

states, a process to be repeated across the breadth of the enlarging nation. The distinction between a territory, which Congress controlled, and the state that in time would succeed it was clear by 1787. Even so, in the act of applying that process (especially in the drawing of the boundaries for the future state of Michigan), the ordinance lost its constitutional power, as Congress insisted that its authority over territories was unlimited. If the Northwest Ordinance was not a part of our constitutional law, did that then mean that once states were carved from it and admitted to the union, they were free to disregard the guarantees of the document on matters such as trial procedures, education, and slavery? Onuf suggests a more complicated outcome: those residing in the region continued to see the document as embodying fundamental American principles and providing regional symbols of true significance.

Onuf's explanation of the ordinance's changing functions in American society is useful, credible, and welcome. He provides a clear, concise lesson about the history of American legal and political culture. He sketches what he calls "the developmental dynamic" model in which territory "suggested both 'colony'—the beginning point—and 'state'—the end. An American colony *became* a state while being administered as a territory" (72). He shows us how the document, no longer potent as constitutional law (the Supreme Court, in *Strader v. Graham* [1850] agreed with Congress) would come to be seen as embodying the truest principles of the region and the nation. Onuf explains why the ordinance came to be incorporated into the trinity of icons, along with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, as "one of the title-deeds of American constitutional liberty" (from a speech by George F. Hoar, quoted on p. 133). People living in other regions may not understand this, but a midwesterner will find the resonance clear and unambiguous.

*Mormons at the Missouri, 1846-1852: "And Should We Die . . ."*, by Richard E. Bennett. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. xii, 347 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.

REVIEWED BY SAMUEL C. PEARSON, SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY AT EDWARDSVILLE.

In *Mormons at the Missouri*, Richard Bennett examines in detail a crucial and often neglected period in the evolution of Mormon institutions and ideas. The book is a narrative account of the westward trek of those Mormons who followed Brigham Young from Illinois to Utah

and of their temporary residence on the Missouri River at Winter Quarters in the Omaha country and near the present city of Council Bluffs, Iowa. Bennett describes his study as the story of a religious people in an American wilderness. It will be instructive for readers interested in frontier communities and in the development of Mormon society and doctrine.

Largely descriptive in nature, the account begins with the crisis at Nauvoo which culminated in the assassination of Joseph Smith, then investigates the complex decision-making process involved in preparing for the westward migration, and sketches the harsh climatic and topographical conditions that combined to compel the establishment of Winter Quarters. The great importance of these temporary settlements in the shaping of Mormonism and in the consolidation of Brigham Young's leadership is amply documented. At the heart of the study are Bennett's detailed descriptions of the physical, economic, and social characteristics of the settlements; the impact of sickness and death on a community lacking adequate medical care; and the complex and precarious relationships among the Mormon communities, Iowa and Missouri gentiles, and Indians. Bennett also traces the recruitment of the Mormon Battalion and the development of the Mormon settlement at Kanesville as an outfitting town for Forty-niners.

The most valuable aspect of the volume, however, is its largely successful effort to describe the development of Mormon society and theology while at the Missouri. Plural marriage was first practiced openly there as was the Law of Adoption whereby large numbers of families identified themselves with a few leading families. Glossolalia, prophecies, healings, and visions also became an important element in the Mormon community at that time. Most important of all, the First Presidency was reestablished after a three-year interregnum; in assuming that office, Brigham Young consolidated his leadership position.

Bennett shows that relationships among Mormons were as complex and sometimes as discordant as those between the Mormons and their neighbors. While more than a thousand members of the community were lost to death at the Missouri, many more probably abandoned the movement. Bennett concludes that the years at the Missouri must be regarded as transitional in the development of Mormonism, "a time in which the American frontier again impacted upon the culture, the government, the economy, the society, and the doctrine of the church. And in the process a new leader was tried and proven, and the vitality and faith of a people tested to the breaking point" (229).

This volume grew out of a Wayne State University dissertation in history, and it reflects the graduate student's determination to use as much as possible of the research data so painstakingly gathered. I cannot envisage its becoming a best seller. However, thoughtful and persistent readers will be amply rewarded with new insights into the development of Mormonism and characteristics of frontier life in the American West. Illustrations and an index will be useful to all readers, and students will find the notes thorough and the bibliographical essay useful.

*The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856*, by William E. Gienapp. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. xi, 564 pp. Notes, bibliography, appendix, tables, index. \$39.95 cloth, \$14.95 paper.

REVIEWED BY GEORGE MCJIMSEY, IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY

William Gienapp's book is a *tour de force* of political history. Based on prodigious research and combining the methods and insights of the best contemporary work, it will be the standard against which future scholarship in the field will be judged. Thus, it is important to understand its argument in as much detail as a brief review will permit.

Gienapp says the Republican party grew out of the interactions of mass political beliefs and party maneuvers. Americans' key political value was republicanism, which meant equality under law, the rule of law, individual rights, universal suffrage, and a minimum of social deference. These beliefs were shaped by political parties, which appealed to the voters' values in ways that won their loyalty and achieved high turnouts at the polls. The Republican party arose because many northern voters became convinced that the southern states had mounted a Slave Power Conspiracy against republicanism and because antislavery politicians were able to construct a party to make this belief politically effective.

Gienapp's major contribution is to show that the political realignment that produced the Republican party occurred in fits and starts and at certain critical moments could have been arrested. He begins by pointing out that the first steps toward realignment had nothing to do with slavery, because most Americans believed the Compromise of 1850 had settled the slavery question. Instead, they divided over ethnocultural issues, focusing at first on temperance and anti-Catholicism and ultimately on fears of immigrant voting power. Thus the realignment that eventually produced an antislavery party was originally impelled by nativism.

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