵Crockett, 6

²⁰⁶Crockett, 4: Silliman, 9

stating that he had a big church meeting to go to, did not allow the woman to give any testimony before he made his decision to award custody to the father.²⁰⁷ Probably the best example of how religion crosses boundaries came from this same pastor. He explained that if the LDS people had a whole pie, one slice would represent the outside world, and the rest would be their religious life. For the Presbyterians, the situation is reversed. Their religious life only takes up one slice. An intrusion of religion into that larger portion of the pie may seem acceptable to a Mormon, but galling to a Presbyterian.²⁰⁸

4. Children, Teenagers, and Adults

Of all the age groups, children seem to have the most difficulty adjusting to, or finding a place in the culture of Utah. Children experience pressure from their LDS peers to become involved in the activities of the LDS church, and if they refuse, are often excluded from playing with the LDS children. Furthermore, around the age of eight, when most LDS children are baptized, the Presbyterian children start to hear comments about their being somehow unworthy, or less than the LDS children because they have not gone through a similar rite of passage.

²⁰⁷Durler, 9

²⁰⁸Durler, 10

Sometimes LDS children are responsible for this exclusion, but one pastor remarked that when his seven year old son invited his entire elementary school class to his birthday party, only one child came. The parents had, one by one, called up and offered some excuse for not coming. The implication in the interview was that the parents acted this way based on this pastor's religious affiliation.²⁰⁹ Other LDS children are prohibited from playing at certain friends' houses because "there's this sort of undue influence in her household, that her husband would drink a glass of wine and smoke a pipe, and might be a bad influence on things and so on. So she can't play with this friend any more."²¹⁰ These kinds of exclusions damage children's self-esteem and can create a sense of frustration and anger in their parents.

Teenagers experience exclusion in terms of dating and social events. The LDS church tries to maintain a very active program for its youth, and so much of their social life evolves around their various churches. The Presbyterian youth find themselves on the outside. Furthermore, the LDS church teaches endogamy and encourages their youth to date only other LDS church members. Once again, one pastor mentioned that a few non-LDS youth tend to build up a negative, or rebellious identity, counter to that

²⁰⁹Baird, 10-11

²¹⁰Silliman, 11

of the "good" teens around them.

Exclusion takes other forms as well. In another example of religion flowing over traditional bounds, one pastor mentioned that the LDS students on the local high school had all read The Devil and Daniel Webster while attending an LDS religious class. When the teacher of their English class found out that they were familiar with this book, he made it assigned reading and announced a quiz on it the next day. One student in the class was Presbyterian and this created quite a problem for him.²¹¹

Presbyterians teenagers who "graduate" from Utah, however, tend to be more active in their faith and more knowledgeable about their own theology. "Because, frankly, when they go to school on Monday morning, they're going to get an examination, in the hallway, by the guy who has the locker next to theirs."²¹² Hence, when they have the opportunity to study their own tradition, they apply themselves more than the ordinary American teenager would.

Life for Presbyterian adults seems to change with the area in which they live. Three of the pastors mentioned that the stories they heard differed markedly, often depending on where the person telling them lived. Some adults love the culture and social environment of Utah, but others become somewhat bitter, or feel oppressed. A common

²¹¹Silliman, 10

²¹²Baird, 9

feeling is that they are not needed in Utah, because they are not a part of LDS society. They may go around "what if-ing," meaning that they say they could live out their faith if they were only some other place. Some also feel like they are only valued by their LDS neighbors as a potential convert and that if they do not show signs of converting they are quickly ostracized.²¹³ However, many enjoy the family orientation, the physical beauties of the state, and feel their neighbors and associates to be quite accepting and friendly.

Two pastors mentioned that some people felt that they needed to keep the fact that they were non-LDS (not necessarily that they were Presbyterian) a secret to keep their job.²¹⁴ One pastor told the story of a congregant who was told he could rise no higher in his company because he was "the wrong religion."²¹⁵ He moved to California and got another job. Entrepreneurs, and those who are otherwise self-employed, however, seem to do quite well in Utah.

5. Impressions of the LDS

When speaking about the LDS, reactions were mixed. One pastor said "the LDS church is nothing more than an

²¹³Durler, 5

²¹⁴Baird, 7: Durler, 14

²¹⁵Durler, 14

egotistical monstrosity." He felt that the emphasis on converting people, rather than valuing them as human beings seemed to be a great problem.²¹⁶ Another pastor said he did not feel that he had any right to criticize the LDS church, as he was not a member, but that he sometimes doubted statements from the hierarchy to the effect that they did not influence disciplinary actions by LDS leaders.²¹⁷ LDS mythology seems to be responsible for a lot of their strength in one minister's eyes. He also felt the LDS ability to motivate its members to be rather incredible. The preponderance of LDS people in Utah seemed also to make them overlook other faiths, in his opinion.²¹⁸ Another pastor noted that the LDS influence seems to pervade all aspects of life in Utah, and, hence, makes for very strong feelings about its actions. He also noted that LDS people sometimes overlook, or undervalue traditions other than their own.²¹⁹

6. Final Comments

Significantly, all of the pastors noted at one point or another during their interviews that the reactions of their

²¹⁶Durler, 4-5

²¹⁷Silliman, 11

²¹⁸Crockett, 9-10

²¹⁹Baird, 7-9

people typified those of minorities anywhere. "Protestants, at least, behave here, in terms of the way they think, like minorities anywhere, whether minorities happen to be racial, whether they happen to be ethnic. They have a minority mindset. There's an 'Us and Them.' There just is."²²⁰

Two pastors also pointed out that they know Mormons who live outside Utah who would not come to live here, or who find difficulty fitting in.²²¹

Laypeople

1. Background Information

Interviews were conducted with five men and three women, all of whom were quite active in their respective congregations. Only two have been Presbyterian their entire lives, the others have been members from 4 to more than 20 years. Two of those interviewed, both males, were born and raised in Utah, while the rest came at a various times throughout their lives. All interviewees had married and all of them have children at various stages of life. The six not raised in Utah have lived in the state for 20, 20, 17, 17, 16, and 4 years. Interviewees ranged in age from 41 to 66, with most being in their early fifties. Two had been

²²⁰Silliman, 8

²²¹Durler, 12: Silliman, 14

raised in Utah, the others came from various other states, three being from Ohio. Interviews were conducted at their homes from Kaysville and Fruit Heights in northern Davis County, to Sandy.²²²

2. Social and Political Impressions

Responses to the request to characterize Utah's culture varied widely, but reflected, to some extent, those of the clergy. Two laypersons mentioned that Utah seemed a little "behind" in terms of the problems and services offered by larger cities. These same two mentioned the family

²²²Vivienne Bailey, interviewed at her home in Sandy, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 25 March 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: Liza Macaroni (real name withheld), interviewed at her home in Fruit Heights, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 4 March 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: Sharon Bevans, interviewed at her home in Fruit Heights, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 11 March 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: John Brown, interviewed at his home in Kaysville, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 4 March 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: Richard Fussner, interviewed at his home in Farmington, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 11 March 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-3: Ken Mulholland, 1-2: Paul Sagers, interviewed at his home in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 25 March 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: Ed Taylor, interviewed at his home in Sandy, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 25 March 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: An additional interview was conducted with a couple who had lived in Utah for under a year, however, the tape recorder was not properly adjusted and the interview, unfortunately, was not recorded. However, I will make reference to that interview based on notes made on the interview when the error was discovered.

orientation of Utah culture.²²³ Two others said they felt rather restricted and that Utah seemed somewhat uptight and too conservative to them.²²⁴ One of the life-long Utahns mentioned having felt an "air of superiority" from Mormons, but stated that this has lessened considerably over his lifetime.²²⁵ Two felt that the Mormon influence simply pervaded every aspect of Utah culture and was impossible to really get away from. These same two felt that people outside the LDS tradition have a real need for a social group of their own.²²⁶ Finally, two of the interviewees, one of them the other life-long Utahn, felt that Utah's culture was "simply great," and "very comfortable."²²⁷

Significantly, when asked about the social environment in Utah, all interviewees responded with the sense that it revolved around the LDS church. Some did not seem bothered by this, since they did not consider themselves to be overly social to begin with. Others felt isolated and ignored. Two said that Mormons assume a joint cultural background, and tend to ignore everything outside of that.²²⁸ One man stated, "I'll tell you one thing I don't like, that

²²³Bevans, 2: Fussner, 3-4

²²⁴Bailey, 2: Sagers, 2-3

²²⁵Sagers, 4

²²⁶Mulholland, 3: Taylor, 3

²²⁷Brown, 2: Macaroni, 2

²²⁸Mulholland, 8: Taylor, 8

irritates me, Jesse. When I go into a store or I go into a business, I go to someplace, people keep telling me about 'The Church.' I said, 'The Church is the Mt. Olympus Presbyterian Church.'²²⁹ Several of these people stressed the importance of having a social group within one's own faith community, saying that the lack of such a support group could result in feelings of isolation.

When asked about the political situation in Utah, only two respondents felt comfortable, stating that things were much as they wanted them to be.²³⁰ Both were conservative Republicans. The other six all pointed out that the LDS church seems to have overly much influence on how things turn out politically. One woman felt that her political voice did not have as much influence in Utah as it had in other areas where she had lived.²³¹ Another man felt that the LDS church had really been rather restrained and wondered that they had not used more of their very evident power to affect legislation.²³²

Probably the most common response to the request to characterize Utah's religious environment was the statement that it had strengthened either their own personal faith, or that it helped their congregation be more united and more

²²⁹Taylor, 8

²³⁰Macaroni, 2: Brown, 3

²³¹Bailey, 2-3

²³²Sagers, 7

active. Four of the eight interviewees pointed this out.²³³ One clarified this by describing the "crisis of faith" that he has seen many non-LDS people go through upon arriving in the state. He saw entering people reacting by either joining the LDS church, becoming more active in their own tradition, or by joining that "non" culture that has already been discussed.²³⁴

Three mentioned that religion had more exposure in every day life. They felt that the news media covered religion more aggressively, and that people lived out their religion in public ways such as staying home on Sundays or confining their social life to their church circles.²³⁵ One interviewee stated that he felt life in rural, or small town Utah would be much tougher than in the larger cities, particularly for families with small children because of the greater concentration of Mormons in rural Utah towns.²³⁶ Two people brought up the increased cooperation between Protestant denominations that exists in Utah, stating that it was due, at least in part, to the heightened awareness of religion in Utah's culture.²³⁷

²³³Bailey, 3: Brown, 7-8: Fussner, 6-7: Mulholland, 2

²³⁴Mulholland, 2-3

²³⁵Macaroni, 7: Bevans, 5: Fussner, 6-7

²³⁶Sagers, 12

²³⁷Bailey, 3: Brown, 7-8

3. Children, Teenagers, and Adults

Four of the laypeople stated that Presbyterian children often feel left out of group activities with their peers.²³⁸ One woman noted that the Presbyterian label was not as responsible for this exclusion as the "non-LDS" label.²³⁹ Pressure was also experienced by the children to convert, or at least to conform to Mormon norms. Some children were teased because they were different. One family moved from an area, mostly to escape the effect it was having on their children, and found the area into which they moved to be markedly different. Their children have had no problems at their new school.²⁴⁰ Two interviewees did not comment because they did not raise small children while in Utah. The comment was also made that children without an active church to attend, or some other kind of social network, might have a very difficult time coping with the isolation and rejection.²⁴¹

Three interviewees stated that teenagers have the most trouble with dating and other group social events. All three mentioned that they were aware of relationships that were cut off because the two people involved were not both

²³⁸Bailey, 4: Bevans, 3: Sagers, 5, 9: Mulholland, 6

²³⁹Bailey, 4

²⁴⁰Sagers, 9

²⁴¹Sagers, 5

LDS.²⁴² This proved rather hurtful to the non-LDS person involved in each case. These same three felt that most youth socialization in Utah centers around the LDS church and that their own teenagers were on the outside of this activity. One mother said that her daughter had been somewhat ostracized when she refused to attend meetings for LDS young women.²⁴³ One of the interviewees who grew up in Utah felt that social life for teens in Utah was no different than anywhere else.²⁴⁴ The other individual who grew up in Utah felt that many teens might pick up some negative behaviors, simply to show they were not part of the LDS tradition.²⁴⁵

Adults seem to do somewhat better in Utah than their children. Half of the laypeople felt that adult life in Utah was no different than in any other place. Two expressed slight feelings of isolation, and one said he felt like a novelty.²⁴⁶ This position as an outsider made it possible for LDS people to come to him and "let their hair down," as it were. "I have a lot of LDS people come to me and they feel like they can really talk. You know, they feel like they can say "damn" if they want, or they can talk

²⁴²Bevans, 3: Macaroni, 4-5: Sagers, 9-10

²⁴³Macaroni, 4

²⁴⁴Brown, 4-5

²⁴⁵Sagers, 10

²⁴⁶Fussner, 6: Sagers, 11

about things that they do not feel comfortable talking about in other circles."²⁴⁷ Two again expressed the feeling that adult experiences vary. Some people come to Utah and love it, others are "shell shocked."²⁴⁸ Of the eight laypersons interviewed, five expressed the feeling that their experiences were typical of other Presbyterian adults they knew.²⁴⁹ Three expressed reservations about making that generalization.²⁵⁰ Coming to Utah, for one woman, made her faith stronger and increased her activity level.²⁵¹

4. Impressions of the LDS

When talking about their LDS acquaintances, most interviewees responded very positively. They felt that their neighbors were friendly and willing to help them, if they needed it. Most felt that being Presbyterian did not really impact how people reacted to them. However, two mentioned that LDS people seem to be somewhat overworked, or overburdened by their church work, their large families and

²⁴⁷Sagers, 11

²⁴⁸Mulholland, 6

²⁴⁹Bevans, 4: Bailey, 6: Brown, 9: Sagers, 11-12: Mulholland, 6-7

²⁵⁰Macaroni, 6: Fussner, 6: Taylor, 6

²⁵¹Bevans, 4

their careers, particularly women.²⁵² Two said that LDS people tend to be "clannish," or to stick to themselves.²⁵³ Perhaps the best comparison was drawn by a couple that had only lived in Utah for approximately eight months when I interviewed them. The husband stated that he felt like he had gone to someone else's family reunion. Everyone was very nice and polite, but he just was not part of the family.²⁵⁴ Two others saw LDS people as being hypersensitive to criticism and unwilling to admit that things in their lives were less than perfect.²⁵⁵ One man described the LDS people, particularly those who born and raised in Utah, as afflicted with "tunnel vision," and in need of a trip outside the state.²⁵⁶ For the most part, though, they felt that LDS people were fairly decent folks.

When asked to characterize the LDS church as an organization, most saw it as very authoritarian, similar to the Catholic church, and operated from the top down. Three people also pointed out that the LDS church seems to be very well organized and is obviously wealthy.²⁵⁷ The LDS

²⁵²Macaroni, 6: Sagers, 10

²⁵³Fussner, 6: Taylor, 10

²⁵⁴John and Suzanne Graham, interviewed at their home in Holladay, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 24 March, 1995. Notes in possession of the author.

²⁵⁵Mulholland, 3: Sagers, 11

²⁵⁶Taylor, 10

²⁵⁷Fussner, 8-9: Sagers, 14: Taylor, 7

predominance in Utah, according to one woman, results from its sheer numbers.²⁵⁸ One man, an educator, appreciated that the LDS seminaries took students out of public school for a portion of the day, somewhat alleviating the already bulging classrooms.²⁵⁹ Protestants in Utah, according to another man, often imitate the LDS church in terms of their own organization. The groups and programs they set up are a mirror of LDS structure so that their own people can have something comparable in their lives.²⁶⁰

Four of the interviewees described their interaction with LDS people in the workplace. Two of them were either in upper management or owned their own companies. Neither of these felt like they had had any problems, and praised their LDS coworkers as hardworking, good employees.²⁶¹ The two others, one a salesman and one an educator stated that LDS people sometimes favor other Mormons over non-Mormons.²⁶² The salesman said that he had experienced this kind of favoritism and had confronted the LDS people he was dealing with about the situation.²⁶³ The other man who complained about LDS business practices said that he knew of

²⁵⁸Bailey, 8

²⁵⁹Sagers, 15

²⁶⁰Brown, 11

²⁶¹Bevans, 4: Fussner, 8

²⁶²Mulholland, 9: Taylor, 6

²⁶³Taylor, 6

a number of people who had left the Mormon church for some other denomination who were soon laid off or fired from their jobs on various pretexts. He feels that their having left the LDS church produced this backlash.²⁶⁴ Both, however, felt that there was very little office crime in terms of stealing supplies or services from a company.

5. Final Comments

In most of the interviews, at one time or another, all of the subjects stated that they felt like a minority or that they reacted like minorities would anywhere. Some said that they felt that they had received similar treatment in other parts of the country (particularly in areas where Southern Baptists were in the majority). They also felt that Mormons would experience many of the same things if they would move out of Utah to some area where one group predominated.

Conclusion

Several overriding themes emerge from these interviews. Presbyterians in Utah generally feel a sense of social isolation and exclusion, a devaluation of themselves or their tradition. This isolation takes different forms in

²⁶⁴Mulholland, 9

the lives of children, adolescents and adults. Generally things improve as the person ages and are able to better understand and cope with their situation. Presbyterians in Utah also feel a sense of political and social impotence in that their voice does not seem to be heard (or is ignored by the majority as inconsequential) and this bothers them. Assumptions of cultural homogeneity on the part of LDS people also tend to overlook their neighbors and this can be irritating. Pressure to conform to the norm of LDS society also seems to be somewhat stronger than the pressures of the other societies where the interviewees have lived. One interesting aspect of this pressure is the emphasis that LDS people put on actually joining their group.

Chapter 4

The Baptists (National Baptist Convention)

In very small numbers, African Americans have been coming to Utah since the Mormon pioneers arrived. The military, mining, and the railroad brought most who came during the early days of the state. Around the end of the nineteenth century, a large enough population had built up to form churches to serve the spiritual needs of the community.

Calvary Baptist church, one of the oldest Black Baptist congregations in the intermountain area, was formed in 1892.²⁶⁵ Wall Avenue Baptist church (later renamed New Zion Baptist church) in Ogden followed, becoming an official congregation not too long after the turn of the century.²⁶⁶ Since that time the population has continued to grow, albeit rather slowly. African Americans still make up less than

²⁶⁵Calvary is one of the few congregations that has documented its history. The congregation's story can be found in, Calvary Missionary Baptist Church, 1899 - 1976, Salt Lake City, Privately published by, Calvary Baptist Church, 1976, available in Special Collections, University of Utah.

²⁶⁶Ronald G. Coleman, "The Blacks in Utah History: An Unknown Legacy," in The Peoples of Utah, ed. Helen Z. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 134.

one percent of the population of the state.²⁶⁷

Today, there are six Baptist churches in Utah that serve predominantly African American congregations.²⁶⁸ The Black Baptist churches make up the second largest bodies of Baptists in Utah, with 3,134 members as of 1990.²⁶⁹

Of all six congregations, only Calvary has published a congregational history. In 1892, the congregation that became Calvary Baptist Church began meeting in the home of Emma Jackson in Salt Lake City. At first the group only called itself a prayer band and simply met to read the Bible and pray together. The group soon outgrew the private homes they had been using and moved into an older building on 37th South and West Temple. Calvary's first pastor, J. W. Washington, came in 1900 but the congregation was not actually incorporated until 1921.

Since its creation, the congregation has seen the service of sixteen different pastors, the longest lasting being the current pastor, Rev. France A. Davis. These

²⁶⁷Statistical Abstract of Utah (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, David Eccles School of Business, University of Utah, 1993), 11.

²⁶⁸They include; Calvary Baptist church, in Salt Lake City; New Life Baptist church, in West Valley City; New Pilgrim Baptist Church, in Salt Lake City; True Vine Baptist church, in Kaysville; New Zion Baptist church, in Ogden; and Second Baptist Church in Ogden.

²⁶⁹Martin B. Bradley, Norman M. Green, Jr., Dale E. Jones, Mac Lynn, and Lou McNeil, eds., Churches and Church Membership in the United States, 1990 (Atlanta: Glenmary Research Center, 1992), 392-94.

pastors have at various times engaged in activities such as an employment agency for African Americans, as well as other efforts to improve the social standing of their congregants. They have also occasionally published congregational newsletters.

Plagued by financial troubles for many years, Calvary Baptist has now become somewhat more secure. In April of 1966, construction began on the current church building. The congregation has completely paid for its building, and also owns a church van. In 1989 the congregation dedicated Calvary Towers, a low income housing facility for the elderly. Calvary also manages a scholarship fund for its members and a mentor program whereby the church youth can work with adults in the congregation whose careers interest them.²⁷⁰ Rev. France Davis, Calvary's pastor for the last 21 years, works actively with the other 10-11 Afro-American congregations in Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming, and also locally with the Salt Lake Ministerial Association, the National Council of Christians and Jews, the Salt Lake Convention and Visitors Bureau, the Salt Lake City Housing Authority, and Salt Lake County Career Service Council.²⁷¹ Calvary is currently a well attended, busy congregation, and continued growth is expected.

²⁷⁰Deseret News (Salt Lake City), 7 November 1993

²⁷¹Rev. France Davis, interview at Calvary Baptist Church in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 28 October 1994. Transcript in possession of the author.

Interview Results

Clergy

1. Background Information

Clergy who were interviewed for this thesis ranged in age from 43 to 70 years old. All four of these men are married. Three have children and the fourth has raised some children in his home, although he has no biological children of his own. Of the four, only one spent any of his growing up years in Utah, although the majority of his formative years passed in Texas. Three live in the Salt Lake valley, and the fourth in Kaysville. They have been in Utah for 27, 25, 23, and 10 years, and have not lived at other locations within the state.²⁷²

²⁷²Jerome Counsel, interviewed at True Vine Baptist church in Kaysville, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 8 June 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1: France Davis, interviewed at Calvary Baptist Church in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 28 October 1995 and 3 June 1995. Transcripts in possession of the author, 28 October 1995, 1: H. J. Lilly, interviewed at his home in West Valley City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 28 June 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-3: Robert Young, interviewed at Calvary Baptist church in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 9 June 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1.

2. Social and Interdenominational Ministry

Baptist congregations, by nature, act independently and as a result, the social outreach that the various congregations have engaged in varies. Providing worship services at homes for the elderly, sponsoring various traveling and performing choirs, as well as an African dance group, passing out food packages around the Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays, providing clothing, working with children of drug addicted parents, supporting the Salvation Army, and cooperating in programs to alleviate the gang situation in Salt Lake have all attracted the efforts of Baptists from these congregations. In addition, Calvary Towers, a housing facility for low income elderly, is owned and operated by Calvary Baptist church. The pastor of this congregation, France Davis, is also very active in the community as has already been described.²⁷³

Three of these pastors said that such efforts have been very well received by the larger community. One pointed to various plaques around his office that had been awarded to the congregation for these efforts, and another commented that he had received a number of calls from people in the community thanking him for the help of his congregation.²⁷⁴

²⁷³Counsel, 2: Davis, October 28, 2-3: Lilly, 3: Young, 2

²⁷⁴Counsel, 2-3: Lilly, 3: Young, 2

The fourth pastor stated that those who are in positions of authority in the community are very open and accepting of such work, but that some people in the community feel that the Baptists do not belong, that they are a cursed people.²⁷⁵ This statement obviously refers to a once widely believed, but now thoroughly and officially discredited piece of Mormon "folk doctrine" that describes the black race as having descended from Ham, the son of Noah, who, according to the book of Abraham in The Pearl of Great Price (accepted by the Latter-day Saints as scripture), was cursed so that he could not have the priesthood.²⁷⁶

Three of the four pastors work with the other African American churches in their area. They coordinate training as well as occasional joint services and pulpit exchanges. Local ministerial associations are attended by two, and one congregation holds membership in the state wide Shared Ministry in Utah, another in the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the Intermountain Baptist Association of Churches.²⁷⁷ The fourth pastor stated that he did not participate in much interdenominational activity.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵Davis, October 28, 3

²⁷⁶Abraham 1:26

²⁷⁷Counsel, 3: Davis, October 28, 3: Young, 2-3

²⁷⁸Lilly, 4

All three who worked with other congregations felt the cooperation between African American churches to be very good. One stated that "there's a sense that we are all one."²⁷⁹ They also felt the cooperation with other Protestant groups to be quite good, although not as smooth or frequent as that with the African American churches.²⁸⁰

Cooperation with the LDS church has been almost non-existent. Two of the three who responded to the request to describe activities with the LDS faith referred to the same single event: a gospel music workshop some years ago in which some African American choirs sang in LDS facilities. Other than this event, they stated that their cooperation with the LDS was either very little, or none.²⁸¹

3. Social and Political Impressions

In terms of political activity, only one pastor seemed to be actively engaged in leading his congregation toward specific goals. This man has worked not only to register voters and help them become informed on election issues, but has also worked on fair housing issues, and other issues that affect the indigent, as well as the Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday bill and the renaming of sixth south as Martin

²⁷⁹Davis, October 28, 3

²⁸⁰Counsel, 3: Davis, October 28, 3

²⁸¹Counsel, 5-6: Davis, October 28, 3: Young, 3

Luther King, Jr. Boulevard.²⁸²

One other pastor mentioned that the renaming of sixth south and the King holiday bill had attracted the efforts of his congregation, but he did not mention any other congregational political activities.²⁸³ Individual membership in the NAACP constitutes another pastor's political activism. However he stated that he has not pressed any political issues as a congregational leader.²⁸⁴ The last of the four had no comment.

Both men who have worked for political causes said that responses from the larger community to these efforts have been mixed. To some their work mattered, to others it did not, said one.²⁸⁵ The other felt that people in positions of political power were, although not embracing, willing to listen and respect. He feels, however, that people in the larger community feel that he is too radical or too activist.²⁸⁶

When asked to typify the political nature of Utah, two pastors felt Utah to be dominated by one party. This domination was more specifically described by one as resulting from the presence of an overwhelming number of

²⁸²Davis, June 3, 4

²⁸³Young, 3

²⁸⁴Counsel, 3-4

²⁸⁵Young, 4

²⁸⁶Davis, June 3, 4

Mormons in the state, although he recognized that political control by the majority group follows logically in our system. He did complain of feeling that many times his voice and the voices of his congregation could not be heard.²⁸⁷ The other pastor did not specify the Mormons as the dominant political factor, but "conservative, white men," as the power to reckon with.²⁸⁸

Specific, current issues dominated a third pastor's answers. He talked about the problems with gangs, jail construction, a parental right to discipline, and the singing of religious songs at a high school graduation.²⁸⁹ The final subject said that politics in Utah are "crooked, prejudiced," and "set up to exclude the minority."²⁹⁰ However, when pressed to give examples of these behaviors or to explain his characterization, he simply said that some people in "the establishment" have acted very nastily towards him and that he has been audited by the IRS several years in a row.²⁹¹

The question about the experience of clergy in Utah elicited very different responses, in one case, no comment. Of the other three, one stated that things have been

²⁸⁷Counsel, 8-9

²⁸⁸Davis, June 3, 3

²⁸⁹Young, 5-6

²⁹⁰Lilly, 5

²⁹¹Lilly, 5-6

improving over the years, in terms of relations with the LDS church, but he also felt that Utahns sometimes allow media stereotypes of African Americans to affect their views of those who they encounter. The small numbers of African Americans in Utah also keep other people from having the chance to deal with them, and as a result, the chance to see that they are just people like themselves.²⁹²

The clergy, according to another pastor, have a very difficult time in Utah. He said that the average stay is around two to three years. Most seem to leave for two reasons: first, they have no opportunity for advancement in terms of professional education, as there are no seminaries in Utah where they can study.²⁹³ But in addition to that, many clergymen feel that they must constantly be worrying about pressure or influence from the LDS majority and expend much of their energy in dealing with that pressure. This tends to interrupt their focus on increasing the spirituality of their own congregation, where it should be.²⁹⁴ Curiously, all of the Baptist clergymen interviewed for this study have been in Utah for ten years or more.

Interestingly, the pastor who responded most

²⁹²Counsel, 4-5

²⁹³The Utah Institute for Biblical Studies, a Protestant organization, does offer graduate level classes that can be counted toward a master of divinity at the Regent College of Vancouver, British Columbia, although UIBS does not itself offer a complete degree.

²⁹⁴Davis, June 3, 4

enthusiastically about the clerical experience in Utah, is the associate minister for the pastor who responded in the most pessimistic terms. This final respondent said that clergy who come to Utah love it, in fact, they say that "this is paradise."²⁹⁵ He was quite emphatic in saying that clergy love it here and he explained that by saying that ministers from inner cities are most relieved to be out of rougher, more difficult situations.²⁹⁶

Characterizations of Utah's culture varied somewhat as well. One man feels "like a chocolate chip in milk," and that this situation drowns out his voice sometimes.²⁹⁷ In another's view, Utah's culture is dominated by the LDS church because the people of the state tend to let the church do their thinking for them.²⁹⁸ One man answered the question in terms of race, saying that Utah seems very well integrated and not sectionalized as some places he has lived during his life. He also felt Utah culture to be more laid back than other places he has been.²⁹⁹ The last said that Alabama, where he is from, is "98 percent better." He justified this by saying that Alabama's social life, economy, and interchurch fellowship all outdo that of Utah.

²⁹⁵Young, 4

²⁹⁶Ibid.

²⁹⁷Counsel, 6

²⁹⁸Davis, June 3, 3

²⁹⁹Young, 4

He expressed a desire to return to Alabama as soon as his health permitted, however, he added that Utah seemed a good place to raise children, and that if he had any to raise, it would be a good place to stay.³⁰⁰

Three pastors described Utah's social environment as being easy to get along in, open and typified by friendly relations with those they interacted with. In addition, one added that it seems more integrated than the rest of the United States.³⁰¹ This last pastor mentioned that even though it seems that the LDS "go their way, and we go our way," he had still participated in LDS sporting events quite readily and had occasionally been invited to LDS social events, although he chose not to attend.³⁰² The final pastor felt Utah to be more exclusive than inclusive because of the many private clubs and businesses that cater to specific clientele that can be found in the state.³⁰³

When asked about religion, one pastor stated that it plays a much greater role here than any other place.³⁰⁴ Another elaborated on this theme, adding with approval that people seem to take their religious values more seriously here and to be more dedicated to them. He pointed out that

³⁰⁰Lilly, 4

³⁰¹Counsel, 7-8: Lilly, 4-5: Young, 5

³⁰²Counsel, 7-8

³⁰³Davis, June 3, 3

³⁰⁴Counsel, 9

many of the state's laws seem to reflect a religious bent. Many Christians in his own group, he felt, ought to integrate some of that religiosity into their own lives.³⁰⁵ The majority who claim to be religious, in the eyes of one pastor, are religious, although there are some hypocrites out there.³⁰⁶ Finally, one pastor felt Utah's religious climate to be dominated by the LDS, particularly, in his words, because the LDS feel "that the rest of us are not right." However, he attributed the tighter, more harmonious relationship between churches other than the LDS to this feeling of being looked down on.³⁰⁷

4. Children, Teenagers, and Adults

Children, according to two pastors, do not experience anything unique when living in Utah. Their experience might well be the same as any other place. These men felt that children did not have, or had not learned, the capacity to discriminate. However, one added that because of their being a small minority, they may sometimes be ignored, or

³⁰⁵Young, 9-11

³⁰⁶Lilly, 6. This last portion of his answer seemed to refer to a congregation which invited him out to Utah, and then, after he had moved his family, began to lobby to reject him as their pastor, causing him considerable personal problems.

³⁰⁷Davis, October 28, 4

simply not given the recognition they deserve.³⁰⁸ Another pastor added that often children do not have sufficient black role models here in Utah, and that African Americans do not show up prominently in school texts. He felt that this, as well as other factors, might combine to pressure children to join the larger group.³⁰⁹ This pastor answered the question in terms of race and seemed to be referring to the experience of African American children, rather than the Baptist children in his congregation. Finally, the last pastor felt that children in his home state of Alabama would be better trained and more active than here in Utah, although he did not feel that their being Baptist affects the way that other Utah children react to them.³¹⁰

The lack of role models in the African American community continues to impact children through their teen years, according to two of the pastors. Again, they chose to answer this question in terms of race, rather than religion. They felt that the small number of African Americans, as well as their being spread throughout the community might make it more difficult to grow up here than other places. One added, again, that their extreme minority status might contribute to their being ignored or patronized. The other felt that religious bias against

³⁰⁸Counsel, 9-11: Young 7-8

³⁰⁹Davis, October 28, 5-6

³¹⁰Lilly, 6-7

African Americans, on the part of the LDS people, might also negatively impact what treatment they received.³¹¹ Some teenagers, according to another pastor, feel a lot of pressure to join the LDS church, and some, in his estimation, are "bought off," by the LDS.³¹² The last man felt that the Utah experience matured teens faster than other areas, that the generally more religious environment served to make them understand better what it means to be a Baptist.³¹³

Adults have the most positive experience of any age group. They have either learned to live with what problems they may face in society, or they have found a place where they feel comfortable. Two pastors again answered this question in terms of problems encountered because of race, rather than religion.³¹⁴ Of the other two, one mentioned that some adults have converted to the LDS church to get welfare assistance, and then when they found out that there was more to it than that, abandoned the LDS organization to return to the Baptist. This flip flopping seems to cause disruptions in their own spiritual lives, as well as providing a challenge for their pastor.³¹⁵ This pastor, as

³¹¹Counsel, 11: Davis, June 3, 1-2

³¹²Lilly, 7-8

³¹³Young, 8

³¹⁴Counsel, 11-12: Davis, June 3, 2

³¹⁵Lilly, 8-9

well as the last, both felt that being Baptist really did not affect the way that adults are treated in Utah.³¹⁶

5. Impressions of the LDS

When asked about LDS individuals that they knew, three pastors said that they had good relationships with the LDS people that they knew, and they used positive terms to describe these people.³¹⁷ The last felt that they were just normal people, although he thought that some of them allowed religious prejudice against African Americans to affect their views.³¹⁸

The LDS church as an organization has been a positive force in the community according to two men.³¹⁹ Another noted that the LDS organization is the major shaper of values and modes of conduct within the state.³²⁰ The final pastor described the LDS church as an organization working to train its people, just as any other church. He did note that he has received welfare through the LDS church and that

³¹⁶Lilly, 8-9: Young, 9-10

³¹⁷Counsel, 12: Lilly, 10: Young, 10

³¹⁸Davis, 5

³¹⁹Counsel, 13-14: Young 10

³²⁰Davis, June 3, 5

he has made friends with a few bishops as a result.³²¹

6. Final Comments

In concluding the interviews all four pastors chose different themes. One elaborated on the importance of every church, whatever its affiliation, in bringing people to Christ to be saved.³²² Another felt that his congregation was experiencing a steady increase in its membership and participation level, and that things were improving.³²³ Yet, to another, Utah proves to be a difficult place to maintain his congregation's identity, culture and religious/racial heritage. He feels it a challenge to be heard in his area.³²⁴ The last pastor stated that it has been a great experience to be able to minister in Utah and that he feels that during his stay he has been able to do some good in the community. He ended by encouraging the people of the state to appreciate diversity, to see it, and to enjoy it as "the spice of life."³²⁵

³²¹Lilly, 2

³²²Lilly, 10

³²³Young, 11

³²⁴Counsel, 14

³²⁵Davis, October 28, 9

Laypeople

1. Background Information

Of the eight Baptist laypeople interviewed, four were women, and four men. One of the men is single, and two are widowed. Of the seven who are currently, or have been married, all have children, the majority of whom have left the home and are on their own. Interviewees ranged in age from 87 to 28 years old, with the average being around 58 years old. The interviewees' homes are scattered around the Salt Lake Valley, none having moved from that area while living in Utah. Only one was raised in Utah, the others came from various states in the South, three of them being from Texas. The non-native Utahns have lived in the state for 53, 52, 50, 33, 17, 13, and seven years. All eight have affiliated with the Baptist church for their entire lives, and are very involved at their local congregation.³²⁶

³²⁶Robb Benns, interviewed at his home in Rose Park, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 1 July 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: Nellie Cox, interviewed at her home in Sandy, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 10 June 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1: Wiley Hall, interviewed at his home in West Valley City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 29 June 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1: Gladys Hesleph, interviewed at Calvary Baptist church in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 16 June 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1: Janie Lewis, interviewed at her home in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 17 June 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-9: Edward Miller, interviewed at his home in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 27 June 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1: Sylvia Morris, interviewed at her home in

2. Social and Political Impressions

When speaking of the culture of Utah, five respondents spoke either completely, or at least in part, in terms of the African American experience, rather than specifically about the experience of their religious group. They mentioned that Utah seems to be well integrated now, although some of the older ones adding that when they first arrived in the forties and fifties, many services were segregated or exclusionary.³²⁷

Other people commented that Utah seems rather laid back, very friendly, respectful of others, safe, and a particularly good place to raise a family.³²⁸ On the more critical side, some felt that a little subtle racism exists, and that a few people accepted certain stereotypes about them before getting to know them as a person. Two mentioned that wages seemed somewhat low and another noted the LDS predominance, while qualifying that observation by saying that it did not seem to affect her much.³²⁹

South Jordan, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 14 June 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1: Theodore Twigg, interviewed at his home in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 28 June 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2.

³²⁷Benns, 2-3: Cox, 2-3: Hall, 2-3: Hesleph, 2: Miller, 4

³²⁸Cox, 2-3: Hall, 2-3: Lewis, 10-11: Morris, 2

³²⁹Hesleph, 2: Lewis, 10-11: Morris, 2: Twigg, 4

All eight Baptist laypeople characterized social interactions in Utah as being good. Most expressed feelings of comfort and satisfaction with their relationships with those around them.³³⁰ One called it "90 percent good."³³¹ The employers of one man always were very respectful of his church involvement and were more than willing to let him take time off to participate in occasional church activities and duties.³³² Two people said that the scattered nature of their congregation made it difficult to get together socially except when the church met for various functions.³³³ One man felt that young people may complain because of not being accepted, or wanted in certain circles, but that he did not see the reasons for such complaints.³³⁴ Non-Utahns, in the view of the one native Utahn, may have a more difficult time because they lack an understanding of the culture.³³⁵ Utahns also appear to be somewhat backstabbing to one woman. She said that she had seen people in her work setting who acted friendly in front of certain persons, and then were rather vicious towards them

³³⁰Benns, 3-4: Cox, 3: Hall, 3: Hesleph, 2: Lewis, 12-13: Miller, 4-5: Morris, 2-3: Twigg, 4

³³¹Miller, 4-5

³³²Twigg, 4

³³³Hesleph, 2: Morris, 2-3

³³⁴Benns, 3-4

³³⁵Morris, 2-3

after having left their presence.³³⁶ Overall, however, evaluations of Utah's social environment were very positive.

Three Baptist interviewees felt that Utah politics differ little from those around the nation. They saw some good things and some bad things, but did not see the political scene in Utah as somehow unique.³³⁷ One younger man said that sometimes there does not seem to be a clear separation of church and state. He feels this to be a result of people unconsciously allowing their religious beliefs to influence how they vote, or in the case of legislators, what laws they enact.³³⁸ Another woman felt that politicians here use all of the various churches as campaign stops to get votes.³³⁹ Past action to support the Martin Luther King holiday as well as the changing of the name of sixth south garnered the attention of one woman. She said that during the hearing over this issue she heard some rather bitter remarks from members of the public. To her this indicates that racism still exists to a certain extent within the political system.³⁴⁰ Another woman described Utah politics, simply, as "slanted." She felt that if the LDS position went along with the stance of a

³³⁶Lewis, 4, 12-13

³³⁷Benns, 4: Hesleph, 3: Twigg, 4-5

³³⁸Hall, 3-4

³³⁹Cox, 3

³⁴⁰Lewis, 13-15

candidate, then he or she would definitely win. She did not know how the LDS might back a candidate, but supposed it to be through word of mouth. Religious affiliation, it seems to her, sometimes outweighs in importance the content of a political platform.³⁴¹

When asked about Utah's religious atmosphere, three people immediately stated that religion plays a larger role in Utah than in other areas of the country. One man said of Utahns and their religion, "it's the roots of their life here."³⁴² He also felt that because of the emphasis placed on religion, as well as the general moral consciousness, people might actually live out more of what they learn in church.³⁴³ A woman who teaches in the public schools noted that through their behavior, she can tell which children come from religiously active homes (although she did not say whether good or bad behavior marked those students). She mentioned that these same students have asked her if she attends the LDS church.³⁴⁴

Two respondents felt like Utah's religious orientation limited what can be done here, particularly in terms of youth activities. One added that he was not entirely sure whether religion was responsible for the limited

³⁴¹Morris, 3-4

³⁴²Benns, 4

³⁴³Ibid., 4-5

³⁴⁴Cox, 4

entertainment possibilities, or whether other factors played a part as well.³⁴⁵ Two of the older residents felt the religious climate to be quite good saying that they saw more people in church.³⁴⁶ In addition, one felt that relations between the all churches in Utah have improved markedly over the fifty plus years that he has been in the state.³⁴⁷ One woman mentioned that she liked certain LDS programs, particularly the practice of setting aside one night a week for a family activity, and that she had instituted this in her own home. She added, however, that she saw a certain amount of hypocrisy.³⁴⁸

3. Children, Teenagers, and Adults

Half of the Baptist interviewees felt that religion makes no difference in how children of their congregation are treated in the larger community. They also felt that generally, the Baptist experience for children is the same as any other area in the nation.³⁴⁹ Three people talked about the value of religion in children's lives and how it

³⁴⁵Benns, 6: Hall, 4

³⁴⁶Twigg, 5

³⁴⁷Miller, 6

³⁴⁸Lewis, 16-17

³⁴⁹Hesleph, 3: Miller, 6-7: Morris, 9: Twigg, 6

helps them to be good human beings.³⁵⁰ One of these three added that religious instruction and opportunity for children in Utah seemed to be more developed.³⁵¹ One mother mentioned that some children are excluded by LDS children, while some are not. She did not think her own daughter had had any problems.³⁵² Another mother added that some of her children's friends were LDS and that they got along quite well.³⁵³

When asked about the experience of Baptist teens, two people felt it to be the same as that in other states, and a third added that he did not believe their being Baptist affected how they were treated in the larger community.³⁵⁴ As far as differences in the Baptist teen experience, one man said that they were more mature and more developed religiously as a result of the limitations on other activities in the state.³⁵⁵ This corresponded with another woman's opinion that the small size of the congregation made the Baptist teens stick together and support each other in a greater way here.³⁵⁶ Several people spoke to this question

³⁵⁰Cox, 4-5: Morris, 4-5: Hall, 4-5

³⁵¹Hall, 4-5

³⁵²Cox, 4-5

³⁵³Morris, 4-5

³⁵⁴Benns, 7-8: Miller, 7: Twigg, 7

³⁵⁵Hall, 5

³⁵⁶Cox, 5

in terms of race, stating that Baptist teenagers wanted to leave Utah because of the limited opportunities to date other African Americans.³⁵⁷ Interviewees blamed the lack of a large African American community for a limited sense, in their teens, of the importance of Baptist/African American culture and heritage.³⁵⁸ If Baptist teens do experience discriminatory behavior, it seems to be based on race, rather than religion.³⁵⁹ One woman related how her daughter went through a stage during which she refused to interact with Caucasians and restricted her interactions to a certain clique of African Americans. She further stated that this group often acted to exclude others by saying things such as "this is a black thing and you wouldn't understand."³⁶⁰

Most interviewees felt that Baptist adults are not affected that greatly by their living in Utah. Three felt that no difference existed at all, the others answered with some qualifications.³⁶¹ Baptist adults in Utah must learn to live with the LDS penchant to speak about religion in any situation, though, and this can be difficult for some to

³⁵⁷Lewis, 19-20

³⁵⁸Hesleph, 5-6

³⁵⁹Hesleph, 5-6

³⁶⁰Morris, 6

³⁶¹Benns, 8-9: Miller, 7-8: Twigg, 7

adjust to.³⁶² One woman who acts as an itinerant counselor for her congregation felt that the amount of transiency and the diffuse nature of the congregation sometimes prevented close relationships from building between Baptist adults.³⁶³ Some have had to develop "their own little program" and stay in that to take care of themselves. Others may decided to convert to the LDS church.³⁶⁴

Five respondents said flat out that their being Baptist has not affected the way that their friends, neighbors, coworkers and others in the community react to them. The other three all stated that their religious affiliation and lifestyle won them more recognition and respect in their circles. More than one described being approached for help in religious matters.

All adults also quite clearly saw their experience as typical of the other Baptist adults they knew.³⁶⁵

4. Impressions of the LDS

More than half of the Baptist interviewees would not characterize LDS people as a group. Instead, they described

³⁶²Cox, 5-6

³⁶³Hesleph, 6

³⁶⁴Lewis, 20-21

³⁶⁵Benns, 9: Cox, 6: Hall, 6: Hesleph, 6: Lewis, 21: Miller, 8: Morris, 7: Twigg, 7

them as, "just like any other denomination," or "a whole variety." These people felt that they could not really tell a difference between who belonged to which church unless they were actually told.³⁶⁶ The other three all related positive impressions, and in fact, some of the first five added later that they had positive relationships with the LDS people they knew.³⁶⁷ Notably, no even slightly negative comments were made in response to this question.

Most Baptist interviewees talked about the LDS organization as a powerful influence on life in Utah. They referred to its size in terms of numbers, the political clout such a majority implies, as well as the history behind Utah's founding and the reasons for the LDS dominance of this particular area.³⁶⁸ Some of these same people, also admired the LDS organization for such things as its youth program, the welfare system and the family emphasis of Mormon life. One man felt that, just like other churches, the LDS church might sometimes emphasize too much its business and monetary concerns.³⁶⁹ Two spoke of barriers existing because of religion, one in terms of politics, the other in a more general way, describing some who feel that

³⁶⁶Benns, 10: Cox, 6: Hall, 7: Miller, 8-9: Morris, 7-8

³⁶⁷Hesleph, 7: Lewis, 22: Twigg, 8

³⁶⁸Benns, 11-12: Cox, 6-7: Hesleph, 7: Lewis, 22-23: Miller, 9

³⁶⁹Hall, 7

nothing can really happen in Utah without LDS approbation.³⁷⁰ Surprisingly, only one person mentioned the former LDS ban on giving priesthood positions to African Americans.³⁷¹ One man went so far as to say that he did not see how the LDS church affected life in Utah at all, any more than any other church might.³⁷²

5. Final Comments

In closing, some people simply expressed their liking for the Baptist faith, listing the things that their membership has done to help them. One man particularly liked community activism.³⁷³ Three people mentioned that their community seems to be growing steadily and that it has been able to do more as the years go by.³⁷⁴ One woman felt

³⁷⁰Cox, 6-7: Lewis, 22-23

³⁷¹Benns, 11-12. Up until 1978, African American men were not ordained to, or allowed to serve in the LDS Church's all-male priesthood. No official reason for this was ever given, as it had been customary from the era of Brigham Young, although a number of "theories" to explain this position had developed. The church leadership, however, did not feel that it could change this custom without divine sanction. On June 8, 1978, President Spencer W. Kimball announced that a revelation had been received extending the priesthood to all worthy males, regardless of race. See, James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, The Story of the Latter-day Saints, 2d ed., revised and enlarged, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1992), 611-14, 633-37.

³⁷²Twigg, 8-9

³⁷³Benns, 12-13

³⁷⁴Hall, 7: Hesleph, 8: Miller, 9

that her calling in life was to teach Utah children, and use her background as a Southern raised African American, to teach about the experience of her race.³⁷⁵ The native Utahn reiterated that she felt the Utah Baptist experience to be the same as any place else and that it had helped her in her life.³⁷⁶ According to one woman, Mormons sometimes tend to overlook or ignore the Baptist population, however, another man said that he remember several times when the pastor of his congregation had announced very sizeable donations by LDS people to help them build and pay for their current church building.³⁷⁷ In closing, the youngest respondent said that the Baptist experience in Utah is much more focused and, hence, more developed.³⁷⁸

Conclusion

Several major trends came out of the interviews with African American Baptists. They tend, first of all, to couch their descriptions of life in Utah in terms of racial issues or relations, even when questions are phrased in terms of religion. This seems to indicate that they equate their church community to the African American community as

³⁷⁵Cox, 7-8

³⁷⁶Morris, 8-9

³⁷⁷Lewis, 23-24: Twigg, 9

³⁷⁸Hall, 7

a whole. This also may be a result of the long history of racial conflict in America, making racial relations much more paramount than inter-religious relations in the minds of African Americans.

Baptists were, as a whole, much more positive about their characterizations of the various aspects of their experience. Surprisingly, only one pastor and one layperson brought up the issue of the ban on accepting blacks into the Mormon priesthood, an issue which one might think would have a more lasting impression.

Baptists also did not seem to think their religious affiliation affected the life experience for their children and teenagers as much as the Roman Catholics or Presbyterians. Their concerns seem to center around being heard in the community and having their views be known. They also worry about the diffuse nature of their congregations and the small number of other African Americans (not necessarily Baptists) with whom they can interact. Possible reasons for these rather important differences will be discussed in the final chapter.

Chapter 5

The Jews and the Buddhists

After reviewing the experiences of the members of three mainline Christian churches in Utah, we turn our attention to that of two groups from other traditions. Several religious groups aside from the Christians have formed communities in Utah, including the Jews, the Buddhists (Jodo Shinshu and Thai), the Muslims, the Hare Krishna Hindus and the Church of Scientology. Of these groups the Jews and the Buddhists have both the longest histories and largest number of adherents. Several interviews were conducted with members of these two groups to provide perspective from outside the Christian tradition. This chapter briefly describes the history of each group in Utah and reports on the interviews conducted with members of each community.

The Jews

The first Jewish people to settle in Utah came as merchants, traders and freighters in the late 1850s and early 1860s. In the mid 1860s Brigham Young donated land on the bench area of the city for use as a Jewish cemetery and in 1865 he allowed the Jewish population to use the Seventies Hall, a Mormon facility, to celebrate Rosh

Hashana.³⁷⁹ By 1867, they were gathering regularly to observe High Holidays and to participate in the Jewish Benevolent Society. The coming of the railroad in 1869 facilitated migration to Utah, and by 1874 some ninety-one Jewish businesses had taken root in Salt Lake City.³⁸⁰

In 1881 the Salt Lake Jewish community formed the B'nai Israel congregation and soon thereafter constructed a synagogue and Hebrew school. The congregation soon split into reform and conservative factions, with the conservative faction eventually moving out and building a synagogue of their own quite near that of the B'nai Israel congregation. The Jewish community remained sharply divided for nearly ninety years.³⁸¹.

Mormon identification with the Jewish people, due to distinctive theological beliefs about Judaism, as well as a feeling of kinship in persecution, helped relations between the two groups to remain fairly positive over the years. Jewish businessmen occasionally enjoyed privileges that other "gentiles" did not, such as the ability to redeem LDS church tithing scrip, money issued by the LDS church and backed by

³⁷⁹Kate B. Carter, "The Jews in Early Utah," in Treasures of Pioneer History 1 (1952), 331.

³⁸⁰Robert A. Goldberg, "The Jewish Community in Utah." An unpublished paper written in Salt Lake City for a local newsletter. Copy in possession of Dr. James B. Allen, professor of history at Brigham Young University, 2.

³⁸¹Goldberg ³⁸¹, "The Jewish Community in Utah," 2-3.

its tithes, at face value. Other non-LDS businessmen who accepted scrip had to redeem it at less than face value.³⁸² Additionally, when the Mormons formed ZCMI, essentially a conglomeration of all Mormon owned businesses, to compete with the non-Mormon merchants, only two non-Mormon firms were bought out, both of them Jewish owned. Other non-LDS firms were damaged by the competition with ZCMI, some of them being forced to close.³⁸³

Jews have been active in politics in Utah, finding that field more open to them in this state than in many others. In 1874, Louis Cohn was elected to the city council of Salt Lake. In 1882, Samuel Kahn held a similar position. Harry Joseph served as a state representative from 1902 until 1910 and Louis Marcus became the first Jewish mayor of Salt Lake in 1932.³⁸⁴

Perhaps the most famous Jewish politician in Utah's history was Simon Bamberger. A German born Jew, Bamberger had been an active businessman in Salt Lake City for a number of year before his election to the governorship in 1916. Bamberger was a solid friend of the Mormons. When, in 1887, the Federal government made moves to disenfranchise the Mormon people and to confiscate LDS Church properties, Bamberger's firm had been the first to send a letter to

³⁸²Carter, "The Jews in Early Utah," 347

³⁸³Carter, "The Jews in Early Utah," 354

³⁸⁴Goldberg, "The Jewish Community in Utah," 4.

Washington protesting this action.³⁸⁵ In fact, it was B.H. Roberts, a Mormon leader and one of the foremost Mormon intellectuals of the time, who nominated Bamberger at the state Democratic convention.³⁸⁶

In 1911, Benjamin Brown, an advocate of the creation of Jewish agricultural communities, purchased 6,000 acres in Clarion, Utah to use as the basis for establishing a Jewish colony. He attracted Jews from the East to come to Clarion and begin setting up farms. In five years they cleared 2,600 acres of land for planting, dug irrigation ditches, and built homes for fifty two families. Although over two hundred people eventually came to try to make it work, the Clarion community disbanded in 1916 as a result of weather problems and resulting poor harvests, shortage of funds, and internal dissent.³⁸⁷

During the 1920s, Utah Jews became active in a number of social organizations, including the Covenant House, a

³⁸⁵Carter, "The Jews in Early Utah," 361. Fred Simon, another Salt Lake City Jew and member of the Liberal Party, which was essentially the non-Mormon party, also protested Congressional efforts to disenfranchise Mormons. In fact, his vigorous protest caused a split in the Liberal Party in Utah over this issue. He maintained that it was strictly unconstitutional and denounced the effort. See Carter, "The Jews in Early Utah," 357.

³⁸⁶Douglas F. Tobler, "The Jews, the Mormons, and the Holocaust," in Journal of Mormon History 18 (Spring 1992), 65.

³⁸⁷Robert Goldberg, "Building Zion: A Conceptual Framework," in Utah Historical Quarterly 57 (Spring 1989), 165-79

community center for Jews of different ages and beliefs, the Arbiter Ring, or Workmen's Circle, associated with the Jewish-Socialist movement, and a Jewish fraternity and sorority at the University of Utah. Additionally, Congregation B'rith Sholem, in Ogden, officially organized in 1921.³⁸⁸

Post World War II days saw a great deal of activity in terms of helping refugee Jews, both those coming into the United States, and those in Europe, as well as assisting those in the newly created nation of Israel. When the United Jewish Appeal asked the two congregations to raise \$150,000.00, they set up a committee to do so and actively worked to meet that goal.³⁸⁹ The money they eventually raised was used for education, rehabilitation, and the medical needs of their fellow Jews.³⁹⁰ These efforts also helped heal the rift between the two congregations.

The conservative and reform groups remained separated until they jointly opened a Jewish Community Center in Salt Lake in 1959. Later, in 1969, the two congregations joined educational facilities to improve the quality of their children's instruction. Finally, in 1972, they merged and formed Congregation Kol Ami (All My People), housed in a new

³⁸⁸Goldberg, "The Jewish Community in Utah," 6

³⁸⁹Juanita Brooks, History of the Jews in Utah and Idaho (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1973), 217-18.

³⁹⁰Goldberg, "The Jewish Community in Utah," 8

synagogue. The Ogden Jewish community, with its own synagogue also continues to this day. It is estimated, at the time of this writing, that close to 5,000 Jews reside in Utah.³⁹¹

The National Council of Christians and Jews, established a Salt Lake branch in 1954, with the goal of helping Utah's religious denominations to better understand each other, to help the community, and to open up lanes for cooperation between the churches on various issues. Jews have also made a significant contribution to the arts in Utah. Maurice Abravanel took the Utah Symphony from relative obscurity in 1947, to national recognition and Joseph Silverstein acts as the group's current conductor. The faculties of the state's various colleges and universities now include some sixty Jews.³⁹² Several local Jews, principally Ben M. Roe, helped create at the University of Utah the finest collection of Hebraic and Judaic literature between the west coast and the Mississippi river.³⁹³

Perhaps one of the greatest challenges for the Jewish community is to maintain its identity as a group, which can

³⁹¹Goldberg, "The Jewish Community in Utah," 9.

³⁹²Church Tour Committee of The Utah Heritage Foundation, comps. and eds., Through the Eyes of Many Faiths (Salt Lake City: Utah Heritage Foundation, 1990), 19.

³⁹³Goldberg, "The Jewish Community in Utah," 8.

sometimes be difficult in Mormon Utah.³⁹⁴ Jewish life revolves around a community, with many of the key rituals and activities requiring the participation of several people. This need accounts, in part, for the concentration of Utah's Jewish population in the Ogden and Salt Lake City areas. Despite their challenges, Utah's Jewish community has continued to flourish for some 140 years, and, in the process, has enriched the lives of those around them.

Interview Results

Rabbi Frederick L. Wenger

1. Background information

Rabbi Wenger was born in Davenport, Iowa, and grew up in Rock Island, Illinois. Married for some years, he has two children, ages seventeen and nineteen. He has been in Utah for eight years, during which time he has served as the Rabbi of Congregation Kol Ami in Salt Lake City. Up until 1993 no other Rabbi lived in Utah, so Rabbi Wenger traveled up and down the state providing services to the Jews outside

³⁹⁴Steve Siporin, "A Jew Among Mormons," Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 24, no. 4 (1991): 119.

the Salt Lake area.³⁹⁵

2. Social and Interdenominational Ministry

With the Jewish Federation of Utah, the congregation operates a comprehensive program of social welfare under a semi-independent agency called Jewish Family Services. This agency does refugee resettlement, counseling and assists those who need food and other basic necessities. Also, in cooperation with a Catholic organization Jewish Family Services runs a small adoption agency. The Jewish Community Center in Salt Lake City also provides social activities for various age groups, including a pre-school, a day care, an athletic program and a day-camp.³⁹⁶

Rabbi Wenger feels that the community as a whole has embraced these efforts. Half of the clients of the Jewish Community Center are non-Jews and they interact well with the Jewish people.³⁹⁷

Rabbi Wenger does attend meetings of the Salt Lake Ministerial Association, as well as an association of religious leaders that meets under the hosting of the LDS church. He also works with the National Conference of

³⁹⁵Frederick L. Wenger, interviewed at Kol Ami synagogue, in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 7 April 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1.

³⁹⁶Wenger, 2

³⁹⁷Ibid., 3

Christians and Jews in an annual Thanksgiving service, as well as camps and outreach programs in some schools. He has also served on the boards of various community agencies. In these activities, Rabbi Wenger sees "a tremendous feeling of closeness among the various religious institutions," although he notes that there does not seem to be much day-to-day interaction.³⁹⁸

The LDS church has participated in the Thanksgiving service with the Jewish community, and also a series of noon-time devotionals. Rabbi Wenger has also preached in the LDS Tabernacle on Temple Square. He feels that this interaction has been very welcome and he has been received by the LDS with open arms.³⁹⁹

3. Social and Political Impressions

Wenger characterizes Utah politics as conservative, and "nativist," meaning that it occupies itself with local needs and traditions, but that the Utah brand of nativism goes on at a more educated level than similar veins of politics around the country. He also sees politics as extremely locally based and fiscally very, very conservative.⁴⁰⁰

Clergy who come to Utah seem very busy. Wenger sees

³⁹⁸Ibid.

³⁹⁹Ibid., 12-13

⁴⁰⁰Ibid., 6-7

the religious communities of Utah as much more active than in other areas where he has ministered and lived. He feels that clergy have a higher level of respect in Utah than in other areas of the country, particularly himself because, as, up until not too long ago, he was the only Rabbi in Utah, and, hence, seemed to represent all of Jewry to the Utahns who spoke with him. This position seems to win a lot of respect for him in the state and he suspects that it would be the same for such people as the Catholic Bishop. This respect, he feels, pushes clergy to rise to that expectation.⁴⁰¹

Utah culture seems to be changing, in Wenger's opinion, although he did not say how. He feels that Utahns value religion, of whatever denomination, because of the state's society having been built on religious principles. He feels that Utahns value hard work, and tradition, but do not like innovation, or original thinking. The culture tends to nurture families, but not single people. Also, he feels that outgoing, ambitious people tend to do much better in Utah than those who are not assertive. Women, in his view, may have to fight especially hard to gain professional respect in Utah.⁴⁰²

Socially, Utah seems to have certain areas which are very lively, which, if you fit into, help a great deal and

⁴⁰¹Ibid., 8

⁴⁰²Ibid., 4-5

provide a lot of support. However, certain people who do not fit into such a social circle may feel isolated. These areas of socialization are, in Wenger's view, mostly religiously oriented.⁴⁰³

Wenger feels that the religious nature of the state allows certain people who fit into the religious milieu to do well, while others, he mentions artists, may not fit in because of different values or a penchant to be outside the norms of Utah society. Utah's religious climate also tends to nourish such values as family, and hard work, while limiting certain liberal tendencies.⁴⁰⁴

4. Children, Teenagers, and Adults

Wenger feels that being Jewish in Utah does affect the lives of the children in his congregation. These children seem to stay more actively involved in their religious community all the way through high school, whereas in other areas, they may drop out before then. Parents seem to take extra effort to get their children involved in the life of the synagogue.⁴⁰⁵

Teenagers, on the other hand, begin to experience a certain amount of dissatisfaction with Utah, because of the

⁴⁰³Ibid., 6

⁴⁰⁴Ibid., 4-5

⁴⁰⁵Ibid., 8

small numbers of other Jews whom they can date. They are taught in religious settings and by parents that marriage within their group is a desirable thing, and, hence, intragroup dating receives a great deal of support. When they reach their high school graduation, many of these Jewish youths want to leave to find a larger and different population of Jews with whom they can interact and find romantic involvement.⁴⁰⁶

Wenger feels that Jewish adults have very high expectations placed on them because of traditional ideas about Jews. He also does not see any particular barriers to them professionally and says that Utah is the least anti-Semitic state in the nation because of the perceived bond on the part of Mormons between the two groups. However, Mormons seem to be very naive, or "innocent" about what being a Jew is all about. Jewish adults, according to the Rabbi, suffer from a "God's Chosen People," syndrome, where people expect them to be something other than they are. Some seem to feel badly because they are "loved too much," meaning that they feel that excessively high expectations placed on them.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶Ibid., 9, 11

⁴⁰⁷Ibid., 9-11

5. Impressions of the LDS

Rabbi Wenger calls LDS people "nice," but he makes a distinction between being nice, and being good. The former represents external actions, while the latter includes internal conviction. He sees a desire to avoid confrontation and conflict in the LDS people he knows. He feels, however, that in terms of goodness, the Mormons he knows personally are a bit above the national average. Some also are afflicted by cultural narrowness that makes it difficult for them to see outside their own values.⁴⁰⁸

Wenger characterizes the LDS organization as "tremendously effective and powerful and wise." The number and financial resources it controls make it a power in the state. He also feels that the LDS church has a sense of its mission and the direction and philosophy it wants to follow. However, they seem to him to trust their own and, as a result, sometimes do not go outside their community to find resources. The pattern of church organization also seems, in his view, to spill over into state organizations.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁸Ibid., 13

⁴⁰⁹Ibid., 11-12

6. Final Comments

Wenger feels the Jewish experience in Utah to be improving, that it is becoming bigger, richer and more demanding of its people.⁴¹⁰

Laypeople

1. Background Information

The four Jewish laypeople interviewed included two men and two women. Of the four, two come from New York City, one from Chicago and the last from San Francisco. All are married, and three have children, the fourth is expecting twins. They range in age from a low of 35 to a high of 56. All are Jewish in background and with the exception of one are very involved in the synagogue. The fourth works at the Jewish Community Center and occasionally attends services at the synagogue. All of them have lived in the Salt Lake area for the entire time they have been in Utah and they have been here for 18, 13, 2-1/2, and one year.⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰Ibid., 14

⁴¹¹Anne Asman, interviewed at her home in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 13 April 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2. Eve Beir, interviewed at the Jewish Community Center, in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 18 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1: Adam Hart, interviewed at the Jewish Community Center, in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 18 May

2. Social and Political Impressions

Utah seems very conservative to three of the Jewish laypeople. They used phrases such as "focused," and "narrow," to describe the state as well. One explained this characterization through a reference to the drinking laws in the state, saying he felt that religion overlapped into the area of law.⁴¹² Two mentioned experiencing a great deal of curiosity about Judaism on the part of their neighbors, one adding that many seemed rather naive about the subject.⁴¹³ The last woman said that Utah seems segregated along religious lines and she singled out the schools with their adjacent LDS seminary buildings as the main culprit.⁴¹⁴

In terms of the social atmosphere, two Jews felt it to be "extremely normal," not differing markedly from any other area they had lived. They said that they felt well accepted by their neighbors and acquaintances, as well as in the larger community.⁴¹⁵ The other two interviewees both characterized Utah's social environment as "very Mormon," or

1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: Dan Winecur, interviewed at the Kol Ami Synagogue, in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 23 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1.

⁴¹²Beir, 2: Hart, 2: Winecur, 1-2

⁴¹³Beir, 2: Winecur, 1-2

⁴¹⁴Adams, 2

⁴¹⁵Adams, 1-2: Winecur, 2

centered around what happens within the local LDS wards. The automatic assumption on the part of some Mormons that everyone in Utah with whom they interact belongs to their church also operates to exclude people because when under this impression, these LDS people do not work that hard to provide social opportunities for others. One mother spoke of the difficulty of even finding a scout troop that had some other sponsor than the LDS church.⁴¹⁶

Although no Jewish interviewee maintained that Utah politics are run by the LDS church, they did feel that because of the LDS/Republican majority, many times their voices could not be heard, as they were all Democratic in leaning.⁴¹⁷ One woman saw a contradiction in the anti-government mood expressed by some Utahns and their concurrent willingness to allow church positions to, in her estimation, unduly influence their political lives.⁴¹⁸ In years past, holidays which fall on Sunday, such as the Fourth of July and Halloween, have been shifted in Utah to the preceding Saturday. This action seemed incorrect to one of the interviewees. He wondered why Christmas had not also been affected this way.⁴¹⁹

All four Jews spoke of religion as a topic of more

⁴¹⁶Beir, 2: Hart, 2-3

⁴¹⁷Adams, 2-3: Beir, 2-3: Hart, 3-4: Winecur, 2

⁴¹⁸Beir, 2-3

⁴¹⁹Hart, 3-4

importance in Utah than elsewhere.⁴²⁰ Three agreed that Jews here have to work harder to maintain a Jewish identity, and two explained that some people feel the need to do it as a sort of defense mechanism, to keep from being swallowed up in the majority population.⁴²¹ Religious diversity seemed rather lacking to one respondent and she mentioned that the church groups in Utah seem to stick together more closely than in Illinois, where she is from.⁴²² Finally, one man enjoyed the fact that religion in Utah has enough respect that he can talk about God without people cringing and thinking he is a nut.⁴²³

3. Children, Teenagers, and Adults

Jewish children, according to all interviewees, may face challenges in Utah society, although the four people interviewed differed in how they described those challenges. Jewish parents in Utah must be more dedicated in terms of the religious upbringing of their children because much of the activity of Utah children centers around either the LDS church, or some other congregation. Furthermore, the Jewish community, because of its size, lacks a certain amount of

⁴²⁰Adams, 4-5: Beir, 3: Hart, 4-5: Winecur, 3

⁴²¹Adams, 4-5: Beir, 3: Hart, 4-5

⁴²²Adams, 4-5

⁴²³Winecur, 3

traditional infrastructure that could help the children.⁴²⁴ The son of one woman realized in second or third grade that he was a minority and his mother wonders what this will do to his self-esteem as he grows up. She feels that on occasion it may be the reason for his being overlooked, or ignored, that because he is one of very few, if not the only Jew in his school class, his tradition and his values may not be acknowledged.⁴²⁵ Two people felt that Jewish children may experience some discrimination because of being positioned outside groups of LDS children who already have a tie through their locally based church group, but one added that some Jewish children do fine and that Utah could be just like any other place.⁴²⁶

Three Jews mentioned a strong need for Jewish teens to find their own peer group to socialize with. Notably, the focus on teens did not rest so much on their being excluded, as their need to interact with other Jews. Dating for teens seemed a problem to these Jews only insofar as there are so few Jews in Utah to date.⁴²⁷ The last interviewee added that sometimes they, like the children, may feel "invisible" because the needs of the majority group receive more attention than theirs. He added that his own children

⁴²⁴Asman, 6-7

⁴²⁵Beir, 3-4

⁴²⁶Hart, 5-6: Winecur, 3-4

⁴²⁷Adams, 7: Beir, 4: Hart, 6-7

experienced this same thing in South Bend, Indiana, where he taught at Notre Dame.⁴²⁸

All Jewish interviewees felt life in Utah for Jewish adults to be fairly typical of that in other areas of the country, with one adding that it takes a bit longer to establish a peer group, or a social network, although once that is accomplished, life seems pretty much the same.⁴²⁹ Three of the interviewees specifically mentioned a lack of anti-Semitism, with two adding that Utahns express a lot of curiosity about Judaism and interest in learning what it means to be Jewish.⁴³⁰ Two added that the small population of Jews works to make Jewish adults more proactive in their community.⁴³¹

When discussing the reactions of their neighbors and associates, Jewish interviewees described generally positive interactions. Three felt an increased amount of respect and interest from their LDS associates, two attributing that to some unique Mormon theological ideas about Jews.⁴³² One man said that his non-LDS neighbors seemed rather relieved that he was not LDS, as if that meant they had some kind of

⁴²⁸Winecur, 4

⁴²⁹Beir, 4

⁴³⁰Adams, 10: Hart, 7: Winecur, 4-5

⁴³¹Adams, 10: Winecur, 4-5

⁴³²Adams, 9: Hart, 8: Winecur, 5

bond.⁴³³

The three Jews with the most time in Utah all felt their experience in Utah to be very typical of the other Jewish adults they knew, although one added that she does more public relations for the Jewish community because of her position in the Jewish Community Center.⁴³⁴ The fourth, who works as the administrator of the synagogue, said that he did not think his experience to be typical because of his being surrounded by Jews all of the time, and also because his interaction with the public came more in terms of an official representative of Jewry.⁴³⁵

4. Impressions of the LDS

Two Jews saw the LDS people they knew as basically similar to any other group, although one added that he thinks Christians in general overlook the fact that their religion has roots in Judaism and that Jesus was a Jew as well.⁴³⁶ Another woman was not asked directly about the LDS people she knew, but had volunteered positive impressions earlier in the interview.⁴³⁷ The last man

⁴³³Hart, 8

⁴³⁴Adams, 10: Beir, 5: Hart, 8

⁴³⁵Winecur, 5

⁴³⁶Beir, 5: Hart, 8-9

⁴³⁷Adams, 3-4

called LDS people "Intense, hard working, very principled, disciplined and committed." He also saw them as a rather "serious bunch."⁴³⁸

All four interviewees saw the LDS church organization as very influential in the state. Some added that they felt it overly influential.⁴³⁹ Having visited Israel, one woman felt the LDS influence to be comparable to that of the Jews, the Christians and the Muslims in each of their areas in Jerusalem.⁴⁴⁰ Another added that the discrimination and persecution the LDS have suffered throughout their history does not seem to have made them as sensitive as she would like.⁴⁴¹ One sees the local wards as very similar to congregations of other denominations, but does not understand the hierarchy of the church very well, characterizing it as a big mystery.⁴⁴²

5. Final Comments

The two women both characterized Utah's Jewish community as more tightly knit, stronger and more active. They attributed this to the small size of their group. One

⁴³⁸Winecur, 5

⁴³⁹Adams, 9-10: Beir, 6: Hart, 9: Winecur, 5-6

⁴⁴⁰Adams, 9-10

⁴⁴¹Beir, 6

⁴⁴²Winecur, 5-6

mentioned that the Salt Lake congregation has produced two international Jewish youth leaders as a result of the quality of their experience here.⁴⁴³ One man simply said that people get from their religious experience what they put into it and that if people have problems, they need to face them and resolve them.⁴⁴⁴ The last said that Jews, being always surrounded by other groups, have a fair amount of knowledge about their neighbors, and as a result, may not be as interested in discussing the beliefs of other groups, even if these people want to learn more about Judaism.⁴⁴⁵

Conclusion

Jewish concerns with Utah center around the size of their community. They fear being overlooked because of their small numbers, and they worry about their children being able to associate with, and eventually marry other Jews. Although they felt much of Utah's social life to be tied up in LDS church activities, most of them expressed the feeling that they would be welcome if they chose to attend LDS functions. Because all of those interviewed are Democrats, they felt rather uncomfortable in Utah's mostly Republican political climate, and many felt the LDS church

⁴⁴³Asman, 11-12: Beir, 6-7

⁴⁴⁴Hart, 9-10

⁴⁴⁵Winecur, 6-7

to have an undue influence in politics.

Jews differed the most from other groups interviewed in their personal interactions with people around them. They consistently expressed the idea that they are not discriminated against, that they are in fact more highly regarded in Utah than in other areas, and that Utahns frequently express a great deal of positive curiosity about their being Jewish. Many of them attributed this directly to Mormon theological ideas about Judaism.

The Buddhists⁴⁴⁶

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, a number of Japanese men emigrated to Utah in search of employment. Most of them ended up working in agriculture or railroad construction crews, and some worked in the mines. For a long time, the Japanese population consisted almost entirely of men, with few women, and even fewer families. The 1930 census lists 3,269 Japanese in Utah. Between the thirties and forties, however, the population declined due to discrimination against non-whites in the job market. After World War II,

⁴⁴⁶The information on the Buddhists comes mainly from Buddhist Churches of America, (Chicago: Nobart, Inc., 1974), s.v. "Salt Lake Buddhist Church, Salt Lake City, Utah," by Masami Hayashi, George Tohinaka, and Mrs. Ritsuko Hyashi. Currently an updated version of the article is being prepared for Buddhist Churches of America by Yukie Okubo. However, Ms. Okubo does not anticipate being done with her update until late in 1995, some time after this writing.

however, the Japanese population in Utah has grown. As of 1980, some 5,500 persons of Japanese descent made their home in Utah.⁴⁴⁷

Soon after their arrival in Utah, the Japanese felt the need to organize themselves religiously. They sent a request for a priest to the headquarters of the Jodo Shinshu sect in Kyoto, Japan. With the priest's arrival congregations took root. Sometime in 1912, the Intermountain Buddhist Church was formed in Ogden and soon a branch church in Salt Lake City as well. However, after a short while, Rev. K. Kuwahara moved to Salt Lake and the Ogden church became a branch of the Salt Lake temple. Eventually, the two congregations became independent of each other in the mid forties, and both still exist today.

The Salt Lake temple, built in the mid twenties, was paid off in the early thirties. The Ogden congregation bought its first facility in 1937, and then built one to its own specifications in 1964.

The outbreak of the war with Japan caused a great deal of change in the Utah Buddhist community. Persons of Japanese descent were ordered to leave the west coast, and some 5,000 of them did so voluntarily. Fifteen hundred of those five thousand eventually settled permanently in Utah.

⁴⁴⁷Cardell Jacobson, "Ethnic Groups in Utah," in Utah in Demographic Perspective, ed. Thomas K. Martin, Tim B. Heaton, Stephen J. Bahr (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 167.

Some 8,000 Japanese did not have the luxury of moving at their own discretion and were forcibly relocated to a camp in Topaz, Utah.⁴⁴⁸ As a result, during the war years, the Headquarters of the Buddhist Mission of North American was located in Topaz to help the detainees. After the war, most left Utah for other states, but the 1950 Census reports an increase of 1,183 in Utah's Japanese population.⁴⁴⁹

In early 1962, a new temple was dedicated in Salt Lake City in response to the need to expand that had been felt for some time by temple patrons. For much of its existence, the temple has provided an environment where the Japanese-Americans could preserve their culture, and their personal ties. Also, it served as a kind of bastion against the influences that the Issei, or first generation Japanese, feared would adversely influence their children. However, as later generations have become more assimilated, the church has become more of a spiritual, than a cultural center.⁴⁵⁰

Today the Salt Lake congregation includes some two hundred plus families (exact figures are unavailable). The temple has various organizations for the children, youth,

⁴⁴⁸See Helen Z. Papanikolas and Alice Kasai, "Japanese Life in Utah," in The Peoples of Utah, ed. Helen Z. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 333-362.

⁴⁴⁹Papanikolas and Kasai, 359

⁴⁵⁰Rev. Jerry K. Hirano, "Buddhist Thoughts," April-May, 1994. This is the newsletter of the Salt Lake City temple.

and women. The Buddhists have not involved themselves heavily in the community at large, although they do participate in the Japanese-Americans' Citizens League, and the Senior Citizens' League.⁴⁵¹ The Buddhists sponsor an annual Obon festival, or "Festival of Souls," which commemorates deceased ancestors. The festival has become somewhat of an attraction for the larger community, offering Japanese foods, and dancing displays. Several thousand people come every year.

Although the temple in Salt Lake City continues to be the largest in terms of participation, the Ogden temple still exists, and supports a branch church in Corinne, which was built in 1944. The Ogden church at one time supported a branch in Honeyville, but that congregation became independent from Ogden in 1971. In the past few years, a Thai Buddhist temple has been organized in Layton, a Vietnamese temple, and a Zen meditation center in Salt Lake City.

⁴⁵¹Rev. Jerry K. Hirano, Interview by Jesse S. Bushman, 19 October 1994, tape in possession of author.

Interview Results

Reverend Jerry K. Hirano

1. Background Information

Rev. Jerry K. Hirano, of the Salt Lake Buddhist temple, grew up in Salt Lake City and received his bachelor's degree at the University of Utah. He later studied Buddhism at U.C. Berkeley, and in Kyoto, Japan. Rev. Hirano is in his late thirties and was just married this year. He has served as a minister in San Jose and has acted as Salt Lake City's priest for just over a year.⁴⁵²

2. Social and Interdenominational Ministry

The Buddhist temple participates in the Japanese American Citizen's League and the Senior Citizen's Center, both of which are associated with the Japanese American population in the area. During and immediately after World War II, the JACL worked to eliminate discrimination, but has become more socially oriented, as is the Senior Citizen's Center. The temple continues to put on the annual Obon

⁴⁵²Jerry K. Hirano, interviewed at the Salt Lake City Buddhist temple, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 19 October 1994 and 25 May 1995. Transcripts in possession of the author. See 19 October interview, 1.

festival in Salt Lake. Other than these few activities, the temple does not involve itself in much social ministry. The Obon festival attracts a lot of community attention and participation and has been a positive thing for the temple through the contact it establishes with the larger community.⁴⁵³

The temple has not participated in any interdenominational work, either with the LDS church, or any other group.⁴⁵⁴

3. Social and Political Impressions

Rev. Hirano has never led the congregation in any type of political issue, in fact, he notes that the independent nature of the Buddhist lifestyle precludes Buddhist clergy from making blanket statements for all of their congregants.⁴⁵⁵ When characterizing the political atmosphere of Utah, Hirano calls it very conservative. He also feels that because Utah is so overwhelmingly Republican, not so much political discussion has to take place to resolve various issues. He added that he does not feel particularly uncomfortable with politics as they

⁴⁵³Hirano, October 19, 3-4

⁴⁵⁴Hirano, May 25, 1

⁴⁵⁵Hirano, October 19, 4

are.⁴⁵⁶

Buddhist clergy who come to Utah may feel a little isolation, according to Hirano because Utah's Japanese community is small and lacks things such as a Japanese language newspaper, or Asian markets which carry Japanese foods. As a result, some Buddhist clergy feel hesitant to accept a call to Utah because the lack of this infrastructure makes the state look more challenging to them.⁴⁵⁷

Utah's culture seems a bit divided to Hirano. He says that some of the LDS people feel that since they are the majority group, they can, in some ways, look down their noses at others. Even as a third generation Utahn, Hirano says he is still looked at by some as an outsider of sorts.⁴⁵⁸

Hirano sees Utah as very open socially. He gets along well with his neighbors, having been welcomed into his area when he moved in, and feels that they accept him fairly well. In California, he said that he knew almost none of his neighbors and that people seemed much more closed and private. Here, however, he thinks that people are much friendlier. However, he qualifies this by saying that he feels that there is a limit to how far people can go,

⁴⁵⁶Hirano, May 25, 2-3

⁴⁵⁷Ibid., 1

⁴⁵⁸Hirano, October 19, 7-8

socially, if they are not LDS, because so much of the social life of Utah's majority population is tied up in LDS activities.⁴⁵⁹

Utahns take religion more seriously, according to Hirano, and as a result, the state has a stronger religious orientation. This manifests itself in things like businesses being closed on Sunday, people avoiding entertainment activities on that day, and also their willingness to discuss religious topics in what would be considered only social occasions.⁴⁶⁰

4. Children, Teenagers, and Adults

Hirano feels the experience of Buddhist children in Utah to basically parallel that of their counterparts in other areas of the country, with the exception of Cub Scouts, which, in Utah, are mostly sponsored by the LDS church.⁴⁶¹ Teenagers, however have problems with dating, not just because of religious affiliation, but also because of race. He mentions that Japanese Christians are more accepted by Japanese Buddhists in dating situations than Japanese Mormons because the Japanese Mormons are considered by the Buddhists to be even more different than the Japanese

⁴⁵⁹Hirano, May 25, 1-2

⁴⁶⁰Ibid., 3-4

⁴⁶¹Ibid., 5

Christians. Social activity for Buddhist teens can also be a challenge, in Hirano's eyes, if their parents do not allow them to participate in LDS youth activities, as this would cut them off from a lot of possible social situations, as well as the chance to learn about religion and decide for themselves what they believe.⁴⁶²

For the Buddhist adults, the ability to choose their own activities and personal contacts makes the Utah experience quite similar to that in other areas of the country. Hirano says he is treated well by his own neighbors and associates and suspects that this is the same for other Buddhists.⁴⁶³

5. Impressions of the LDS

Hirano calls the LDS friendly, but wonders if this does not stem from the confidence they have from being the majority group. He wonders if some of this friendliness might be somewhat patronizing. He also mentions that his neighbor, who is Catholic, seems to think a greater bond exists between Hirano and himself because neither are LDS.⁴⁶⁴

The LDS organization appears very well run to Hirano.

⁴⁶²Ibid., 5-6

⁴⁶³Ibid., 6

⁴⁶⁴Ibid., 7

He feels it to be one of the most organized institutions he has seen. Also, he has difficulty separating the LDS organization from Utah as a state, as he feels that anything the LDS church really did not want in Utah could not take root here. It seems to him that the general attitudes of the LDS population drive what happens politically and he feels that it would be very difficult for him to be successful in a political race in Utah, not so much because of his being Japanese, but because of his being Buddhist.⁴⁶⁵

6. Final Comments

That the Buddhist group has survived and been so strong for around eighty years seems important to Hirano. Even though their temple is practically under the shadow of the LDS church office building, they have maintained a tight community and it seems a tribute to their dedication.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁵Ibid., 7-8

⁴⁶⁶Hirano, October 19, 8

Laypeople

1. Background Information

The four Buddhist interviewees include three women and one man. All are Japanese-Americans and have been life-long Buddhists. Three have been life-long Utahns, and the fourth moved here forty-six years ago. Three of the four are married, and two have children. Of the two with children, one has two daughters, ages eleven and eight. The children of the other have all grown up and left the home. All four Buddhist laypeople are deeply involved in the life of the temple with regular attendance and work within the group. All four live in the Salt Lake area.⁴⁶⁷

2. Social and Political Impressions

Two Buddhists called Utah's culture "not as diverse" as other areas, and "somewhat limited." Minorities seem to stand out here, because, according to one, the LDS people

⁴⁶⁷Lynn Doi, interviewed at her home in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 22 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1: Brenda Koga, interviewed at her home in Salt Lake City, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 17 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1: Yukie Okubo, interviewed at her home in Bountiful, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 10 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2: Troy Watanabe, interviewed at the Salt Lake Buddhist temple, by Jesse S. Bushman, on 20 May 1995. Transcript in possession of the author, 1-2.

are comfortable in the state and do not bother to leave so that they come to an understanding of the diversity around the country.⁴⁶⁸ Utah seems "shouldy," to another woman. She says that people go around telling others what would be good for them to do, all in a nice way, but such that it enforces a sort of similarity in society.⁴⁶⁹ The fourth interviewee called Utah "diverse," saying that he had friends from several different racial and religious backgrounds and that they got along quite well. He also likes the slower pace of life here.⁴⁷⁰

Responses on the social environment also differed. Two women said that Utah felt limited in terms of social opportunities outside of the LDS church, that people seemed "cliquish." The latter elaborated saying that LDS people hung together, and that even within the LDS group a division exists between active and inactive LDS people. However, the first woman felt that over her own lifetime, things have improved in terms of people being more accepting of other groups in Utah.⁴⁷¹ Two other interviewees said that they felt the social environment to be fairly open to anyone. They both mentioned that the LDS church provides a great deal of social activity, but they did not feel that their

⁴⁶⁸Doi, 2: Koga, 2

⁴⁶⁹Okubo, 6-7

⁴⁷⁰Watanabe, 2-3

⁴⁷¹Koga, 2-3: Okubo, 7

own social lives suffered because of that.⁴⁷²

Although no Buddhist called Utah politics church run, all felt that the LDS point of view, through its members, receives more attention in the state than any other.⁴⁷³ Also, two felt that LDS people let their religious ideas unduly influence their political actions.⁴⁷⁴ The strict laws that come out of such a religious background found approval from two interviewees, both of whom are starting, or have, young families. They felt the conservative nature of the state to be a plus for people in their situation.⁴⁷⁵

All four interviewees felt that religion plays a very strong role in the life of Utah.⁴⁷⁶ Three of them added that they felt that religious groups other than the LDS benefited from this emphasis on religion. Some groups seem to respond by imitating the LDS by creating various programs to serve different members. Other individuals become more active in their religion as a way to preserve their identity.⁴⁷⁷ Interviewees agreed that the religious orientation of the community generally improves the quality of life in Utah.

⁴⁷²Doi, 2-3: Watanabe, 3-4

⁴⁷³Doi, 3: Koga, 3: Okubo, 7: Watanabe, 4-5

⁴⁷⁴Okubo, 7: Watanabe, 4-5

⁴⁷⁵Doi, 3: Watanabe, 4-5

⁴⁷⁶Doi, 3-4: Koga, 3-4: Okubo, 8: Watanabe, 5-6

⁴⁷⁷Doi, 3-4: Koga, 3-4: Watanabe, 5-6

3. Children, Teenagers, and Adults

Buddhist children in Utah have a difficult time explaining their religion to others. Three interviewees pointed out that their faith can challenge even adults when trying to understand it, and that children, who constantly receive questions about their religion, are at a loss to explain what they are, as opposed to the majority group of LDS.⁴⁷⁸ Buddhist children are also very scattered around the city, so they do not have the community ties that develop out of the locally based LDS congregations. Long distance friendships require the work of parents to maintain.⁴⁷⁹ One woman, however, felt that Utah children do not really differ from Buddhists in any other area, and that their experience here is, if not entirely normal, rather positive.⁴⁸⁰

Two women mentioned that Buddhist teenagers did not quite fit into the dating scene in Utah. This seemed, to one, to be due to the fact that most date within their racial group, and there are not many Japanese-Americans in Utah to choose from. However, she says that interracial marriages are increasing. The other woman who commented on dating simply said that her kids did not fit in because she

⁴⁷⁸Doi, 4-5: Koga, 4: Watanabe, 6-7

⁴⁷⁹Watanabe, 6-7

⁴⁸⁰Okubo, 8-9

raised them with the idea that you dated to find someone to marry and that as teenagers, they were too young to do that.⁴⁸¹ Some Buddhist teenagers may feel ashamed of their religious affiliation because it makes them stick out in society, and as a result, one woman thinks some of them convert to the LDS church in an effort to blend in.⁴⁸² In contrast to this, the man who teaches the youth religious class feels that the teens are coming to understand their religion more deeply, and that they are making the decision to be life-long Buddhists. He also mentioned that they create their own social group within the church.⁴⁸³

When the Japanese came to Utah, they worked to maintain their culture within the church and to aid in this, they often held services in Japanese. This created a situation where many of the first generation born in the United States could not really understand the teaching going on in the temple. Three interviewees mentioned that they themselves were just beginning to really learn about the philosophy behind Buddhism and that they felt the rest of the adults in the congregation were having to do the same.⁴⁸⁴ Generally, however, aside from a few social restrictions, they felt that the Buddhist adult experience in Utah approximated that

⁴⁸¹Doi, 5: Okubo, 8-9

⁴⁸²Koga, 4-5

⁴⁸³Watanabe, 7-8

⁴⁸⁴Doi, 5-6: Okubo, 2-3: Watanabe, 8-9

in other areas. Two mentioned that their acquaintances have expressed a great deal of curiosity about Buddhism, in a positive way. These same two felt that many people held stereotypes about Buddhists as a result of their ignorance.⁴⁸⁵

All four Buddhists felt that their religious affiliation probably did not affect the way that others in the community reacted to them, however, two qualifications were added. Although one woman was not sure that differences in treatment exist because of her religion, she feels that if they do, it is not because of her being Buddhist, so much as her being non-LDS. Another person simply added that he is not invited to a lot of socializing, but that this is all right since it centers around the LDS church and he is not LDS.⁴⁸⁶ At this point, a third person said that the people around here express a lot of positive curiosity about her religion when they find out where she attends church.⁴⁸⁷ Finally, one woman felt that because of limited exposure to others, LDS people simply did not know how to react to people who do not belong to their church.⁴⁸⁸ Three felt their own experience to be quite

⁴⁸⁵Koga, 4-5: Watanabe, 8-9

⁴⁸⁶Doi, 6: Koga, 6: Okubo, 10: Watanabe, 9-10

⁴⁸⁷Doi, 6

⁴⁸⁸Koga, 6

typical of other Buddhist adults.⁴⁸⁹ The fourth stated that she could not generalize and that everyone's experience in life differs in some way.⁴⁹⁰

4. Impressions of the LDS

When asked to characterize the LDS people she knows, one woman quickly said that she felt like she was being asked to stereotype them and that they seemed like normal people, but that she thought of them in a good light and as being generally friendly. She did characterize their thinking as narrowly focused, though, and wondered if some think that things must be LDS to be "good."⁴⁹¹ Two other women both expressed positive feelings about the LDS people they knew, saying they got along well with them. One added that sometimes the LDS people she knows seem to want to ignore problems and do not know how to react to negative feedback, or upsetting situations.⁴⁹² The final interviewee commented on how easy it is to criticize the LDS people when their human condition gets in the way of their living up to high LDS standards. He says that he has to remind himself that LDS people are human beings just like

⁴⁸⁹Doi, 6: Koga, 6: Watanabe, 11

⁴⁹⁰Okubo, 10

⁴⁹¹Doi, 6-7

⁴⁹²Koga, 6-7: Okubo, 11

himself, or anyone else.⁴⁹³

Two Buddhists characterized the LDS church as highly organized and very structured. They commented on the political power it seems to have and the control it exercises over the lives of its members. One added that this control can affect some people by pushing them to rebel. This rebellion, however, comes out in a big way, rather than just in bits and pieces.⁴⁹⁴ A woman with several grown children said that her daughters did not seem to receive as much respect in Utah as their professional status warranted, and had to move elsewhere to gain that. She did, however, think that over her lifetime, the LDS church has allowed a little more individual thinking.⁴⁹⁵ The last interviewee expressed a great deal of respect for the LDS organization, saying that it had positively impacted life in Utah, that he admired their mission program and thought it well run in terms of business. He did feel that its presence in the state may give some a false sense of security.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹³Watanabe, 11-13

⁴⁹⁴Doi, 7: Koga, 7-8

⁴⁹⁵Okubo, 11-12

⁴⁹⁶Watanabe, 13-14

5. Final Comments

Two Buddhists felt that their experience in Utah had made them stronger in their religion. One added that the youth he has accompanied to California for Buddhist conferences seems to be more mature, or more versed in their religion than their counterparts from other areas.⁴⁹⁷ Of the other two women, one had no final comments, and the other assured me that she could only speak for herself and that her comments did not necessarily apply to any other Buddhists.⁴⁹⁸

Conclusion

Like the Jews and the African American Baptists, Buddhists often commented on the sparse nature of their population and the impact it had in terms of being overlooked in the larger society, occasional problems in dating, and in forming friendships within their own group. To a certain extent they saw the LDS religion as having a narrowing effect on the social and political life of Utah, but they did not express disapproval in such strident terms as either the Roman Catholics or Presbyterians.

If anything is unique about their comments, it must be

⁴⁹⁷Koga, 8-9: Watanabe, 15

⁴⁹⁸Okubo, 12

the feeling they expressed that many of the members of their group are in the learning stages with respect to their religion. The language barrier over the years has prevented a great deal of education from taking place. Jerry Hirano, the current priest, who grew up in Salt Lake City, stated that as a small child, all of the services were conducted in Japanese, but that as a teenager, services slowly began to move towards an English format.⁴⁹⁹ Currently all services are conducted in English. Now, these adult Buddhists finally have an American born priest and are engaged in a bit of catch up. Overall, the Buddhists expressed fairly positive feelings about Utah, and none indicated that they wished to leave, or that they disliked living here.

⁴⁹⁹Jerry K. Hirano, phone conversation with Jesse S. Bushman on 4 August 1995. Notes in possession of the author.

Chapter 6

So What Does it All Mean?

The stated purpose of this thesis is to place the experience of the non-LDS peoples of Utah into an understandable framework. Since the beginning, I have hypothesized that this experience fits best into the traditional descriptions of majority/minority relationships, as described in chapter one. Having reported on the interviews, comparisons and contrasts may now be drawn between them, and an attempt made to fit the whole into the proffered framework.

A few comments on the interviews themselves must be inserted here to keep the study in perspective. Members of the clergy may appear to be more critical of life in Utah than their congregants. In part, this must be due to their role as counselors. In that capacity they hear the problems of their communities, and this makes them privy to a great deal of pain, anger, and frustration. However, interviews with members of the clergy generally revealed men who had thought through these issues very carefully and who were not disposed to extreme attitudes. Nevertheless, their responses must be understood in the light of their having had to help calm a large number of storms.

No interview with either a member of the clergy or a layperson became completely negative, and yet, it seemed to me as an interviewer that people generally treated the interview as a chance to critique Utah's culture and majority population. For this reason, they often pointed out more challenges and problems than joys and successes. Some, however, pointed out that they recognized this trend and did not want to give an imbalanced impression. In addition, a number of interviewees expressed uniformly positive feelings and had very little to criticize. Also, not everyone understood the questions in the same way, hence, answers took different lines, sometimes making it difficult to generalize about specific areas.

During the interviews, questions were not always, though usually, asked in the same order. In addition, in a few interviews, one or two questions were entirely passed over, either because previous answers had covered the material, or, in a few cases, because I simply neglected to ask them. However, as a great number of the questions overlap and cover the same issues, I do not feel that these few, shorter interviews have detracted from the completeness of the whole picture.

In reporting the interview results, it became necessary to be very selective, as transcripts totalled more than five hundred single-spaced pages. I chose which aspects of the various responses to report, based on the general tenor of

each interview, the specific themes that each person seemed to come back to, and also the clarity of each response. Some people spoke for as long as twenty minutes on a single question, others for only a few seconds. This situation makes the report on the interviews not only a production of the interviewees, but also a reflection of my own bias as to what merits the most attention.⁵⁰⁰

Similarities

Major themes running throughout the interviews included feelings of isolation caused by a "narrow" or "focused" culture, the existence of social cliques, a feeling of political impotence, or under-representation, and a heightened sense of religion. At the same time, many praised the moral basis of the community and its family orientation and said that they liked living here. Adults almost uniformly characterized Utah as more religiously oriented than any other place they had lived.

⁵⁰⁰All interviewees were invited to sign a release form, after having seen a transcript of their interview. Transcripts which pertain to interviews where the subject has given his/her permission, will be placed, with the accompanying cassette tape, in the Oral History Center, associated with the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University. Anyone interested in reading the transcripts in their entirety may there gain access to those transcripts which have been released.

Adults consistently voiced a feeling of political impotence in Utah. Many rightly attributed this to the predominant Republican composition of the state, but several added that they felt that the alternate political voice simply did not get enough attention, or that it is not taken seriously enough in Utah. Frequently, the implication in the interviews was that the political make-up of the state owed its existence to the influence of the LDS church.⁵⁰¹

Some children fall victim to a certain amount of teasing as a result of their position outside the majority group. Occasionally a few LDS parents even encourage such separation. Teenagers find difficulty creating an active social life, as most of the LDS teens are involved in their ward activities. Teens also have problems with dating. Adults usually have worked out a niche for themselves, although some still feel as if they are overlooked or isolated. However, exceptions exist, where children, teens and adults have felt quite welcome in LDS circles.

⁵⁰¹Although these interviewees and some other observers have felt that Utah owes its conservative Republican makeup to the influence of the LDS Church, Thomas G. Alexander has shown that the emergence of this political milieu coincided with a shift in Utah's economy away from dependence on the Federal government and Eastern capital, to a more locally owned business based economy. The conservative nature of the LDS Church only complimented the natural growth in the conservative business class in Utah. See, Thomas G. Alexander, "The Emergence of a Republican Majority in Utah, 1970-1992," in Politics in the Postwar American West, ed. Richard Lowitt (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 260-76.

Surprisingly, despite their criticisms of Utah and LDS culture, the great majority of the interviewees hold very positive opinions of the LDS people that they know personally. Some qualifications were added, but generally, they respect and enjoy the company of their LDS acquaintances. This may be due to their being able to choose who they associate with, as well as to LDS culture. Interviewees saw the LDS church as not only very organized, powerful and wealthy, but also somewhat authoritarian and patriarchal, all of which could simply be called accurate description. Finally, most people felt their experience in Utah to have fortified their own faith and made them stronger in who they are and what they believe.

Differences

The two groups most critical towards the LDS and Utah's Mormon dominated society were the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians. Interviews with these two groups paralleled each other to a great degree, except for the fact that Catholics seem to see many more of their numbers convert to the LDS religion than any other group. The Jews also seemed fairly critical, while at the same time having several noticeable gaps in their critiques. Jewish characterizations of life in Utah usually included feelings of general social acceptance. Jews also described a great

deal of interest in their religion on the part of Mormons, whereas the Christian groups do not encounter such interest. The greater acceptance of Jews within Utah society most likely owes its existence to a Mormon perception of links between Jewish and Mormon theology and experience.⁵⁰² Another difference in the Jewish experience shows up in the teenage years. Most Jews teach endogamy and so Jewish teens are not so concerned about being rejected by a Mormon when asking for a date, as other groups are. They worry more about finding another Jew to date because of the small Jewish population. Jewish adults remained highly critical of the politics of the state, as well as the authoritarian nature of the LDS church.

The Buddhists, most of whom grew up in Utah (which may be an important factor in forming their views) seemed neither too critical, nor entirely ready to heap praise on Utah. They emphasized the openness of their religion and its contrast to the LDS. Being a racial minority did not occupy many of their comments. Although a couple of them did bring up the issue of race, they did not really know if it affected their lives a great deal. They also did not seem as dissatisfied with the social environment as the Catholics and Presbyterians. Buddhists, like Jews, encounter a great deal of curiosity about their faith. When

⁵⁰²See Steven Epperson, Mormons and Jews: Early Mormon Theologies of Israel (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992).

Buddhist responses are compared to those of the other four groups, they seem to be the most middle of the road in their opinions and experiences.

Surprisingly, the African American Baptists expressed the most positive ideas about Utah. They seemed to feel more comfortable here than any other group. They differed, though, in that they described much of their experience in terms of race, rather than religion. When they spoke of discrimination or prejudice, it was never couched in terms of being a Baptist, but in terms of being African American. Most stated that religion has very little to do with how people in Utah react to them.

Curiously, only two mentioned the former LDS ban on giving priesthood positions to African Americans, one of whom did not elaborate on whether he felt that had impacted how LDS people treated him or not. This seems very strange when we look at how long most of the Baptist interviewees have lived in the state (quite long enough to be well aware of the past position of the LDS church). Their failure to bring this issue up may be a result of their activity in their own congregation, making LDS policy something that really does not concern them, or it may result from the fact that current LDS policy allows for the ordination of any race. In a study on African American Mormons, Jessie L. Embry points out that even many of these people, who had joined the LDS church after the policy change, were unaware

that priesthood had ever been denied the African American members.⁵⁰³ General ignorance on the part of the American public about Mormons may account for the failure of interviewees to bring the subject of the priesthood ban up. Furthermore, seventeen years constitute a relatively long time in collective political and social memory, making such an omission more understandable.

Baptists seemed most concerned with the small number of African Americans in the community, which makes it difficult to have close friendships amongst themselves (as not many live near each other), as well as making it difficult for their teenagers to find other African Americans to socialize with and to date.

African American Baptists may have expressed more contentment with Utah for a variety of reasons. First, all but one of them came to Utah from the South, many of them in the mid to late forties. The South has consistently had more racial strife than the Mountain states, hence, the contrast between the two areas might have something to do with their more favorable impressions of Utah. Furthermore, although Utah does have areas of ethnic and racial concentration, segregated ghettos do not exist.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰³Jessie L. Embry, Black Saints in a White Church: Contemporary African American Mormons (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 216-217.

⁵⁰⁴Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, Mormons & Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Co., 1984), 298.

Probably more important than this is the fact that they have been raised with the idea of being a minority, and thus have learned more effective ways of coping than have other groups. In his article on religious persecution among New York City children, Morris Rosenberg found that Jewish children, the most persecuted of the groups he measured, also were the least affected by the persecution. He suggests several possible reasons for this, including the idea that "perhaps Jewish children are taught early to expect such slights and to harden themselves against them."⁵⁰⁵ In his research, Armand Mauss also discovered that the more orthodox, or more dogmatic Mormons are, the more likely they are to be less prejudicial in attitude and behavior toward African Americans.⁵⁰⁶ Whether or not Rosenberg's theory is correct remains to be seen, yet, interestingly, the Catholics and Presbyterians, who have the least reason to develop skills to cope with a minority status, also relate the most problematic experiences and the most criticism.

⁵⁰⁵Rosenberg, 319

⁵⁰⁶Mauss, 177-178

Non-LDS and the Majority/Minority Framework

Having seen how the relationship between the LDS and their neighbors plays itself out in the lives of the latter, we turn now to see just how that interaction fits into the majority/minority framework. The various frameworks for such interactions will be discussed below in light of the interview results.

Interviewees did not express the feeling that any problems they suffered resulted from an outright hate, or conscious devaluing of others on the part of LDS Utahns, but more from being outside that group, or from being ignored. As with any group of people, the LDS church has its zealots, bigots, and misfits, some of whom may take their aggressions out on their non-LDS neighbors. However, the interviews did not reveal any pattern of conscious, planned persecution towards the non-LDS.

Thus, it seems that the concept of unresolved animosity on the part of the LDS, cannot very well explain the general experience of the non-LDS.

Cultural transmission of ideas about the "unworthy" behavior of "worldly" people outside the LDS church, does seem to be responsible for some of the experience of very young children. LDS children may learn that their standards must be different, somehow, than others', and as a result, they may assume some danger in associating with their non-

LDS peers. At the same time, the experience of the non-LDS children may also be due to the fact that locally based LDS congregations have created a bond and a de facto in-group, between young LDS children before they enter school.

Some LDS adults may also harbor suspicions of people outside their tradition, believing that different moral standards provide a barrier to interacting with their neighbors. Furthermore, because the LDS church provides a broad social program, and because of the proportional size of the LDS population (especially in rural areas), LDS adults may have little chance, or motivation to make a large number of personal contacts outside their own church group. In effect, this situation keeps some LDS people in the dark, as it were, about who their non-LDS neighbors are, and when faced with the opportunity of interacting with these people, the LDS individual may simply not know how to react. Several interviewees said that they believed the LDS people to be ignorant about most other people. This naivete, or ignorance can only be alleviated as LDS people begin to consciously reach out to others, or as more non-LDS people move into Utah, increasing the percentage of non-LDS and making interactions with them more commonplace, until any ignorance as to how to treat them melts away.

Of all the theories of prejudice and discrimination discussed in the first chapter, two seem to most accurately describe the dynamic in Utah. The first would be the theory

of group-identification. Mormons tend to emphasize the perception of themselves as being a "chosen people," or "not of the world," in their sermons and Sunday school lessons. They also assert to have THE one true church. These teachings tend to draw a sharper line between the in-group, and the out-group. Additionally, the false corollary to the belief that one has THE true church, is the idea that every one else has THE false church. If the Mormon theological claim to have THE true church is correct, it does **not** necessarily follow that the religious feelings, beliefs and relations with God that other people have are totally invalid. Although Mormons do not actively preach this idea, it quite likely plays a part in their instinctive thinking about other religious groups and may contribute to behavior that tends to devalue other traditions.

Another factor which may contribute to Mormons overlooking their LDS neighbors may simply be the availability of talent within the LDS community. Because Mormons make up more than seventy percent of the population of the state, they can find most of the talents they need without going to other sources. Church activity provides a natural social network where this can take place. Many of the interviewees expressed the idea that they make friends where they congregate, either at work, or in their religious group, and that if they were in the majority, they would most likely act the same way that the Mormons do. In

addition, three of these groups, the African American Baptists, Jews and Buddhists, each make up less than one percent of the state population. It is only logical that their voice would be relatively smaller.

An exception to the theory of group-identification in the LDS/non-LDS experience lies in the LDS emphasis on converting others to their faith. Assimilation between ethnic groups usually takes a great deal of time and major shifts in attitude and is sometimes accomplished over protests from members of the merging groups. Mormons actively seek to bring other people into their group. Some interviewees expressed the idea that if they converted to the LDS faith, they would immediately see doors open to them, and indeed, many related experiences where this happened for people they knew who had joined the LDS faith.

The interviewees also provided a fair amount of reason to believe that a Marxist concept of group interactions can explain a certain amount of LDS/non-LDS interactions. In terms of economics, only two interviewees stated that they had personally been adversely affected in their work situation because of being non-LDS. One interviewee said that when his wife had interviewed for several jobs in Utah, several interviewer had stared rather intently at her blouse. He interpreted this as an effort to see whether she wore the distinctive LDS undergarment and wonders if this affected the outcome of the interviews. Several of the

clergy and a few more of the laypeople also related stories of acquaintances who had been passed over for promotion, or who had been laid off due to religious affiliation. In a few cases, interviewees affirmed that they could prove that religion had affected these work situations. Most people who brought up such stories, however, said they simply felt that when faced with two equally qualified candidates who differed in religious affiliation, LDS employers would make their choice based on that affiliation. Questions as to the difference in how employees are treated in the public and private sectors cannot be treated by this study, as it is too limited in scope and did not make this a matter for questioning during the various interviews.

Taking another Marxist bent, most interviewees expressed political domination on the part of the LDS. Many of these same people simply attributed this to the number of conservative Republicans in Utah, noting that many Mormons fit that category. However, several others who felt Utah to be politically dominated by the LDS also expressed the feeling that their voices would not be heard, or that if they ran for office, they would be defeated because of their religious affiliation. When pressed to explain why they thought they would be defeated, most spoke of the LDS network and word of mouth through LDS circles as a great political boon. Most interviewees who felt the LDS people

to be politically dominant described this domination in fairly vague terms, not specifying how it took place.

On the other hand, a number of interviewees (not as many as the first group) expressed feelings of pleasure with Utah's conservative climate and some even stated a desire for the LDS church to take a more active role in politics. Interestingly, of the three interviewees who had themselves actively participated in political issues and races, all stated that they were welcome by the "powers that be" and that their views received respect in government circles. In any case, for most non-LDS people, there exists a perceived barrier to their participation in the political process in Utah.

A review of the interview results shows that the experience of non-LDS Utahns takes on many of the trappings of a typical minority experience. Theology does not seem to have an overriding effect on interactions between the groups, although it does play a minor role. A description of the interactions between the LDS and non-LDS peoples in Utah could be fairly easily applied to many other situations in the United States where one ethnic or racial group predominates.

Several irksome factors to life in Utah, not subsumed under the various theories of group interactions, cropped up during the interviews. Some interviewees felt that professional women do not always receive the same respect as

their male colleagues. Several interviewees knew women who had moved from the state to escape this situation. A few interviewees also talked about the translation of religious values into secular norms. Utah's strict laws concerning alcohol, and the celebration on Saturday of holidays that officially fall on Sunday, both extracted several comments.

For the most part, interviewees felt Utah to be fairly open to them. Indeed, non-LDS people do not seem to face any overt barriers in employment, political participation, or social interactions. However, a good number of subtle barriers, as discussed above, do exist. How pervasive and how powerful these barriers are is not only beyond the scope of this thesis to say, but also very difficult to evaluate.

The issue of barriers in dating and marriage came up quite frequently during the various interviews. However, this does not seem to be an effort by the LDS to prevent Marxist type "prestige gains" for the non-LDS. In LDS theology, qualification for God's highest gift includes marrying under the authority of the LDS priesthood. Those who would marry under these circumstances must be members in good standing of the LDS church. Reluctance on the part of LDS people, then, to date or marry others probably stems mostly from these theological beliefs, although some LDS people may translate these beliefs into a feeling that others are not intrinsically worthy for such a marriage.

Although some non-LDS people convert and do fully assimilate into LDS society, the idea that the various religious groups in Utah will work together to form one new, syncretic religious fellowship seems ridiculous in the extreme. What has developed in Utah, and what will continue to exist in the foreseeable future, is a more pluralistic society, comprised of a large number of discrete groups. This state of "separatism," as described in chapter one, constitutes the best state of affairs in terms of majority/minority relations. At the same time, with such an overwhelming LDS population, the prospect of smaller groups being occasionally overlooked or ignored must be dealt with. Such oversight does, and will continue to happen. The interviews themselves, however, suggest that major change, such as legal intervention between groups, is not needed in Utah to make life more comfortable for the non-LDS. A change in the attitudes of both the non-LDS and the LDS peoples would more appropriately deal with these problems.

As with other minorities, some non-LDS people have reacted to their minority status by taking on counter-culture symbols, such as drinking coffee, or smoking to show their rejection of the majority group.⁵⁰⁷ Ironically,

⁵⁰⁷In an article in Christian Century 98 (July-December 1981), 1230-1232, George A. Nye wrote about the possibility of Utah churches simply becoming a counterculture club and he warned pastors that they must work to focus on leading their flock to Christ, rather than against the dominant culture.

others have allowed the experience to strengthen their own identity and make them leaders in their own groups. Both the experience of becoming more aware of one's own group, as well as becoming antagonistic towards the majority population are actions typical of minority group members, as discussed in chapter one. Hopefully the experience of living in Utah as a non-LDS person strengthens more people than it hurts.

Implications for the non-LDS

People of faiths other than the LDS, who come to live in Utah generally know that they will be a minority. However, they may not be entirely familiar with what that means. This thesis provides information as to what newcomers may expect, and what kinds of activities can help them avoid problems and challenges.

By identifying the non-LDS experience as a majority/minority experience, and by placing that within a sociological framework it can be seen that the non-LDS in Utah do not experience gross, overt prejudice, nor anything radically different than most other minority groups. In fact, interviewees generally agreed that relations between LDS and non-LDS are steadily improving. They attribute this to an increasing awareness of different groups throughout the nation, as well as an influx of non-LDS to the state and

a growing willingness on the part of LDS leaders and laypeople to work with and recognize their non-LDS neighbors. Hopefully this information helps those who live here to look more favorably on their experience relative to other places and to understand how far intergroup relations have progressed since the nineteenth century when members of both sides of Utah's population eagerly bashed each other in the press and in public speeches.

This study also identifies the recurring problem areas for non-LDS Utahns. Rather than becoming angry over unresolved negative feelings, many of the interviewees have thought through their situation and discovered that a good reason exists for much of what happens in this state.

As a large number of interviewees pointed out, the LDS church provides a great deal of social opportunity for its members. The fact that the non-LDS do not participate in these activities does not necessarily reflect a dislike for them on the part of LDS people. In fact, it may present something of a dilemma for the LDS. If they invite non-LDS people to all of their activities, they may be seen as being overly pushy, whereas if they do not ever invite them, the non-LDS may feel socially ostracized.

The fact remains that the LDS church, like any church, works first to serve its members, and then the local community. Many of the interviewees have realized this, and

as a result, have gone to their own faith groups to find the social interaction that we all need.

Non-LDS people may also need to consider what they can expect in terms of change. Carol Markstrom-Adams' short study of dating attitudes among Mormons indicated that forty two percent of LDS teens in her survey felt "unacceptable beliefs, values, standards, and moral conduct of non-Mormons" to be a barrier to their dating them.⁵⁰⁸ Although it may not be true, because of the way the question is worded, this result seems to indicate that LDS teens feel non-LDS teens to be somewhat less moral people and this may be extrapolated to mean that non-LDS people are not as intrinsically valuable as LDS people. Asking that the LDS church and LDS parents try to teach their children that they are not somehow inherently morally superior because of their being LDS seems a perfectly rational and even needed request on the part of the non-LDS.

On the other hand, asking that the LDS church abandon its stance on issues of critical importance to its identity, such as sexuality, basic ethical behavior, marrying under LDS authority, its position with respect to sharing beliefs, or the assertion that the LDS church is THE true and complete Christian church in this world, would be asking the

⁵⁰⁸Markstrom-Adams, "Attitudes on Dating, Courtship, and Marriage: Perspectives on In-Group Versus Out-Group Relationships by Religious Minority and Majority Adolescents," 93.

LDS church to give up important parts of its basic identity. Although the non-LDS **do** have a right to discuss with the LDS church how these beliefs are played out in situations that directly affect them, it does not follow that they should be able to demand that the LDS Church change its essential theology or belief.

Finally, non-LDS people can (and many do) learn from their own experience as a minority that it does not always work to categorize people. It is interesting to note that the group which has experienced the most discrimination in this country, the African Americans, was also the most reluctant to make generalized statements about the LDS people.

Implications for the LDS

Perhaps the greatest good this study can do for the LDS population of Utah is to identify how, and in what ways their non-LDS neighbors feel uncomfortable as a result of LDS perceptions or behavior. Positive changes cannot be initiated without some basic understanding of what must be amended. This thesis suggests several areas for improvement.

The issue which evoked the strongest feelings was that of the treatment of children. Probably for a variety of reasons, some non-LDS children experience discrimination

based on religious affiliation. Mormon parents need to take particular care to teach their children that each religious tradition creates people of integrity and goodness. In some cases, this situation may be remedied by a willingness to have LDS children participate in activities outside their church so that they are associated in positive activities with others. In any case, a majority group must bear the greater responsibility for teaching its members to respect members of smaller groups. Numerically smaller groups constantly experience exposure to member of the majority group. They are, hence, more likely to understand the nature of others and the fact that most people are simply that, people. Where it is possible that majority group members have very little contact with minority group members, it becomes all the more important that parents make stronger efforts to teach their children (as well as themselves) the basic humanity of all people.

Another major issue for non-LDS people is the feeling of being overlooked. As pointed out previously, overlooking small populations of any group in a majority population as large as that of the LDS in Utah can be fairly easy. However, although LDS Utahns live in a lopsided world, they do not have permission to be rude, to ignore, or to pass over the value of others' traditions. As Christians, it must be assumed that the LDS subscribe to Christ's teaching that "if ye have done it unto one of the least of these my

brethren, ye have done it unto me."⁵⁰⁹ Furthermore, if the LDS people are intent on following Christ, they must make note of the numerous instances wherein Jesus stopped to attend to the needs of individual people within a larger group. As a majority, the LDS have the greater responsibility to make sure that religious holidays, beliefs and practices from other traditions receive the respect they deserve. Also, LDS people must examine their actions with an eye to fairness and make a conscious effort to keep knowledge of religious affiliation from unduly influencing their actions towards others. Any major religion has much that can be said to help people grow closer to God and that merits respect. In a sermon on 6 October 1863, Brigham Young acknowledged this fact, saying:

Our religion is simply the truth. It is all said in this one expression - it embraces all truth, wherever found, in all the works of God and man that are visible and invisible to the mortal eye.⁵¹⁰

Such a statement implies that LDS people need not only to be aware of other religious traditions, but make an effort to learn from them what truths they have to teach.

In this effort, LDS church leaders must work to make sure that intergroup relations becomes a part of their work as well as a topic of discussion in their own congregations. Failure to do so may engender bitterness in non-LDS Utahns,

⁵⁰⁹Matthew 25:40

⁵¹⁰Brigham Young, Journal of Discourses 10 (6 October 1863), 251.

and may push them towards more radical or assertive measures to gain the respect they deserve.

Thankfully, for some years now, LDS leaders have been engaged in work with and through other denominations and religious organizations to provide material welfare to people in need, and to increase religious tolerance.⁵¹¹ Also, in the last General Conference of the LDS church, the current president and prophet spent a portion of his sermon discussing relations with other groups, saying:

I plead with our people everywhere to live with respect and appreciation for those not of our faith. There is so great a need for civility and mutual respect among those of differing beliefs and philosophies. We must not be partisans of any doctrine of ethnic superiority. We live in a world of diversity. We can and must be respectful toward those with whose teachings we may not agree. We must be willing to defend the rights of others who may become the victims of bigotry.⁵¹²

Throughout its history the LDS church has actively engaged in missionary work in foreign countries and around the United States. Well over 80 percent of the LDS church membership now live outside of Utah.⁵¹³ If the church itself is to continue to be successful in evangelization and in aiding its own members, it must begin to recognize the value of diversity not only for the comfort of its neighbors

⁵¹¹See the "News in Review" sections of the annually published Deseret News Church Almanac.

⁵¹²Gordon B. Hinckley, "This is the Work of the Master," Ensign 25 (May 1995): 71.

⁵¹³Deseret News 1995-96 Church Almanac, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1994), 412.

in Utah, but for the inner peace necessary for smooth operations in its own work. Such concord within the church cannot be established if its members act in exclusionary or divisive ways.

Perhaps the area for greatest introspection on the part of LDS people revolves around their efforts to proselytize or to share their beliefs. Many non-LDS people told of being abandoned or ignored once they had established that they had no interest in joining the LDS church. LDS members need to consider what this means. Are they treating their neighbors like an object rather than a person? Why is it that LDS people work to share their religious beliefs and with what end?

Near the end of his life, as recorded in the Gospel of John, Christ, who throughout his ministry had taught people to love their neighbor as themselves, gathered his disciples and told them that he had a new commandment. This new commandment was to love one another. The novelty of this commandment was that they were to love each other as **Christ** loved them.⁵¹⁴ Hopefully the LDS people can, one by one, come to a knowledge of God's love for each of them personally, and then, with that understanding, offer to other people the good of their own lives, their support and the love that Christ spoke of. This thesis is offered in that hope.

⁵¹⁴John 13:34-35

Suggestions for Further Research

Quantitative data, while interesting in its own right and attractive because of its "scientific" aspect, must always be fleshed out with something qualitative. Studies like the present one offer the comments of real people to accomplish this task. Furthermore, qualitative work can suggest to researchers what questions need to be answered with quantitative data. While doing these interviews several themes recurred that suggest areas for possible further research.

First, many people wondered what it would be like to live in Utah without an association within a church group. They frequently suggested that such a life would be quite difficult and rather lonely. An examination of how church groups in Utah work to support their members or a study comparing social clubs, fitness groups, cafes and bars in Utah to those in other states might prove very interesting.

Many people also felt that life in rural Utah would be much more difficult for non-LDS people. As already indicated, one study has shown that rural non-LDS have higher levels of stress in their lives.⁵¹⁵ Such a study might also see if there is any correlation between minority group stress and the length of time a subject area has been

⁵¹⁵Krannich, et. al. "Perceived Stress Among Nonmetropolitan Utah Residents."

settled. It is likely that networks between people who have just moved into a new and rapidly growing area may still be rather open, and those in old, established areas, somewhat closed.

Other researchers may want to find out how such factors as employment, education, age and gender affect attitudes about different groups. Mauss suggests that these factors have more effect on Mormon attitudes towards religious groups than do their religious feelings.⁵¹⁶

What effect church affiliation has on political attitudes and especially what role it plays in how Utah's legislators act seems to be another very good field for study. Surveys of attitudes in the legislature may reveal a great deal to either validate, or invalidate the feelings of the interviewees.

Statistical studies could also be done to bear out the various suspicions and claims of the non-LDS. Measuring how people in Utah are promoted and how fast and comparing that to religious affiliation could prove most interesting. Such a study could also compare different types of work environments as well, both private and public.

Additionally, a series of interviews with members of several national denominations, such as the Assemblies of God and Southern Baptists, who have maintained a somewhat

⁵¹⁶Mauss, "Mormonism and Minorities," 178.

antagonistic stance with respect to the LDS church might prove very interesting.

Appendix A

Latter Day Saint Population in Utah⁵¹⁷

Year	Total Utah Population	LDS Population	Percentage LDS
1850 ⁵¹⁸	11,380	11,346	99.70
1860	40,273	39,238	97.43
1870	86,786	72,667	83.73
1880	143,963	110,938	77.06
1890	210,779	140,474	66.65
1900	276,749	184,383	66.62
1910	373,351	228,685	61.25
1920	449,396	278,487	61.97
1930	507,847	315,889	62.20
1940	550,310	365,664	66.45
1950	669,962	467,599	66.80
1960	890,627	643,973	72.31
1970	1,059,273	777,633	73.41
1980	1,461,037	1,026,365	70.25
1990	1,722,850	1,305,000	75.75

⁵¹⁷Information for this chart comes from the Deseret News, LDS Church News Section from the week of June 19, 1983, page 7. The population figures for the state come from U.S. Census data, and those for the LDS population from the offices of the LDS Church. Figures for 1990 come from Statistical Abstract of Utah, 1993, 5; and the Deseret News 1991-1992 Church Almanac, 332.

⁵¹⁸Population figures for 1850, 1860, and 1870 are estimates, as the boundaries of the state did not, at that time, match their current position.

Appendix B

Clergy Interview Questions

1. What is your background in terms of where you were born, raised and educated?
2. Are you married and do you have children and if so, how old are they?
3. How old are you?
4. How long have you been in Utah, and in what areas?
5. What, if any, kinds of social outreach programs has your congregation been involved in?
6. What has been the response of the community to these actions?
7. What, if any, kinds of interchurch, or interdenominational work has your congregation been involved in?
8. What has been the tenor, or the nature of such cooperative interchurch work?
9. What, if any, cooperative actions have you had specifically with the LDS church?
10. What has been the tenor, or nature of such cooperative actions with the LDS church?
11. What, if any, kinds of political actions have you as a congregation been involved in?
12. What has been the response of the community to this action?

13. How would you characterize the experience of members of the clergy who come to minister in Utah?
14. How would you characterize the culture of Utah and how might you compare that to other places where you have lived?
15. How would you characterize the social environment of Utah, in terms of people's personal interactions, group activities, social clubs and things of that nature, and how might you compare that to other areas where you have lived?
16. How would you characterize the political environment of Utah, and how might you compare that to other places where you have lived?
17. How would you characterize the religious environment in Utah, and what role does religion play in people's lives here, as opposed to other places where you have lived?
18. For the children of your denomination, between the ages of five and twelve, do you think they have any different experience here in Utah than they would any place else, or is it the same, and does their religious affiliation affect the way that people in the larger community react to them?
19. For the teenagers of your denomination, between the ages of thirteen and nineteen, do you think they have any different experience here in Utah than they would

any place else, or is it the same, and does their religious affiliation affect the way that people in the larger community react to them?

20. For the adults of your denomination, do you think they have any different experience here in Utah than they would any place else, or is it the same, and does their religious affiliation affect the way that people in the larger community react to them?
21. How would you characterize the LDS individuals that you know?
22. How would you characterize the LDS church as an institution or an organization, and how do you think that institution affects life in Utah?
23. Is there anything else that you have thought of since we made this appointment, or since we have been sitting here talking that you think is important to say about the experience of members of your denomination here in Utah?

Appendix C

Layperson Interview Questions

1. What is your background in terms of where you were born, raised and educated?
2. Are you married and do you have children and if so, how old are they?
3. How old are you?
4. How long have you been a member of your present denomination/church?
5. How would you characterize your present activity level in your church?
6. How long have you been in Utah, and in what areas?
7. How would you characterize the culture of Utah and how might you compare that to other places where you have lived?
8. How would you characterize the social environment of Utah, in terms of people's personal interactions, group activities, social clubs and things of that nature, and how might you compare that to other areas where you have lived?
9. How would you characterize the political environment of Utah, and how might you compare that to other places where you have lived?
10. How would you characterize the religious environment in Utah, and what role does religion play in people's

lives here, as opposed to other places where you have lived?

11. For the children of your denomination, between the ages of five and twelve, do you think they have any different experience here in Utah than they would any place else, or is it the same, and does their religious affiliation affect the way that people in the larger community react to them?
12. For the teenagers of your denomination, between the ages of thirteen and nineteen, do you think they have any different experience here in Utah than they would any place else, or is it the same, and does their religious affiliation affect the way that people in the larger community react to them?
13. For the adults of your denomination, do you think they have any different experience here in Utah than they would any place else, or is it the same, and does their religious affiliation affect the way that people in the larger community react to them?
14. Do you think that your church affiliation has affected the way that your neighbors, coworkers and people in the community that you meet react to you?
15. Do you think that your experience is typical of the other adults in your congregation?
16. How would you characterize the LDS individuals that you know?

17. How would you characterize the LDS church as an institution or an organization, and how do you think that institution affects life in Utah?
18. Is there anything else that you have thought of since we made this appointment, or since we have been sitting here talking that you think is important to say about the experience of members of your denomination here in Utah?

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**A Qualitative Analysis of the
Non-LDS Experience in Utah**

Jesse Smith Bushman

David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies


M.A. Degree, August 1995

ABSTRACT

Utah's foundation under the influence of the LDS church, and the continued influence of the majority LDS population in the state make this area unique in the United States. This situation makes life for the non-LDS in Utah somewhat different than in other areas. Through a series of interviews with members of the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Baptist (National Baptist Convention), Buddhist, and Jewish faiths, this thesis produced a large body of qualitative data concerning the non-LDS experience in Utah.

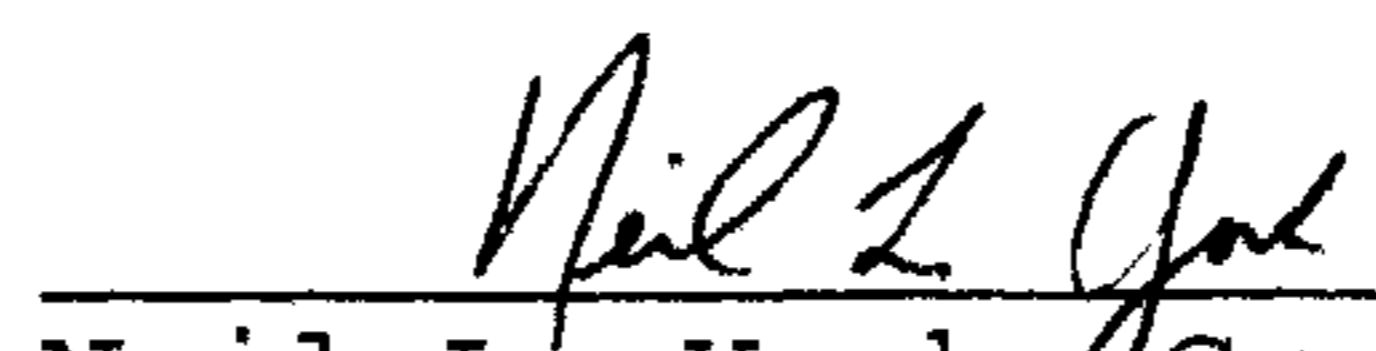
The experience of non-LDS people in Utah can be typified, with a few exceptions, as a traditional majority/minority interaction. Elements of Marxist theory and also of the Group-Identification theory adequately explain most of the elements of the non-LDS Utah experience.

COMMITTEE APPROVAL:


Thomas G. Alexander, Committee Chair


James B. Allen, Committee Member


Steven Epperson, Committee Member


Neil L. York, Graduate Subfield
Coordinator


Valerie Hudson, Director of Graduate
Studies