1. In 1852, Brigham Young spoke to the meaning of the Adam/God theory: “When our father Adam came into the garden of Eden, he came into it with a celestial body, and brought Eve, one of his wives, with him. He helped to make and organize this world. He is Michael, the Archangel, the Ancient of Days! about whom holy men have written and spoken—He is our Father and our God, and the only God with whom we have to do. Every man upon the earth, professing Christians or non-professing, must hear it, and will know it sooner or later” (Young, “Mysteries,” April 9, 1852).

2. Throughout this book, I discuss the notion of forever families, or the idea that spouses and family members might be sealed to one another for all eternity. Indeed, “forever family” could well be a trademarked brand of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and the concept is often used as one of the primary draws for investigators who are considering conversion. Yet mediated Mormonism plays fast and loose with just what is involved in the forever family, particularly its ties to polygamy. For instance, Charly (Weyland 1980) is a hugely famous young adult novel that was made into an equally popular film, Jack Weyland’s Charly (2002). Both narratives feature a love story between a non-LDS woman with a sexual past, Charly, and a devout, virginal LDS man, Sam. She converts, they marry, and after the birth of their son, she develops cancer and dies. Both novel and film are sad, but both play on the idea of forever families as a salve against the pain of Charly’s death. Yet because eternal sealings require temple recommends and these, in turn, require that both partners be “pure,” it would not be possible for this particular couple to be married in the temple and thus be sealed into a forever family. They could, however, marry legally, wait a year, and then be sealed, but this interrupts the temporal alacrity of her cancerous end. The movie makes much of the never-ending monogamous love story between Charly and Sam, even ending with words on the screen, “This is not the end.” In the book, eternal marriage is also critical. However, Charly encourages her husband, Sam,
to find another wife, being sure to pick someone she will like since they will all live together in the afterlife.

3. Ancestry’s brands include Ancestry, AncestryDNA, AncestryHealth, Ancestry-ProGenealogists, Archives.com, Family Tree Maker, Find a Grave, Fold3, Newspapers.com, Rootsweb, AncestryAcademy, and AncestryInstitution. Under its subsidiaries, Ancestry.com operates foreign sites that provide access to services and records specific to other countries in the languages of those countries. These include Australia, Canada, China, Japan, Brazil, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and several other countries in Europe and Asia (covered by Ancestry Information Operations Company). See Ancestry.com on Wikiwand (http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Ancestry.com). As one case in point, my university library just bought an institutional subscription to Ancestry.com for research use.

**INTRODUCTION**

The quote in the title of this chapter is by Brigham Young, in J. Turner (2012, 301).

1. Kody and Meri Brown legally divorced in 2015, so that Kody might legally marry his fourth wife, Robyn, and thus be eligible to adopt her children from another husband.

2. Utah lost another reality polygamist family in 2018, when the Alldredge family of *Seeking Sister Wife* left for South Dakota, thus increasing the theme of persecuted non-normative families on the run to more welcoming places.

3. In the feature film *Brigham Young* (1940), one of Hollywood’s retellings of this exodus, Mormons vacate Nauvoo—much like the Browns—under cover of a single night.

4. Las Vegas—famous as sin city for its legalized prostitution and gambling—is a present-day Mormon stronghold highly populated with both mainstream and fundamentalist peoples. Las Vegas is also a ready symbol for the early church’s colonizing fervor. Under Brigham Young’s direction, a team of fifty-five missionaries built and occupied a fort in Las Vegas in 1855, becoming the first occupants of European descent to live in the area. Although they abandoned the fort due to the Utah War (1857–58), in which the U.S. government engaged in armed conflict with the settlers of Utah Territory (largely over public polygamy), the National Park Service still calls the Old Mormon Fort “the birthplace of Las Vegas,” reinforcing the settler colonialism and white supremacy that effaces the complex history of indigenous peoples such as the Paiutes, who had been living in and near Las Vegas for nearly 1,200 years (“The Old Mormon Fort” 2017). In Season 9, which began airing in January 2019, the Brown family moves to Flagstaff, Arizona. In contrast to the move from Utah to Nevada, this move is depicted not so much as a response to persecution but as a test of Kody’s patriarchal authority.

5. In 2016, a three-judge panel of the Tenth Circuit effectively reversed the 2011 ruling, arguing that it was very unlikely the Brown family would have been prosecuted for bigamy absent other charges such as child bigamy, fraud, or abuse.

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6. One good place to see such a sliding hermeneutic about Mormons and sexuality is in the 1969 feature-film musical *Paint Your Wagon*. Based on a Broadway musical of the same name, the film took off in a new direction from the Broadway original to offer a more detailed picture of life in a California mining town called No Name City, where bourgeois conventions do not exist. When a polygamist Mormon comes through town with two wives, the miners persuade him to sell one. Elizabeth agrees to be sold, reasoning it can't be worse than her present living experience. She is sold to and then marries Ben, and this relation sets up the possibility that the film might introduce an intriguing subplot, whereby the former Mormon wife might fall in love with yet another man, Pardner, while still wishing to be married to Ben. The reasoning here: she had been a sister wife, why couldn't they be brother husbands? Ben and Pardner think it over and can come up with no reason to decline. For most of the film, Elizabeth, Ben, and Pardner create a home and family together. And though, by the film’s end, the polygamous threesome becomes a monogamous twosome, this deviation (and perhaps deviance) allows for a delicious recasting of sexual economies courtesy of the Mormons.

7. A few examples from mediated Mormonism: The Lifetime movie *Outlaw Prophet: Warren Jeffs* contains a scene of Jeffs smiling as he looks into a mirror. “I’m more famous than bin Laden,” he intones with satisfaction when they both are on the FBI’s ten most-wanted list, a historical truth that occurred in 2006. In the memoir *Breaking Free*, Rachel Jeffs (daughter of Warren) notes the isolation she and others experienced on the FLDS compound, reflecting on the 9/11 terrorist attack: “Years later, when I saw documentaries about bin Laden, the man’s ability to brainwash his people to do his bidding reminded me very much of Father” (Jeffs 2017, 167). And scores of media use bin Laden as a reference point for Jeffs, each standing in as a symbol of evil and depravity. Writes the *Los Angeles Times* about the documentary *Prophet’s Prey*: “At one point, we see the FBI most-wanted poster that first included Jeffs, his gaunt, deceptively meek-looking mug at No. 2 next to Osama bin Laden. Prophet’s Prey is a sobering reminder that tyrannical monsters who hide behind religion can be homegrown too” (Abele 2015). More general comparisons between Mormons and Muslims can be found in many media forms, including Scott Carrier’s (2011) *Prisoner of Zion: Muslims, Mormons, and Other Misadventures*; Dennis Kirkland’s (2008) *Mormons and Muslims: A Case of Matching Fingerprints*; Avraham Azrieli’s (2012) *The Mormon Candidate*; and Robert Robinson’s (2017) *Muslim Mormon Koran*.


9. Dr. King used this statement about the nature of justice in a baccalaureate sermon given during the commencement exercises at Wesleyan University in 1964. His printed version of the sermon puts the sentence in quotation marks, indicating that he attributed provenance to an earlier source. Its actual first use is not fully known, but
most scholars believe the statement initially appeared in a sermon given by Theodore Parker (1853).

10. “The dangers I speak of come from the gay-lesbian movement, the feminist movement (both of which are relatively new), and the ever-present challenge from the so-called scholars or intellectuals” (Packer 1993). In this book, I use LGBT+ to indicate the broadest extension of identity amassed under the gay pride rainbow: LGBTQQIA (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transitioning, queer, questioning, intersex, and ally).

11. Romney’s political career and two runs at the U.S. presidency have created their own niche of mediated Mormonism, including a memoir, No Apology: The Case for American Greatness (2010), and Mitt (Whitely 2014), a feature-length documentary. Mitt Romney’s wife, Ann Romney, has also authored The Romney Family Table: Sharing Home-Cooked Recipes and Favorite Traditions (2013), the memoir In This Together: My Story (2015), and an inspirational self-help book: Whatever You Choose to Be: 8 Tips for the Road Ahead (2015).

12. The website Famous Mormons makes this case empirically with respect to the mainstream LDS Church, offering a comprehensive list of famous Mormons (like Mitt Romney) and recognizable Mormon cultural producers (like Stephenie Meyer) that numbers in the thousands and ranges from government to entertainment to sports to business professionals. While the website is a good resource for determining which reality TV participant is LDS, it pointedly does not include Mormon-themed media that are either controversial (such as the many Jodi Arias exposés) or fundamentalist (such as Sister Wives or Big Love).

13. Indeed, as described by Zoe Chase (2018) in her This American Life feature, Flake could well be one of the plucky missionary characters designed by Matt Stone and Trey Parker and starring in The Book of Mormon musical: “How do I describe Jeff Flake?” she asks. “Suit and tie, clasped hands, earnestly looking at me on his office couch. I mean, he’s a senator. He’s deeply earnest to the point where he’s kind of dorky. He’s a Mormon. He’s super disciplined. He often goes to the gym twice a day. He has this way of being more hopeful than it seems like he should.”

14. In a similar vein, Jeff Benedict’s (2007) The Mormon Way of Doing Business argues both tacitly and overtly that the religious and cultural principles of Mormons directly aid their success in the business world. In a survey of nine LDS men who are also CEOs or the founders of major companies like JetBlue or American Express, Benedict contends that the work ethic, devotion to righteousness, discipline, and commitment to equality led these men to “naturally” flourish. Not incidental, according to Benedict, is the fact that each of the men had ancestors who survived the crossing of the American plains in the mid-nineteenth century. Benedict does not include women in his survey, underscoring the hegemonic gender roles that are so much a part of the ethos and mythos of Mormonism.

15. The mainstream LDS Church partnered with the Boy Scouts of America (BSA) in 1903, believing that their common ideals of God, country, and masculinity were in tandem. In 2018, the church formally severed that partnership, after the BSA became instead Scouts BSA (meaning girls and transgender scouts were welcome). The Scouts
also welcomed those who were lesbian and gay, which further led to the church’s move for separation.

16. In the mystery novel The Mormon Candidate, Avraham Azrieli (2012, 288) puts this same sentiment about the potentiality for change in Mormon doctrine in different words: “We know our fellow Mormons. . . . All they need is a spark to ignite their righteousness, to set free their suppressed recognition that the Church must change. They will fight to end racism, to end women’s abuse and subjugation, to end homophobia, to end the dictatorship from the top, and to end the shameful suppression of the Church’s true history. . . . A revolution! Just like the Arab Spring. . . . We will instigate a Mormon Spring!”

17. One of the more nuanced academic considerations of this phenomenon is E. Marshall Brooks’s Disenchanted Lives (2018). Brooks rightly notes that neither belief nor church membership is an on/off switch. He writes, “I quickly found that intellectually renouncing the church’s teaching did not mean that they [former Mormons] had successfully rid themselves of the feeling of being Mormon. Ex-Mormons continued to inadvertently remember what they longed to forget” (122). As my own memoir in this book attests, this ambivalent relation between knowing and forgetting is also true for non-Mormons raised in Mormon communities.

18. As a point of comparison, there is much similarity between the secret temple ceremonies, or ordinances, of the LDS Church and the equally secret ceremonial rites of the Freemasons. Joseph Smith was himself a member of the Masons, as were four other founding members of the church. And there is great flow between the two secret societies in terms of their iconography, ideology, and structure. I do not, however, devote a good deal of space to investigating these links, since the larger archive of mediated Mormonism seems largely uninterested in these connections. While several books do lay out the relation between Mormons and Masons, that connection and/or influence has not found its way into the active concerns of twenty-first-century discussants, as, for instance, polygamy has.

19. Another lurid Mormon sex/murder scandal played out in November 2013, when Martin MacNeill was convicted for the 2007 death of his wife, Michele. A New York Daily News headline offered the best synopsis of events: “Utah Doctor Martin MacNeill Found Guilty of Murdering His Wife after Coercing Her into Plastic Surgery, Drugging Her and Leaving Her to Die in Tub.” Not included in this overview was the role played by his long-term mistress, the fact that his daughters pushed for his conviction, and other mysterious deaths now tracked back to “the Mormon Doctor” (“Utah Doctor Found Guilty” 2013).


21. The adversity experienced by the early settlers—starvation, illness, animal attacks, freezing, death—in turn have created one of the largest truth narratives in the LDS self-mythology: our ancestors endured great suffering and were able to survive only through sheer determination and divine intervention. For a direct rendering of the struggles and salvific message of the settlers, see the feature film 17 Miracles (Christensen 2011).
22. Many serialized television Westerns contain an episode with Mormon themes, including *Wagon Train* (1959–65), *Zane Grey Theater* (1956–61), *Death Valley Days* (1952–70), *The Big Valley* (1965–69), *How the West Was Won* (1976–79), and *Bonanza* (1959–73). Interestingly, when *Bonanza* was rebroadcast in syndication in the 1990s, the rights were owned by Pat Robertson’s cable Family Channel, which refused to air two episodes, called “The Pursued,” about Mormon polygamists. Not all episodes are fixated on the sexual economies of plural marriage. Most histories of the West contain stories of outlaws, and Mormonism has one of the most notorious: Robert LeRoy Parker, also known as Butch Cassidy, who was raised in a strict Mormon family and struck out on his own to look for fame and adventure, as depicted in the “Drop Out” episode of *Death Valley Days*.

23. In 2017 active LDS member and former bishop Sam Young started a website and petition called Protect LDS Children. Included on the website are several hundred stories detailing the “shame and abuse” and “suicidal thoughts” experienced by LDS children and teens around the topic of sex. The website archives both written and video testimonials of Mormons of all ages, who have been asked explicit, specific, and “vile” questions about the nature of their sexual experience, knowledge, and experimentation, including masturbation. Writes #165, a thirty-year-old woman, after an experience of drinking and having sex at age seventeen: “I’ve done everything from counseling and therapy to studying shame and shame resilience, [but] I still can hardly bring myself to think it or speak it out loud: I was raped. . . . The bishop—this shy, mousy accountant—took me in to our home office and asked me if I had been drinking. . . . He asked probing questions like how many times we had sex, what I meant by sex (‘oral on you, or on him, or actual sex.’). . . . Shame suffocated me. I wanted to disappear” (“See the Stories” 2015). Similarly, former missionary and now ex-Mormon John O’Connor created a parodic Twitter account, @LostMormon, through which he creates highly sexualized commentary about the church’s president, Russell M. Nelson, as a form of social protest. Writes reporter Tarpley Hitt (2019), “The LDS Church has been sharply criticized in past years for its practice of ‘bishop interviews,’ where teenagers are required to be interviewed in detail by adult male faith leaders about their sexual experiences. ‘It’s OK to acknowledge the extreme sexual abuse by making fun of it,’ O’Connor said. ‘The church itself is a very sexual church. It’s repressive. It creates a lot of pedophiles. It creates a lot of abusive men.’”

1. **MORMONISM AS MEME AND ANALYTIC**

1. There is a much smaller subset of representation that engages the female Mormon missionary. While more news accounts exist, fictional representation seems to be limited to the Mormon-produced film *The Errand of Angels* (2008) and the erotic novel *Sisters in Sin: A Forbidden Mormon Romance* (Abney 2017).

2. In April 2017, news accounts ran rampant with the tragedy of retired NFL tight end and practicing Mormon Todd Heap, who accidently killed his three-year-old daughter when he hit her with his truck. Similarly, in January 2017 one of my LDS friends from childhood lost his wife and youngest son in a house fire. Although I’m
sure both Heap and my friend received much love and support from their extended communities, the idea that such horrifying incidents would be perceived as the just consequences of unrighteous living is just heartbreaking.

3. “Bring the whole tithe into the storehouse, that there may be food in my house. Test me in this,” says the LORD Almighty, ‘and see if I will not throw open the flood-gates of heaven and pour out so much blessing that there will not be room enough to store it.’ Malachi 3:10, New International Version.

4. See also “85: Mormons and Money” (2004). Given that Joseph Smith himself was accused of bank fraud when his Kirtland Savings Society failed in the Panic of 1837 and many of his followers lost all of their savings, one might argue that affinity fraud and Mormonism have long been on speaking terms.

5. It is not only dōTERRA or essential oils that use these appeals, of course, but empowering women as “Dr. Mom” does seem to be the primary rhetorical sales pitch of essential oil companies, particularly those related to LDS concerns. Consider Butterfly Expressions, an essential oil company run by the Westover family, made infamous in Tara Westover’s 2018 memoir Educated. According to Tara, the Westover family lived off the grid. Deeply religious and LDS, they eschewed formal education and medicine. Instead, Tara’s mother treated the family’s illnesses with essential oils, a hobby now turned into a multimillion-dollar company. As with dōTERRA, Butterfly Expressions (2018) encourages the use of essential oils for “empowering yourself.” The website also offers a link for “Dr. Mom: A complete guide to using essential oils for everything from A-Z.”

6. In 1992, Harold Bloom put this idea of the LDS long game into a more nationalist frame: “One gets the impression that the present Mormon leadership is very patient; they believe that much of the future is theirs, particularly in America. We have not yet had a Mormon President of the United States, and perhaps we never will, but our Presidents are increasingly responsive to Mormon sensibilities, rather more than might be expected for a religious movement representing just two percent of our population” (89).

7. Other famous Mormons, both active and former, include Glenn Beck, Aaron Eckhart, Ryan Gosling, Derek Hough, Julianne Hough, Chelsea Handler, Roseanne Barr, Amy Adams, Christina Aguilera, Gladys Knight, Jewel.

8. For more on Mormons and image management, see Chen and Yorgason (1999).

9. Lawrence pointedly excludes the FLDS from his consideration, and there is no doubt the overall popularity statistics on Mormons would have fared far worse had he asked people their impressions related to fundamentalism and polygamy.

10. Similarly taking the pulse of America’s regard toward Mormonism, in 2009 Salt Lake leaders hired two big-name advertising agencies, Ogilvy and Mather and Hall and Partners, to discover what Americans think of the LDS Church. Relying on focus groups and surveys, they found that Americans used adjectives about Mormons that were primarily negative: “secretive,” “cultish,” “sexist,” “controlling,” “pushy,” “antigay.”

11. One case in point is MormonLeaks, the Mormon equivalent of Wikileaks. Founded in 2016, MormonLeaks is dedicated to provoking transparency in the otherwise secretive Mormon Church, with the hope of producing “fewer untruths,
less corruption, and less abuse within Mormonism.” In particular, MormonLeak's archives are filled with hidden church pamphlets and policy doctrine on homosexuality, sexual abuse, and chastity laws, but it also engages with materials related to finances and recruitment strategies (https://mormonleaks.io). Indeed, Mormons who experience a faith crisis because of things they discover on the internet are considered members of the “Google Apostasy” (Hitt 2019). Other materials, such as Patrick Q. Mason's *Planted* (2015), work to provide counters to the many questions provoked by the internet around such topics as nineteenth-century Mormonism, race and the priesthood ban, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, or women and feminism.

12. In the U.S., 74 percent of Mormons are Republican or Republican leaning (Passey 2013).

13. Franklin Quest, named for Benjamin Franklin and his quest for personal perfection, and the Covey Leadership Center merged in 1997. Together as FranklinCovey they continue the Mormon-based ideals of personal efficiency, in the words of Jennifer Brostrom, to “spread the good word about time management, appealing at once to the uncertain identity, greed, and superficial morality of the business community” (1997, 117).

14. Mormons are a common unexplained reference and throw-away punch line in contemporary film and television culture. My two favorites: In Season 2 of *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel* (2017–present), a character urges Midge and Susie to put Utah license plates on their stolen car, saying, “They’ll think you’re Mormon and leave you alone. I mean, no one talks to Mormons unless they have to.” In *The Santa Clarita Diet* (2017), the two lead characters frantically try to dispose of a body the newly zombified wife has half-consumed. They see a car coming and quickly develop a cover story: “OK, we’ll say we came across this murder site, and we’re just cleaning up.” The wife asks through clenched teeth, “Who cleans up murder sites?” The husband responds through a forced smile, “I don’t know. We’re Mormons.” She doesn’t like the idea: “Mormons don’t clean up murder sites.” He responds with authority, “Mormons are helpful.” For other seemingly off-handed references, see Peterson and Moore (2014).

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2. **THE MORMON GLOW**

1. Kolob is the planet or star where God is thought to reside. While knowledge of Kolob is understood to be very protected, it is an open secret in mediated Mormonism. For instance, in an interview with Mormon Stories, Clark Johnsen, a former LDS member and one of the original cast members of *The Book of Mormon* Broadway musical, spoke of his amazement that Matt Stone and Trey Parker knew about Kolob. Yet any fan of pop music would have had similar access to this information, had they bought and listened to the Osmonds’ 1973 LP *The Plan*, which details and provides illustrations of the Mormon cosmogony and is produced by Kolob Studios.

2. For more on Brigham Young’s statement on race, see Young (n.d.).

3. As with polygamy, fundamentalist Mormons double down on race, declaring both plural marriage and white skins to be mandates for heavenly admission.
4. In Q8, Steve Young (2016) (great-great-great grandson of Brigham Young) credits the health codes of Mormonism for his physical resiliency and capacity to recover quickly from the literal bone crushing of playing football at the national level.

5. Donny’s memoir, Life Is Just What You Make It: My Story So Far (1999), could well be read as a prototype for American masculinity that must struggle against adversity, in this case his own childhood success, to rise triumphant in a second act of mature manhood.

6. Immediately following the appearance, Protandim ranked first among Google searches in the United States. Visits to LifeVantage.com increased 300 percent, and visits to Protandim.com increased 800 percent.


8. This fact is not lost on Osmond himself. In 2006, he appeared with “Weird Al” Yankovic in the parody “White and Nerdy,” a music video making fun of the bad dancing, awkward speech, and nebishy uncoolness that both Yankovic and Osmond personify.

3. THE (TELEVISIONED, POLYGAMOUS) CLOSET

1. For example, the 2018 lead-up to TLC’s Seeking Sister Wife made a particular note of the three families being profiled and their relation to Mormonism as part of their commitment to living plural marriage.

2. Of course, whenever we are talking about mediation, we need to be mindful of how ideas are shaped and by whom. In the specific context of reality television, positions of producer, consumer, and product are tremendously obscured, if not altogether unintelligible. Sister Wives is a mediated text, made by Puddle Monkey Productions and Figure 8 Films, the latter also responsible for such freakish reality fare as 17 Kids and Counting (now 19 Kids and Counting), Salvage Dawgs, and Abby & Brittany, a reality series about conjoined teenage twins. As I have argued in Make-over TV and Reality Gendervision (Weber 2009, 2014), reality TV is remarkable for its polymorphous perversity. Its featured actors are both professional and amateur, both real people and characters. Its situations are simultaneously factual and fictional, vérité and concocted. Reality TV’s mode of production slips the confines of standard conceptions of artistic creation, since there is no single author/director/creator and no coherent artistic product. Indeed, the stories of reality television are told as much through blog posts, Twitter feeds, Facebook pages, Instagram, and tabloids as they are through the diegesis that unfolds each week on the small screen (of television, phone, tablet, and computer). In this respect, we can look to the conglomerate intermedial message to determine the overall logic of shows like Sister Wives or My Five Wives, but we cannot really ascertain whether this logic is the specific intent of its participants or producers. In the brave new world of twenty-first-century mediation, the author is dead like never before in history.
3. Brooks describes going to birthday parties and ferreting out the noncaffeinated drinks from the Cokes and Pepsis. It is probably worth noting that very few parents I know, either now or back in the day, thought it was a particularly good idea to give a kid a highly caffeinated drink. We only started sneaking Mountain Dews and Cherry Cokes during lunch breaks at high school, and the Mormon kids were as taken with those high-adrenaline quickies as the rest of us.

4. Polygamy also serves a divine end in speeding the number of immortal souls who can claim bodies in the physical realm, thus bringing the return of Christ. Brady Udall puts it this way: “It was Joseph Smith, the prophet and founder of the Mormon Church, who first instituted polygamy. There were various theological justifications for the practice, one of which was rooted in the doctrine of premortal existence—a spirit world where millions of souls await the chance to come to earth and receive a mortal body. Once this finite number is exhausted, once every spirit has a body, Christ will come again and bring with him the Day of Judgment, and who can provide bodies to these waiting spirits better than a man with multiple wives? So what is Bill doing with four wives? Bill is hastening the Second Coming of Christ” (Udall 1998).

5. Michel Foucault’s work is, of course, the chief theoretical literature for laying this claim. And many media and cultural studies scholars have extended Foucault’s concepts, applying them to media culture. See, in particular, Ouellette and Hay (2008), Barry, Osborne, and Rose (2005), and Couldry (2010).

6. Of course, modern morality fables about the proper care of the self and the right way to live are not limited to the Mormons of Sister Wives or Big Love, or the Mormon mommy blogs that dispense advice on coupons, child rearing, and leftovers. Nor are these tales only about groups who represent religious extremes, as with the Duggars, the Christian fundamentalist family of 19 Kids and Counting, or the proliferation of Amish-themed media in television, film, and books. The mediascape is rife with big-family stories that offer parables about managing scarcity in the context of enormous demand, of learning to marshal one’s resources to the best possible end, of playing smarter not harder. Progressive Mormon polygamy stories are like these parallel tales in that they help chart a middle through their depiction of extremes. Exposure as entertainment yields significant economic capital for the real families who turn their lives into television shows or memoirs (successful and serialized reality shows such as Sister Wives pay their participants upward of $75,000 per adult per episode, and tell-all memoirs can often produce six-figure payoffs).

7. This representation, of course, completely glosses over LDS and FLDS participation in race-biased policies, including disallowing black men from being priesthood holders (overturned by prophecy in 1978). When the Brown family appeared on the talk show The Real in 2013, host Loni Love joked, “I wanna know, when you gonna get a black wife. That’s a real sister wife” (“‘The Real’ Speaks with ‘Sister Wives’” 2017). Her question was an occasion for hilarity but not answerability, since Kody, his wives, the hosts, and the audience all laughed, but no one held the Browns accountable for answering the question.

8. It’s worth remembering that Kody Brown grew up in the mainstream LDS Church, and his distrust of big medicine is not such an unusual one. Still, the larger
logic of birthing as a scene of dampened emotionalism is eerie, almost creepy, on this show, particularly when Robyn is depicted giving birth in her bedroom with nary a peep or tear, the TLC cameras and her father watching.

9. To date, I have never seen a polygamy-themed reality TV program or interview ask about other practices of shared bodily intimacy, such as whether or not the sister wives nurse each others’ babies. Somewhat surprisingly, the young-adult novel Charly (Weyland 1980), which is hugely popular among mainstream LDS readers, features one woman occasionally nursing another woman’s child as a gesture of sharing and good neighborliness.

10. Two examples of cleverness in the context of scarcity can be seen with how modern polygamy contends with the demands of providing shelter to so many bodies. Cecilia Vega (2013) on Nightline featured Michael, who copes with his growing family by putting shipping containers in the backyard as self-contained spaces that can be used for working, sleeping, or doing homework. The Foster family lives in a 4,000-foot sandstone cave near Canyonlands National Park. “It has terrific acoustics,” the seventy-two-year-old husband told a New York Times reporter, Florence Williams (1997). “We’ll just keep blasting more apartments as we need them.”

4. POLYGAMY USA

1. History is a big place, particularly with regard to polygamy. Often, what is represented as traditional is not that which began in the 1840s with Joseph Smith and Brigham Young but what was consolidated in the 1950s, after repeated federal raids on polygamous families. The long hair and pastel dresses that so many people link to an adherence to nineteenth-century culture were, instead, a deliberate dress code imposed on FLDS peoples by their prophet Leroy S. Johnson in 1955 (after a massive arrest of polygamous men in 1953), a gesture to mark them as separate from more mainstream ways.

2. As if the closeness in titles of these two reality programs is not confusing enough, there is also the TV movie Escape from Polygamy (2013).


4. In the ABC News exposé “Breaking Polygamy: The Secrets of the Sect,” Amy Rorbach (2012) promises a look into “a hidden America” made queerer by its restrictions on networked communication: “No Internet, no television, no contact with the outside world.” Oprah Winfrey’s version offers a look into the secret world of the FLDS of YFZ. Winfrey is equally fascinated by media, but in her case, she remarks that “the people here are surprisingly high-tech: Almost everyone over sixteen has a cell phone, and iPods are everywhere” (Winfrey 2009). Media, and its relative presence or lack, here functions as a necessary feature of these stories, almost as central to the unveiling of secrets as the complex sexual economies of one man and multiple women.

5. I should note that these codes changed somewhat in the transition from Season 1 to 2, when the polygamy rescue squad was put in the service of freeing members of
the FLDS sect. While a special two-part episode allowed for the conventional trope of long hair and dresses and the abuses of Warren Jeffs, it was also exceptional in its depiction. The rest of the season returned to the domain of the Kingston clan and to the extended family of women, girls, and boys in the system needing to be removed, while leaving the system itself intact.

6. Jessop writes in *Church of Lies*, “Condemned to a life of ignorance, brainwashing, and brutality; treated like property; producing as many as sixteen children; dying prematurely, all used up. . . . I was so damn mad, I decided I would spend the rest of my life saving every last one of them” (Jessop and Brown 2010, 3).

7. Flora Jessop is not alone in being such a highly desirable media presence. Most former FLDS members can expect a keenly interested outside world, eager to offer momentary celebrity. In *Lost Boy*, Brent Jeffs writes about his appearances with Larry King, Anderson Cooper, Greta Van Susteren, Montel Williams, Britain’s Channel 4, network morning shows, and all Salt Lake City media.

8. Because of the insular nature of these communities, where neither state law nor bureaucratic medical systems operate, the number of wives and children sealed to Jeffs cannot be absolutely known. Also, the rate of infant death is quite high among secluded fundamentalist polygamous communities, further obscuring the metrics of family size. In one episode of *Polygamy: What Love Is This?* (episode 6.26, August 1, 2013), two former members of the Kingston group speculate that the high rate of early childhood death is likely influenced by inbreeding (forced marriage between half-siblings and first cousins to protect the purity of the bloodline), birth defects, and accidents (due to the fact that much child care is performed by other children) (Hanson 2013).

9. It’s interesting to question, by contrast, if Steve Buscemi as Nucky Thompson on *Boardwalk Empire* and James Gandolfini as Tony Soprano on *The Sopranos* evidence the ugly-man-as-leading-man as part of the artistic contribution quality TV makes.

10. In fairness, these are doctrines of the early church promoted by Young but not created by him.

11. In *Under the Banner of Heaven*, Jon Krakauer describes Bountiful and Colorado City as “inextricably linked. Bountiful is home to some seven hundred Mormon Fundamentalists who belong to the UEP [United Effort Plan] and answer unconditionally to Prophet Rulon Jeffs. Girls from Bountiful are regularly sent south across the international border to be married to men in Colorado City, and even greater numbers of girls from Colorado City are brought north to marry Bountiful men” (2004, 29).

Krakauer’s book was published in 2003 when Rulon Jeffs was still alive. He has since served as one of the executive producers of the documentary *Prophet’s Prey* (2015), which updates the FLDS story through Warren Jeffs.

12. A 2010 documentary on Blackmore and the Bountiful FLDS compound put the figure at 121 children and twenty-four wives. It ran on the National Geographic Channel in Britain, touting that number with the title *The Man with 121 Children (and 24 Wives)*. In the U.S., the documentary also aired through National Geographic, under the title *Inside Polygamy: National Geographic Special*. The failed prosecution prompted the BC government to launch a constitutional reference case, asking the province’s Supreme Court to examine whether the criminal code provisions ban-
ning polygamy were consistent with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The court issued a ruling in 2011, upholding the law as constitutional, so long as it isn’t used to prosecute child brides.


5. Gender Trouble in Happy Valley

1. Eternal sealings are available to temple-worthy heterosexual couples only. This is not to say, however, that sealings necessarily uphold monogamy. While the mainstream church officially forbade the practice of plural marriage in 1890, plural marriage is an open question for the afterlife. Indeed, many mainstream LDS folk believe that “the principle” will be a part of the marriage economy of heaven. In earthly terms, the politics of sealing bear this out. If a Mormon man’s wife dies or they become divorced, he may remain sealed to the first wife and to any subsequent wives. A Mormon woman may only be sealed once. If her husband dies or they divorce and she seeks to remarry, she may not be sealed again unless the church offers to break the sealing, a spiritual divorce that is quite difficult to obtain. If a woman remarries and has children with her new husband, those children are considered sealed to her first husband. As Stacey Solie (2013) writes in a blog post otherwise on the stigma Mormonism attaches to sex, “Polygamy has long been outlawed from mainstream Mormonism in this life, but, to the discomfort of most current and former Mormon women I know, who thoroughly embrace monogamy, it lives on in the next” (see also Pearson 2016).

2. Here I must be clear that Mormonism does not acknowledge transgender subjects, so trans men are not eligible for membership, much less the leadership roles of priesthood status or bishoprics. Those assigned male at birth receive their rewards early. At age twelve, boys are anointed into the Aaronic Priesthood, which grants them privileges of authority over all girls and women (including their mothers). At age eighteen, they are eligible for the more exalted Melchizedek Priesthood, which allows men to offer blessings and healings.

3. A few representative examples are Broadly (2017); *Salt Lake Tribune* (2017); and a 2017 series on the podcast *Mormon Stories* about transgender Mormons coming to terms with their identities and their faiths.

4. Osmond is the mother of eight children, three biological and five adopted.

5. See chapter 2 for a fuller discussion on the studies alluded to here.

6. See the blog *The Sarcastic Molly Mormon*, whose tag line is “Reflections of a humble, incredibly attractive, nearly perfect LDS blogger & realist” (http://thesarcasticmollymormon.com/#gs_ptRAIY).

7. See the documentary *Happy Valley* (Williams 2014), which offers a heartbreaking account of LDS drug addiction, pinning the cause largely on Mormonism’s insistence
on cheer. On the more humorous side, there’s *Mobsters and Mormons* (Moyer 2005), a feature film depicting the culture clash between a tightly knit Mormon community and a Mafioso, who is put in the witness protection program in the fictional Happy Valley, Utah.

8. For a spirited debate on the meanings of LDS modesty culture, in both biblical and cultural terms, see Jana Riess’s (2015) blog post, “Beauty Pageant Shows Mormons Missing the Point of Modesty—Again.” Be sure to read the comments section.

9. Indeed, media outlets were not only invasive, they were suspicious, speculating that the nine months of Elizabeth’s abduction might very well have allowed for the convenient coverup of a teen pregnancy. Why does she look heavy and bloated post-abduction, people wondered? And if her captors conveyed her openly through major urban areas, such as Los Angeles and Salt Lake City, why didn’t she identify herself or attempt to flee?

10. The Amazon page selling *My Story* ranks it with a composite score of 4.7 stars out of 5. As of this writing in May 2019, there are 2,083 reviews (a significant response). Those giving her five stars (77 percent) consistently note the role model she presents of enduring “a horrible ordeal” and emerging, as Jill F puts it, “happy, and well adjusted” (https://www.amazon.com/My-Story-Elizabeth-Smart-ebook/dp/B00C74VC1G/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1541168373&sr=8-1&keywords=elizabeth+smart+my+story&dpID=51E5Leyw2L&preST=_SY445_QL70_&dpSrc=srch).

11. People’s “Dream Wedding” article not only described Smart as “radiant,” “effervescent,” her smile “beaming,” it also included a sidebar about her wedding in the Laie Hawaii Temple in Oahu. Only worthy Mormons might marry in the temple—and worthiness typically requires sexual purity, meaning that the church had determined Elizabeth was guilt free in the loss of her virginity through rape (Free and Dennis 2012).

12. Given the extremely fraught circumstances surrounding the LDS culture of patriarchal authority, female submission, and silence around sex, it is difficult to assess the rate at which sexual abuse may happen. Nationwide, we do know that one in four girls and one in six boys are likely to experience sexual abuse. Mediated Mormonism is riddled with survivors of sexual assault and childhood sexual abuse. This, of course, does not mean that Mormons, whether mainstream or fundamentalist, are more at risk of sexual assault but that those who have experienced such violence often seek healing by telling their stories.

13. In 2017, on the heels of a rash of sexual harassment scandals and the #MeToo campaign that gave substance to the widespread issue of sexual predation, the *Guardian* reported the particular issues mainstream Mormon women experience around acknowledging sexual assault (Smardon 2017). This connection was made all the more salient in early 2018, when Rob Porter, a member of the LDS Church and a political aide in the Trump White House, resigned his post after it was revealed that he could not get a high-level security clearance. Twice divorced, Porter had been accused by his former wives, Jennifer Willoughby and Colbie Holderness, of verbal and physical assault. Both Willoughby and Holderness spoke of having been counseled by LDS bishops to suppress their concerns. They strongly discouraged divorce (see Burke and Lee 2018).
14. Many feminist Mormon scholars, such as Janet Bennion, Claudia Bushman, and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, might well agree with these sentiments, arguing that polygamy created dynamic communities where women’s choices and sex radicalism, or the capacity to choose when and with whom to bear children, prevailed. See, in particular, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich (2018), *A House Full of Females*.

15. John Dehlin, founder of the podcast series *Mormon Stories*, was also excommunicated, his hearing occurring the day before Kelly’s. As with Kelly, it was largely Dehlin’s crime of publicity that doomed him in his love court.

6. “PRAY (AND OBEY) THE GAY AWAY”

*Note on epigraph:* John Dehlin is the founder and creator of *Mormon Stories*. His January 15, 2015, press release discussing his disciplinary hearing ultimately led to his excommunication.

1. The authors cite a much-mentioned study on the capacity of four-year-old children to delay gratification as a piece of evidence to support their claims. Mischel, Shoda, and Peake (1988) conducted an experiment whereby children were offered one reward now or a more preferred reward later if they could wait. The research team then longitudinally correlated success in life, finding that those subjects able to forestall gratification as four-year-olds accomplished more as teenagers. While Forgas, Baumeister, and Tice (2009) attribute success to capacities for self-control, Mischel’s study emphasized what his team called “cognitive and social coping competence” or “the ability to deploy attention flexibly” and “metacognitive understanding of the behavioral and subjective consequence of alternative types of thoughts or objects of attention” (Mischel, Shoda, and Peake 1988, 688). In other words, successful self-control here equated to self-distraction—or ways to divert desire rather than to alter it.

2. In *Squirrel Cage*, Cindi Jones’s memoir of Mormonism and gender transition, Jones recounts a meeting with a member of the Seventy (a major governing body of the LDS Church): “Brother Steele,” says the elder to Jones, using her previous name and sex. “You were not born with this problem. You have been taught this immoral thing. What are you doing to overcome this problem?” Jones relates her personal journey of effort and sacrifice, which includes daily sessions for prayer, serving a mission, attending church meetings, marrying a woman, teaching gospel doctrine in Sunday school, working with the Boy Scouts, directing the church choir, volunteering at the church farm, and going to temple as often as possible. But, she concedes, “The problem only grows stronger.” The elder intones, “Brother Steele, that is not enough!” (Jones 2011, 163).

3. Brynn Tannehill, director of advocacy for *SPARTA*, succinctly and persuasively makes the case for why LGB and T belong together: (1) We all violate gender norms; (2) sociologists categorize all of us as sexual minorities; (3) familial rejection is a common theme; (4) LGB and T persons go through similar processes of denial, awakening, and (hopefully) self-acceptance; (5) coming out is a rite of passage for members of both communities; (6) the psychiatric world still pathologizes people within the LGBT+ spectrum; (7) marriage equality persists as an issue for all; (8) we
Notes to Chapter Six

all face potential discrimination and lack of protection at work; (9) LGB peoples tend to be more comfortable with gender fluidity; (10) “We must all hang together, or we will assuredly hang separately” (Tannehill 2013).

4. A fascinating counterstudy is Karma Lochrie's (2005) impressive *Heterosyncracies: Female Sexuality When Normal Wasn't*, which considers a politics of sexuality in the European medieval period. Lochrie persuasively argues that scholars must understand the overlapping but distinct meanings of heterosexuality and heteronormativity: “Neither concept is as transparent as we often assume it to be, but neither are the two identical or interchangeable. ‘Heterosexuality’ expands on a specific desire for the opposite sex and sexual intercourse to include moral and social virtue. ‘Heteronormativity,’ in brief, is heterosexuality that has become presumptive, that is, heterosexuality that is both descriptive and prescriptive, that defines everything from who we think we are as a nation, to what it means to be human, to ‘our ideal, our principles, our hopes and aspirations.’ It is also a heterosexuality that excludes others from these same meanings and communities” (2005, xii).

5. Interestingly, Mormon policies related to transgender identification allow for some small degree of difference. “Gender is central to both LDS doctrine and practice,” notes the *Salt Lake Tribune* in a conversation on transgender Mormons streamed live and later archived on their YouTube channel, Trib Talk. “Women have distinct and eternal characteristics, men gather in priesthood meetings while women attend Relief Society, etc. This makes it especially difficult for transgender Mormons to find a space within their faith” (Napier-Pearce 2015). But transgender identification also provides a potentially safe space within Mormonism (depending on the attitudes of the local church authorities), since for some people it might allow for male-female union and marriage, though not a temple wedding (which, in turn, means there is no promise of celestial heaven for trans people).

6. Fales is here paying homage to his former mother-in-law Carol Lynn Pearson’s *Good-bye, I Love You*. In that book, Pearson quotes church president Spencer W. Kimball’s book *The Miracle of Forgiveness*, which is anything but forgiving: “There it was in black and white,” writes Pearson in shock and anger as she reads Kimball’s book for guidance. “Homosexuality was ‘an ugly sin . . . repugnant . . . embarrassing . . . perversion . . . sin of the ages . . . degenerate . . . revolting . . . abominable and detestable crime against nature . . . carnal . . . unnatural . . . wrong in the sight of God . . . deep, dark sin’” (1986, 78).

7. As I discuss throughout the book, shame culture for boys is equally insistent. The 2018 documentary *Believer*, otherwise about the need for gay acceptance within the church, offers a moving account of a young man who died by suicide after he was expelled from BYU. The shame of perceived failure led him to take his own life. His sin? Having sex with his girlfriend.

8. Evergreen International, Inc. was a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization located in Salt Lake City, Utah, whose stated mission was to assist “people who want to diminish same-sex attractions and overcome homosexual behavior.” It adhered to Christian and particularly LDS teaching, but was independent of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The organization stated this task could be accomplished with the
help of the Lord and, in some cases, psychological counseling. Though not affiliated with the church, the organization adhered to its teachings “without reservation or exception.” Evergreen dissolved into North Star on January 1, 2014.

9. This PSA, which was created by students at BYU-Idaho in 2014, went viral after national magazines and comedians got wind of it. The video is no longer available through BYU-Idaho, but many copies of it exist on YouTube, as cited in the text.

10. As one example, see the comments section to Green (2015).


CONCLUSION
Note on epigraph: Obituaries of Mormon leaders do not go uncontested. When church president Thomas S. Monson passed in January 2018, for example, the New York Times was assailed by angry readers, who felt its obituary spent too much time on controversial topics related to Mormonism (Takenaga 2018).

1. Titles of her book include Tell It All: The Story of a Life’s Experience in Mormonism (Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 2000); Tell It All: The Tyranny of Mormonism; or, An Englishwoman in Utah (Praeger, 1971); “Tell It All”: The Story of Life’s Experience in Mormonism: An Autobiography (Worthington and Co., 1875); “Tell It All”: The Story of Life’s Experience in Mormonism: An Autobiography (Sampson Law and Co., 1880); “Tell It All”: The Ordeal of a Woman against Polygamy within the Mormon Church during the 19th Century (Leonaur, 2010); Exposé of Polygamy: A Lady’s Life among the Mormons (Utah State University Press, 2008); Tell It All (Rare Books Club, 2012); Exposé of Polygamy: A Lady’s Life among the Mormons. A Record of Personal Experience as One of the Wives of a Mormon Elder during a Period of More Than Twenty Years (American News Company, 1972); Tell It All, a Woman’s Life in Polygamy (Kessinger Publishing, 2003); TELL IT ALL: The Story of a Life’s Experience in Mormonism (Forgotten Books, 2015); The Great Sensation: The Most Fascinating and Interesting Book Ever Published. “Stranger than Fiction—More Thrilling than Romance.”—A genuine Autobiography—Presenting a Vivid Picture of Married Life Among the ‘Saints” (Worthington and Co., 1874).

2. Green’s letter was sent to two publications, the Park Record (Letters to the Editor, February 15–17, 2017) and the Wasatch Wave (Letters to the Editor, February 15, 2017).

3. According to the National Women’s Law Center, in Utah in 2017, white women make 71 cents for every dollar a white man earns, while black and Latina women make 56 cents and 47 cents for every dollar a white man makes.

EPilogue
1. My friend Stacey, to whom this book is dedicated, sent me a post written by Renee on the Laughs Like Thunder blog that just about says it all:

   Dear Mormon Neighbors, Having lived in Gilbert for most of my life, we have been visited by many young, passionate, Mormon missionaries throughout the
years. Recently they have been offering their help with anything we may need assistance with. These exchanges always include the typical pleasantries where I thank them for their generous offer, and add that, “no, we don’t need help with anything at this time.” After their last visit however, as the young men pedaled away, I realized that I do have a request. A request that has been bubbling beneath the surface, unspoken for quite some time now. A desire that began formulating in my grade school years and has been refined since having children of my own. The next time a Mormon missionary asks if there’s anything they can do for me, I’m going to humbly and vulnerably reply as follows:

- Please teach your children to be inclusive of my non-mormon children and please guide them to carry that inclusion past grade school, into middle school, and throughout high school.
- Please encourage your children to sit with mine in the lunchroom.
- Please permit your kids to invite my kids to their slumber parties, birthday parties, and weekend get togethers even after my child has made it clear that he or she is not interested in attending fireside, seminary, or church with your family.
- Please allow your teen to go with mine to school dances, athletic events, and group dinners trusting that just like you, my husband and I have done the best we know how to raise a teenager who knows right from wrong.
- Please welcome my children into your homes and permit your children to visit ours.
- Please ask your kids to consider how isolating it must be on “Seminary (extra credit) Days” for those kids who do NOT come to school dressed for church.
- Please reflect on the fact that adolescents spend the majority of their waking hours comparing themselves to their peers, so when they recognize that it would never be “acceptable” to date your son or daughter or be your son or daughter’s best friend, it is, at best, damaging to their delicate self-esteem.
- Please call to mind your younger years when your primary objective was to be loved and accepted for who you were without having to pretend you were someone else.
- Please understand that my family’s faith also emphasizes the importance of loving others, giving of ourselves, forgiving those who have wronged us and seeking forgiveness when we wrong others, doing what is right and turning from evil, seeking a relationship with God, spending time in prayer, and living a life inspired by Jesus.
- Please support your children in having open, vulnerable, honest, transparent, loving, kind, accepting conversations with my children about what they believe and why. In fact, while our kids are having that “grown-up” conversation, I also hope to enter into this depth of sharing with you . . . the Mormon parent.
- Please know that I hold your child in the same regard as any other child who shares my family’s faith or who prescribes to no religion at all. Your child is special, and beautiful, and worthy of my love and caring regardless of doctrine or theology.
• Please believe that I see our differences as an opportunity for us to grow together in loving-acceptance. God did not call us to tolerate our neighbors. I love and welcome you, your family, and your faith because we are all children of God made in His image. Your faith is a sizable component of who you are, and you are God’s creation with gifts and beauty and a soul that has the ability to positively transform my life with each encounter.

• As these hopes for my children spill out, I realize that these are the same yearnings I had when I was too young to express them and they remain yearnings for me now. . . . For decades now I have felt an invisible yet palpable partition between my family and our mormon neighbors . . . a silent criterion that has said, “we can’t be that close . . . we can’t walk this life together too often, we can’t be intimate friends unless we share the same faith.” I want to tear down this barricade and abolish this silent destroyer of fellowship. I fear we are forfeiting valuable friendships and life-changing communion with one another as we allow religion to segregate our lives. We are not that different. Our children are not that different. We are all living in a beautiful yet broken world doing the best we can with what we have.

With inclusion and acceptance we can lighten each other’s burdens and love each other through the brokenness. We are all damaged humans, so let’s be damaged together. As our fractured pieces are assembled together, we will transform into a magnificent and vast tapestry of vibrant hues and unity . . . we can weave our hearts into a community of “us” . . . dynamic threads of surviving souls stretching out to reach each other, love each other, understand each other. . . . staying true to ourselves while supporting one another.

Loved and loving! Fully belonging! (LittleT. 2017)

2. For a version of the chastity message that young boys would have received during my childhood in the 1970s, see “Message to Young Men,” found on the LDS website: https://www.lds.org/general-conference/1976/10/media/session_5_talk_1/2680671857001?lang=eng By most accounts, this is still the message (and the material) being used to instruct preadolescent boys about sexual health and desire.

3. Throughout this book, I discuss many secrets associated with both mainstream and fundamentalist Mormons, ranging from endowment ceremonies to underwear to notions of the end times. Yet this capacity for telling and keeping secrets has also provided the FLDS with a handy revenue stream, reinforced by the notion that Mormons are patriotic, conscientious, and ethical. So, for instance, many credit card companies, such as American Express and Discover Card, are located in Salt Lake City. The National Security Agency (NSA) houses a massive data center, code-named the Bumblehive, at which it conducts a good deal of its surveillance on the nation (“Utah Data Center” 2018). The CIA and the FBI also have Mormon recruitment centers, considering Mormons incorruptible, as compared to non-Mormon recruits (Laskow 2015).
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