THE AWKWARD STATE OF UTAH

COMING OF AGE IN THE NATION

1896–1945

CHARLES S. PETERSON AND BRIAN Q. CANNON

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Charles S. Peterson & Brian Q. Cannon

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INTRODUCTION

When Utah became a state on January 4, 1896, Thomas S. Seymour was nearly eighteen years old. The son of Mormon converts who had emigrated from the British Isles, Seymour had been born in a small home in Rockport, Summit County, the sixth of eleven children. Although the transcontinental railroad passed through Echo Junction, only a couple dozen miles north of Rockport, Seymour's daily life was little removed from the primitive living conditions characteristic of frontier settlements. "The only schooling we got was from father. . . . We would get snowed in, in the winter. It was so far away from school that we couldn't walk or ride the oxen in the bad weather," he recalled in 1972. Homes and public buildings were heated with woodstoves, and candles and coal oil lamps provided light after dark. The Seymours were too poor to buy a team of horses, and it took three days by ox team for the family to travel from Rockport to Salt Lake because the oxen were "as slow as coal tar."

Seymour's adult working life roughly coincided with Utah's first half century as a state, bookended by his call to serve a mission for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) in Kansas in 1898 and his retirement from the restaurant business at the end of World War II in 1945. It was a momentous era of modernization, incorporation, and globalization for the state and its residents. Seymour's career reflected the impact of these momentous changes upon ordinary Utahns. In his twenties he tended horses and drove teams at a livery stable and then took a job driving a horse-drawn mail wagon between Kamas and Park City. Then in 1914 he parked his wagon in a shed and began delivering mail by truck. In 1924 Seymour moved to a tract home in Salt Lake City and began selling mass-produced electrical appliances. Commercial airline passenger flights in and out of Salt Lake began a year after Seymour moved there, and in 1931 he opened a café at the airport. Over

the next fourteen years while operating the Salt Lake Airport Café, he met travelers from across the nation and from abroad. Once he climbed into the cockpit of a plane and with a bit of help piloted the aircraft over mountains and valleys where he had driven ox and horse teams. "He may be . . . the only man who has ever flown an airplane and driven oxen," journalist Denise Edwards speculated in 1972.[1]

Utahns of Seymour's generation witnessed profound changes in the fifty years between statehood and the end of World War II. They felt the reverberations of armed conflicts on distant continents, as Utah's geographic isolation was breached and Utah citizens traversed the globe to fight in the Spanish-American and Philippine-American conflicts and in two world wars. The seeds of what would later be called globalism were planted in this era. Lifestyles changed as even many farms and small communities received electrical service, telephones, and indoor plumbing. In a drawn-out confrontation, urban and industrial influences supplanted agrarian traditions, displacing people socially, draining the countryside of its population and vigor, and producing quite as critical a crisis in values and self-identification as had the Mormon question earlier. New mass media, including radio and film, enveloped Utahns in a nationwide culture of entertainment, news, and fashion. Educational opportunities expanded, and literacy improved as school attendance became compulsory; many of Seymour's generation did not finish the eighth grade, but high school attendance became the norm for their children and many enrolled in college.

In this volume we use historian Alan Trachtenberg's term *incorporation* to encapsulate many of the changes that occurred in the period of early statehood, Utah's sometimes awkward years of adolescence and maturation. The term encompasses the rise of national corporations, including railroads and smelters, and large-scale systems of production, distribution, and marketing as well as mass labor movements. But it also entails agricultural production for distant markets, Utahns' involvement in national political movements, and the socialization of each subset of the state's population, including Native Americans, Mormons, and immigrants within the democratic, corporate culture that became twentieth-century America.[2]

The legacy of incorporation was particularly pronounced in the mining sector. In 1896 copper, the mineral that would become Utah's leading export, had not yet been exploited on a large scale. Over the next half century, the Beehive State's low-grade ores, concentrated in the Oquirrh Range, were exploited thanks to new technology and heavy investment from outside the region. Mining and smelting built enormous fortunes, although much of the wealth flowed eastward into the pockets of absentee investors. Nevertheless, mining was good for the state's economy: it swelled the tax base and provided steady employment for a new professional class of salaried engineers and scientists. It also created relatively high-paying jobs for thousands of blue-collar workers in boom times. Unfortunately, miners also endured

dangerous working conditions and a boom-and-bust economy with reduced wages and layoffs in bad times. The corporate, colonial economy of mining linked the state's fortunes to domestic and foreign markets and producers. The economic inequities in the mining sector radicalized some Utahns and led others to join unions and participate in strikes.

Agriculture also changed in response to processes of incorporation between statehood and World War II. The process of incorporation was fragmentary. Factory farms were rare, and while immense ranches such as Deseret Land and Livestock incorporated and built fortunes for their boards and shareholders, most Utah farms remained small operations. Although some village-oriented farmers resisted change, many small producers played the market as they transitioned from subsistence farming, which had been the backbone of the Mormon village system, to cash crops. Expensive, speculative reclamation projects in places such as the Bear River Valley, Delta, and Grass Valley; a network of agricultural experiment stations and farms; and new opportunities to sell farm products, including milk, wheat, sugar beets, and tomatoes, to corporate canneries, sugar factories, and condenseries with names such as Del Monte, Utah and Idaho Sugar, and Borden encouraged farmers to commercialize their operations. Small producers' incomes rose as they produced for the market, but some complained about the concentrated wealth and monopolistic practices of the corporations to whom they sold their goods. Moreover, tied as it was to national and even international markets, the demand for Utah products oscillated.

The federal government's investment in the economy, a key catalyst of Utah's incorporation, expanded enormously between statehood and World War II. Government policy and investment had significantly influenced Utah's economy in its territorial era, beginning with the construction of Camp Floyd in 1858 and extending to the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 that guaranteed a market for Utah's silver mines. But the government's investments in the territorial era were modest compared to what occurred between statehood and World War II. Federal largesse included land grants when Utah became a state and expensive, sophisticated water systems engineered by the Reclamation Service and its successor, the Bureau of Reclamation. In the 1910s Congress began to heavily subsidize highway construction. As national forests, national parks, and national monuments were designated, additional funds and jobs flowed to Utah. Starting with the massive Reconstruction Finance Corporation during Herbert Hoover's presidency and extending to a potpourri of government agencies known by their "alphabet-soup" acronyms during the administration of Franklin Roosevelt, federal dollars poured into Utah; the state ranked ninth in the nation in per capita investment by the federal government during the Depression. Then during World War II, unprecedented levels of investment created a mammoth steel plant in Utah Valley, a small-arms factory that

became Salt Lake County's leading employer, a huge Japanese internment camp near Delta, ten defense installations, and a military hospital. By 1945 Utah was connected at the hip to the federal government, heavily dependent on federal investment.

Most Utahns anticipated in 1896 that statehood would ensure greater self-government and lessen federal oversight. Statehood did bring an end to federally appointed officials in the state's executive branch, and it expanded Utah's role and clout on Capitol Hill in Washington. But the amount and scope of federal oversight multiplied over the next half century. Both the executive and the legislative branches increasingly regulated economic activities, including mining, grazing, and timber harvesting on public lands. National concerns about big business and monopoly made Utah's mining and sugar industries the object of federal investigations and regulatory oversight. Beginning in the 1930s banks were subjected to federal oversight, and bank deposits were federally insured. Congress established minimum wages for workers and guaranteed their right to join unions and bargain collectively with their employers.

In the decades after 1896 Utah experienced an influx of thousands of southern and eastern European and Japanese immigrants, a key force in linking Utah to distant lands. Recruited to work in the state's mines and smelters, these immigrants took part in a dramatic intercontinental migration, impelled by American industrial growth and the poverty, insufficient land, and political instability in their homelands. Defenders of traditional America charged that these "new immigrants" were inferior, dangerous, and incapable of assimilating because they were largely non-Protestant, nationalistic, poorly educated, and dark complexioned. Their migration created islands of ethnic diversity, particularly in Salt Lake, Tooele, and Carbon Counties, drawing Utahns into national debates regarding 100 percent Americanism and immigration restriction and providing fertile ground for emerging class consciousness and an incipient labor movement. As they crisscrossed oceans, these migrants developed transnational identities along with social networks and economic linkages that spanned the globe.

In the first half century of statehood, networks and linkages that crossed traditional ethnoreligious divisions multiplied. Mormon leaders, who had used business and political connections to facilitate statehood, embraced corporate models and methods in the new century as the means of promoting the region's economic development. The LDS Church did not withdraw entirely from politics in the first fifty years of statehood, but the extensive involvement and fierce partisanship that had pitted Mormons against non-Mormons in territorial politics had dissipated by 1945, after tumultuous struggles. A new political organization representing the interests of Gentiles and lapsed Mormons, the American Party, complicated Utah politics from 1904 to 1910 and for a time controlled the governments of Ogden and Salt Lake. Overtones of Mormon-Gentile tension also animated a secretive political

fraternity, the Order of Sevens, during the 1920s. But by the 1940s, inveterate political infighting between Mormons and Gentiles on the state level was largely outmoded; Utah elected non-Mormon governors with substantial support from Mormon voters in 1916, 1924, and 1928, and the Order of Sevens permanently collapsed in the late 1920s.

Having reached their nadir in the mid-1890s, Utah's Indian populations began to rise. Their incorporation within the national polity advanced in seesaw fashion, sometimes igniting forceful resistance: early in the new century the last gasp of militant resistance occurred in San Juan County, and hundreds of aggrieved Utes sought unsuccessfully to ally with the Sioux against the United States. Utah's Indians became US citizens by virtue of legislation, including the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, and hundreds of them fought for the United States in the Second World War. Much of the Utes' land base was whittled away, as their reservation was subdivided under the federal policy of allotment. New reservations were created for the Paiutes and Goshutes, and the Navajo reservation's boundary was extended northward to the San Juan River in southeastern Utah. Federal Indian policy sought the assimilation of Indians into the Utah mainstream until the 1930s, when the government began encouraging Indians to revive traditions, increase their land base, and elect tribal governments.

By the time Utah celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, Thomas Seymour and his cohort ranked among the eldest 10 percent of the population. As the following chapters demonstrate, the changes stretching across their lifetimes had profoundly altered the Beehive State and its residents. Utah had become more heterogeneous, urbanized, and economically stratified, and the state's economic and social linkages to the nation and world had multiplied.

1

POLITICS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS

Just after noon on January 6, 1896, the government of the state of Utah convened for the first time. Coming after nearly a half century of conflict, it was a moment rich with portent, comparable for Utahns, in its symbolic meaning, to the signing of the Declaration of Independence. In a more immediate way it represented the promise of home rule and an escape from disruptive tensions in Utah society. To pay homage to that portent and give it life, Utah's first state officers and more than ten thousand citizens crowded into the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City.

The mood at the tabernacle, as elsewhere in the new state, was one of general satisfaction and immediate celebration but not of unrestrained optimism. For the moment, at least, most felt events had come to a significant juncture, that times past and future were joined in statehood and full national citizenship. People were grateful as Mormon president Wilford Woodruff's opening prayer was read and Methodist reverend Thomas C. Iliff offered the benediction. Many were also proud as their first state governor, native son Heber M. Wells, was sworn in and read a long inaugural address covering Utah's entire past and much of its future, including the tasks of self-government that began as he spoke.[1]

In all, citizens could hardly have gone about these first functions of statehood with more self-conscious decorum. Electrically lighted in the huge flag that spread across the tabernacle's ceiling, the forty-fifth star heralded the promise of statehood and a new century. The wintry shadow from the temple next door spoke of tensions unfinished and of hoped-for frameworks in religion, business, and politics. The cannonade echoing from Fort Douglas bore witness not merely of the federal presence, as in times past, but of union and the sisterhood of states.

This first meeting of statehood was an intensively managed event. Aimed at the future, it was a statement not fully representative of Utah, but orchestrated in hopes that self-identity and national image would be molded. The statehood ceremony was a high point in what event managers had been calling "the era of good feeling." Thoughts of the bitter acrimony and ongoing conflict that had characterized so much of Utah's territorial history were out of mind for the moment. Phrases such as "Star of the West," "Queen of the Rockies," and "Empire State of the . . . Mountains," hackneyed though they seem, reflected a boom-engendered optimism and a determined vision of glories to come.[2] Yet the tabernacle audience could not but have been keenly aware of contradictions and challenges inherent in the era's good feeling. Now, well over a hundred years later, we may be forgiven if we wonder at the juxtaposing of promise and new conflict reflected in the temple shadow, in the cannonade, and in the flag's new star.

THE BIPOLAR TERRITORY AND CORPORATE TRANSFORMATION

The road to statehood had been long and difficult. Although its walls may be exaggerated, a bipolar regime existed during the territorial period. People lived apart. Virtually every walk of life was invested with distance. Mormons had been expelled, threatened with extermination, massacred, and accused of heinous crimes and tyrannies. Gentiles had been affronted in their religion, impugned in their morality, isolated socially, and excluded politically, and at Mountain Meadows some had been massacred by Mormons. Newspapers gave the language of divisiveness printed form. The People's Party of the Mormons and the Liberal Party of the Gentiles gave politics a single issue and, America's "wall of separation" notwithstanding, carried religion directly into the functions of state.[3] Federal intervention was ongoing. As Mormon leader and former territorial delegate George Q. Cannon recognized in 1891, "a chasm" had pitted "class against class."[4]

Although all of Utah's statehood movements have rightly been viewed within the context of this religious and political split, the statehood movement of the 1890s was actually a great deal more. In an immediate and direct sense, it was the product of an economic boom in Utah and the West during the late 1880s and of a growing national determination to round out the sisterhood of states into a continental

empire and to incorporate the natural resources of the West into the nation's burgeoning industrial and urban complex.[5] Statehood and the adjustments that followed were part of a larger national transformation then under way. Called the "Civil War for Incorporation" by historians Alan Trachtenberg and Richard Maxwell Brown, among others, it involved changes in American society quite as profound as, if less violent than, the economic and cultural disruptions confronted in the Civil War.[6] The corporate system "spread across the continent" between 1865 and 1920, affecting every phase of life. It tightened "systems of transport and communication," extended urban forms and the "market economy," and reshaped "the cultural perceptions" on which society rested. "New hierarchies of control" emerged along with new "forms and methods in industry and business." It was a "change so swift" that contemporaries were often "unable to fathom" its extent.[7]

At the center of this transformation was the corporation itself. Providing "capitalists with a more far-reaching instrument than earlier forms of ownership," corporations strengthened the alliance between business and politics, isolated businessmen from economic risk, established "virtually self-perpetuating boards of directors," and substituted new values and icons for those of agrarianism and rural community.[8] The directors of Mormondom in the turn-of-the-century decades made themselves at home in the disciplined and institutionally directed boardrooms of corporate America. More locally, association in commercial clubs, the Chamber of Commerce, professional societies, and other booster organizations increasingly allowed Mormons and Gentiles to work within the larger framework of change growing from the move to corporate culture. In this shifting climate Gentiles found new appeal in the politics of statehood, and Mormon leaders found conventional avenues in which they could exercise power.[9]

With a major economic boom in full course, the colonialism of the "distracted" territory began to yield to characteristics of statehood by 1890. Silver and lead mining prospered as never before. Smelters, railroads, and streetcar services were extended and improved. Commerce, livestock, real estate, agricultural markets, manufacturing, and cities all showed strength. An affluent elite began to call Utah home. A few, such as the Walker brothers, Thomas Kearns, Joseph Delamar, Enos Wall, John J. Daly, David Keith, John Judge, A. W. McCune, Jonathan Browning, and David Eccles, lived conspicuously. Building mansions, traveling abroad, and maintaining civic and educational philanthropies, they gave Utah an economic profile it had never enjoyed before.[10] The professions took hold: engineering, architecture, medicine, journalism, and publication began to join the law, the clergy, and public service as viable opportunities. Mormons were learning to "acquire property and take care of it."[11] Economic development broadened associations and expectations and introduced class divisions and competing ideological loyalties.

During the 1890s, more than ever before, Utahns questioned the "old regime" of the bipolar territory. Could Utah, and indeed the nation, afford a territory whose main business was division? To an increasing number of Utah Gentiles and American businessmen and politicians, the answer was no. In Washington increasingly tough legislation and court rulings jump-started statehood as they disfranchised polygamists and all Utah women, seized church property, and threatened to destroy the church as a temporal institution. Dissatisfaction with the old order was apparent among young Utahns, who sought education outside, organized Democratic clubs, worked for municipal change, and searched for a new social order. One of their number, Isaac Russell, characterized the "new generation" as "striving by every possible means to work away from the old issue [of polygamy]." They were interested in joining hands across religious lines to "pull together" in order to advance economic development, "welcome the tourist, to make him at home, to get him over certain old ideas."[12]

With the boom at high tide and Mormon women and polygamists excluded from the polls, the Liberals drove the terror of lost power deep in Mormon vitals in 1889 and 1890 when they mobilized the new workforce and dissenting Mormons to win municipal elections in Ogden and Salt Lake for the first time. To meet the mounting crisis, the church hierarchy worked within the context of its growing relationship with the business community. Agents were stationed in the power centers of the East. Lobbies curried favor with the railroad and sugar trusts. Special envoys approached high officials of both national parties who made it indelibly clear: polygamy had to go, and church influence in politics had to be modified. In exchange, as Mormon Democrat James H. Moyle recognized, church leaders gained access to the "environment of wealth," which "altered" their "point of view" and expectations.[13]

UNYIELDING PARTISANSHIP

The first steps in dismantling the old regime were quickly taken. The Manifesto ostensibly ending polygamous marrying was issued in the fall of 1890. Although tithing collections were interrupted and church finance was in disarray, Mormon leaders established, among other things, the sugar beet industry, a giant electric works in Ogden Canyon, the great Saltair amusement facility, and new saltworks on Great Salt Lake, and they pushed railroad schemes toward Los Angeles.[14] Division into national parties was achieved in 1892, with top Mormon leaders favoring a balance of church members in the two parties but working to deliver Republican votes to sustain their developing alliance with the corporate world. Young Utah Democrat Joseph L. Rawlins and Frank J. Cannon, Republican son of a Mormon counselor, represented the new order as territorial delegates.[15] Nationally, the drive for

punitive legislation temporarily lost steam. Amnesty was granted to polygamists in 1892, and an enabling act endorsed statehood in 1894.

With the economic boom that had fanned the fires of union now banked by depression, the "era of good feeling" reached its high point in the Constitutional Convention of 1895. Made up of fifty-nine Republicans, forty-eight Democrats, seventy-nine Mormons, twenty-eight Gentiles—and presided over by reenfranchised but still polygamist Apostle John Henry Smith—the convention treated Utahns to the spectacle of Mormon hammering Mormon and Gentile baiting Gentile on such issues as women's suffrage, Prohibition, and protectionism. Ultimately, the state constitution not only ensured women's right to vote but also guaranteed religious freedom and bravely, but somewhat prematurely, prohibited polygamy and church interference in state functions.[16] As it was completed, Charles S. Varian, formerly a "relentless" foe of Mormons but by all odds the convention's "most active member," optimistically concluded that the constitution had buried "the dead past." It was, of course, too much to hope for, but, as Varian put it, they had indeed "fought the good fight."[17]

With constitution in hand and statehood a fact, Utahns of 1896 faced a half century in which the old and the new acted upon each other to form the state's character. In large measure this was worked out through political processes.

In the annals of the early state the politics of the 1896–1903 period stand out. Its politics were almost unbelievably volatile. The state was quick to pay heed to appealing regional issues and national figures and, more than many new states of the period, was subjected to national reform pressures. Tensions continued to arise from polygamy and church influence in politics. Partisanship was intense both within groups and between them. As longtime Democrat James Moyle put it, "More bitter and unyielding partisanship never developed anywhere." Moyle laid much of this to the Mormon tendency to "treat politics on the same principle as religion—truth vs. untruth, the one all right, the other all wrong."[18]

Political actors of the era included a remarkable set of politicians, if indeed not statesmen, and a fair number of the West's most striking entrepreneurs and church leaders. Some had been lured by the boom. Some had come by a process of political selection that because of the furor may have attracted men a cut above the ordinary carpetbag appointee. Others were homegrown, products of the extraordinary pressures of the same controversy. Important issues included start-up procedures, silver, polygamy, two-party politics, and the proper role of the church.

Suggesting just how fragile the Constitutional Convention accord was were tensions that asserted themselves in the special election of 1895, the first of a veritable explosion of elections necessary to start state government. In November citizens were to vote on the constitution, choose state executive officers for a five-year term, and elect legislators for a one-year term who would elect US senators.

Although there was much apprehension that something would still scuttle statehood, the constitution passed easily in a 31,305 to 7,687 vote. Republicans made the best of the "Cleveland panic" and of the uneasy truce between onetime Liberals such as A. L. Thomas, former territorial governor, and C. C. Goodwin of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, on the one hand, and top church leaders, including Apostles Joseph F. Smith and John Henry Smith, who were leading many Mormons into the Republican fold, on the other.

Republican candidates in 1895 included Utah-born Mormon banker Heber M. Wells as candidate for governor and a slate of lesser state officers. Gentile Clarence E. Allen was running for Congress, and Republican candidates for the one-year legislature looked expectantly toward their role as electors of Utah's first senators.

Headed by Orlando W. Powers, "peerless orator" who had led the Salt Lake Liberals to victory in 1890, the Democratic organization attracted many prominent Mormons, including Brigham H. Roberts, an independently inclined member of the church's Seventies Quorum, and maverick Apostle Moses Thatcher. Also much in evidence in the campaign of 1895 were suffrage workers Zina D. H. Young, widow of Brigham Young and president of the General Relief Society Board (1888–1901); Bathsheba W. Smith; Jane Snyder Richards; and Emily S. Richards.

Democrats bitterly denounced the church for controlling the election but continued to play for the Mormon vote. In September John T. Caine, former territorial delegate, was nominated for governor and Roberts for Congress, together with a heavily Mormon slate of state officers and legislators.[19] Democrats selected Thatcher and Joseph L. Rawlins as their US senatorial nominees.[20]

On Election Day the Republicans won across the board, and Utah moved on to its rendezvous with statehood. Not surprisingly, a pressing matter involved finance. With the former banker Wells's guidance, legislators passed statutes governing taxation and distribution of revenues and issued bonds to cover an indebtedness of two hundred thousand dollars carried forward from the territory. A state court system was provided, while the penitentiary, reform school, insane asylum, and school for the deaf, dumb, and blind, institutions that had been distributed in cities around the territory as a form of patronage, were formally brought under state auspices. Commissions, staffs, and budgets were authorized for each, as they were for the University of Utah and the Agricultural College. Statewide farmers' institutes were authorized for the Agricultural College, and steps were taken to accept a federal gift of sixty acres of the Fort Douglas reservation for a University of Utah campus. Rented quarters for state government were found in the newly completed City and County Building and at the "Industrial Home," a refuge for displaced polygamist women for which there had been little need. Governor Wells performed much of his official work in his private office at the State Bank of Utah.[21]

Reform legislation involved considerable, but conventional, public response. A controversial measure providing nonpartisan control of police and fire departments passed. An even more explosive proposal to regulate railroads failed when railroad interests warned that regulations would arrest construction and curtail economic development. A hotly contested act limiting the workday in underground mines and smelters to eight hours passed and was almost immediately upheld in the Supreme Court case of *Holden v. Hardy*.[22]

If the legislative work seemed routine, the first legislature's electoral function was not. By some untraced process it was understood that one senator would be Gentile and the other Mormon. The Democrats were out of the running, but there was no dearth of candidates. Prominently mentioned were the *Tribune*'s redoubtable editor, C. C. Goodwin; C. W. Bennett, a Liberal Republican and longtime Washington lobbyist; O. J. Saulsbury, a mining man and regular Republican who stood well with the Mormons; and Arthur Brown, a lawyer with large ambitions and limited integrity. In addition, there was Isaac Trumbo, a Californian with Mormon business and family ties who in expectation of political preference had lobbied tirelessly for statehood but whose pretensions now seemed unwarranted. The front-runner was Frank J. Cannon, the last territorial delegate to whom a majority of legislators were said to be pledged. Young Cannon had rendered signal service during the late 1880s and 1890s. Keeping his prospects in the air, however, was the possibility that his father, counselor in the First Presidency George Q. Cannon, would run. Rumors spread that President Wilford Woodruff felt it was God's will that the senior Cannon reassume his doubly anointed role as church leader and head of Utah's Washington delegation. The *Salt Lake Tribune* fumed, and Democrats looked on uneasily. Church leaders expressed various positions privately and sought to measure how stable legislative pledges were. It was a sensitive situation, but the younger Cannon was not swayed. A day or two before the filing deadline, the father finally bowed out, and the legislature (forty Mormons and twenty-three Gentiles) proceeded to elect Frank J. Cannon and Arthur Brown, who determined by lot that Cannon would have the four-year term and Brown the one-year term.[23]

Meantime, events moved toward a showdown for B. H. Roberts and Moses Thatcher, whose political independence was a matter of deep concern in their churchly councils. Roberts's case was long-standing and compounded by internal issues but proved the easier to resolve. He was brilliant, versatile, independent, opinionated, and, once engaged, unwavering in principle and unflinching in combat. He had extended Mormon theology enough to invite close scrutiny, and on one or two points outright opposition, among his church superiors but had maintained close working relations with them and had made relatively few concessions to the corporate world.

However, Roberts's penchant for partisanship and independence got him in deep trouble in 1894 and 1895. Paying no heed to the presidency's position, he had opposed the inclusion of women's suffrage in the constitution in a noisy fight that attracted nationwide attention and sharp female enmity. Similarly, as we have seen, he ignored "counsel" when the Democratic Party nominated him for Congress in September 1895. Early in 1896 church leaders, led by Joseph F. Smith of the First Presidency, moved to bring him in line. At his trial they threatened, pleaded, argued, and finally suspended his right to act officially, whereupon he signed a political manifesto and was readmitted in good standing.[24]

Thatcher had been at cross-purposes with church leaders even longer. In part this reflected a true liberal's appreciation for the individual vis-à-vis authority and community. Even before 1887 he had resisted further concentration of power in the hands of President John Taylor.[25] Thatcher was especially critical of the free political hand given Joseph F. Smith and John Henry Smith in delivering a Republican vote and saw efforts to restrict his own activities as invasions of "his rights as a citizen."[26]

Brought frequently to heel, Thatcher relapsed as often. No disciplinary action was taken until the April 1896 conference. Even then action seemed more general than specific when all of the church's general authorities were asked to sign what came to be known as the "Political Manifesto," which made it clear that for general authorities, church obligation superseded political duty but left the door ajar for them to accept political office when circumstance seemed to require.[27] Thatcher refused to sign the Political Manifesto, with the result that his name was left off the list presented for the conference's sustaining vote. It was a serious reprimand that placed Thatcher's ecclesiastical status in question, but it stopped short of resolving the controversy. He was still a political power to be reckoned with. The election of 1896 was at hand, and the prospects were good for Democrats.

THE ELECTION OF 1896 AND A FALSE DAWN

Just how good, Utah Democrats could not realize, but 1896 was their election year. In the short run they won from the "top to the bottom of their ticket."[28] William Jennings Bryan took about sixty-four thousand votes, or 82 percent of the total, compared to national winner William McKinley's 17 percent. In the congressional race William H. King launched Utah's most long-lived legislative career of the twentieth century when he carried 61 percent of the vote, reportedly causing Reed Smoot to quip that he did "not believe in sending a man to Congress who is all wind." Democratic judges won throughout the state, and in the legislature Democrats took more than 86 percent of the house seats and all senate seats except one carried by a Populist-fusionist.[29] Waiting in the wings for the legislative session in January

1897 were senatorial hopefuls such as Joseph Rawlins, H. P. Henderson, Orlando W. Powers, and the controversial Thatcher.

Nationally, the Democrats' campaign for free and unlimited coinage of silver was a key issue. Western in origin and nationalizing in influence, it dated back at least twenty years to the "Crime of '73," when coinage of silver dollars was dropped. Silver-producing mountain states prospered when production was stimulated by the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 but were hard hit by the 1893 repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act by Congress and by the depression of the 1890s. In 1896 the gold standard and high tariff stance of the Republicans alienated silver and cheap money advocates, who gathered under Bryan's free-silver banner.[30]

If silver was dominant nationally, it was a contagion in Utah. Few questioned that its "magic appeal" would "stimulate mining," produce "a mild inflation," strengthen agriculture, and bring prosperity.[31] In addition, silver had a powerful symbolic meaning in silver-producing states, all of which were catapulted into unwanted prominence by its national attention.

Politically, women achieved a standard of involvement in the election of 1896 and the ensuing legislatures that would not be resumed for decades. Emmeline B. Wells, longtime feminist and editor, was continued as vice chairperson by the Republican Party. Along with Lucy A. Clark of Davis County, she ran unsuccessfully for the state senate, as did Martha Campbell of Salt Lake County and Mrs. F. E. Stewart of Utah County for the house. The Democrats sent four women to the national convention as alternate delegates. For state representatives they nominated and elected Eurithe LaBarthe of Salt Lake County and Sarah E. Anderson of Weber County. Also elected was Senator Martha Hughes Cannon, Salt Lake City physician and fourth wife of Angus M. Cannon, a Republican state senate candidate, who as president of the Salt Lake Stake had been one of the churchmen who objected to the role of Democratic women in 1895.

The domestic aspect of a contest in which Dr. Cannon got 11,413 votes to her husband's 8,742, along with her considerable achievement in the legislature and the added tension of a critical national election, has obscured 1896's importance as a false dawn of equality for Utah women.[32] Democratic candidate Aquila Nebeker, a Rich County rancher who beat Lucy Clark for a house seat, revealed a common bias when he complained that victory would reflect "no credit" and that defeat would make him a "laughing stock."[33] In the 1897 legislature Eurithe LaBarthe was associated with the so-called High Hat Law, making removal of head wear mandatory in public places and with a resolution requesting the United States to donate the "Industrial Home" to Utah for educational and benevolent purposes. Sarah Anderson, who had unsuccessfully argued in a court case that the state constitution

gave women the right to vote in the election of 1895, left little mark on the 1897 legislature.[34]

Martha Hughes Cannon has become the best known of the women legislators of 1897. She had studied medicine at the University of Michigan, practiced privately in Salt Lake, taken advantage of time on the polygamous underground to visit European hospitals, established a training school for nurses, and played active roles in the national woman suffrage movement. In the 1897 legislature she introduced three bills: Senate Bill 31 to "Protect the Health of Women and Girl Employees"; SB 22, "Providing for Compulsory Education of Deaf, Dumb and Blind Children"; and SB 27, "Creating a State Board of Health." Cannon was shortly appointed to the resulting State Board of Health and in the 1899 legislature introduced SB 40, providing health regulations. Significantly, she voted her own mind in the senatorial elections of both years, casting her ballot for Moses Thatcher in 1897 in a vote that ran counter to her husband's wishes and in 1899 ignoring rumors of vote buying to support millionaire A. W. McCune throughout the 164 ballots of a futile electoral exercise.[35]

A colleague of Martha Cannon in 1899 was Democratic state senator Alice Merrill Horne. A graduate of the University of Utah, Horne had toured the art galleries of Europe and America and became one of Utah's greatest advocates of the arts. In the legislature of 1898 Horne introduced "the University Free Scholarship Bill" and supported other measures related to higher education and public health. However, she is best remembered for her bill establishing the Utah Arts Institute. Like Cannon, Horne was appointed to the State Board of Health by Governor Wells, who, in appointing the two Democratic women, was bound by no narrow partisanship.[36]

Interest in new voters extended to Salt Lake City's African Americans. In this case Republicans held their own.[37] A small population of blacks had come to Utah with the Mormons and the railroad and had been recently augmented by black regiments at Fort Douglas and Fort Duchesne. By the mid-1890s a community of sufficient complexity existed to give partisan division a voice in the *Broad Ax*, edited by Julius Taylor, a Democrat, and the *Utah Plain Dealer*, edited by Republican W. W. Taylor (no relation). Blacks also organized a variety of political and social clubs and called for a share in political patronage. They debated the merits of the two parties, and Julius Taylor extolled "the New Democracy." Most important, Salt Lake City Republicans nominated W. W. Taylor for the legislature and supported him in his campaign call to open public places to blacks. If the *Tribune* was less enthusiastic about Taylor's candidacy than some whites, it was nevertheless supportive. The Democratic *Herald*, on the other hand, printed racial cartoons. With 6,512 votes Taylor, like other Republicans, was defeated. In a less meaningful gesture, the victorious Democratic legislature designated blacks Julius Taylor as messenger to the senate and Henry Durham as sergeant at arms.[38]

Still pending after the general 1896 election were the senatorial elections and the Thatcher controversy. In mid-November Thatcher threw down the gauntlet when he told a *Tribune* writer he would be a candidate. The *Deseret News* insisted it was an assault on the "organic existence of the Church." Evidently agreeing, the Quorum of the Twelve dropped Thatcher from its ranks on November 19. During the next month he maneuvered through the mails for a public hearing. When it was not forthcoming, he released correspondence about his case to the newspapers. In addition, several broadsides were issued in December attacking and defending Thatcher. Rarely has an issue been more bitter or more fully aired.[39]

Thus informed, the legislature went through fifty-three ballots. Electioneering was intense, interest was high, and the City and County Building was thronged. Through most of the balloting, Thatcher led. Gentile H. P. Henderson, who was seen as the church candidate, was close behind. Toward the end Henderson's support shifted to Joseph L. Rawlins, giving him the necessary thirty-two votes. Although he was seriously ill throughout the entire controversy, Thatcher acted with dignity, expressing himself with restraint and with telling effect. "There is room" in Utah, he said, for "all societies and all organizations, but they must confine themselves within the proper limits. (Applause.) He who desires peace and prosperity for Utah will draw the line sharply between the rights of the citizens, the powers of the State and those of the church. (Applause.)"[40] Within a year Thatcher faced a church trial, recanted many of the charges he had made, and accepted the Political Manifesto but was not reseated in his quorum.

THE ROBERTS CASE AND A SPLENDID LITTLE WAR

In the years after 1897 the good feeling that carried the statehood movement decayed rapidly. In part this was due to the softening of the boom-engendered consensus that a harmonious economic climate was Utah's first order of business. In addition, certain symbols of goodwill had come and gone. Spent was the solidifying influence of the half-centennial celebration on July 24, 1897, which gave Utah an entry in the parade of expositions and fairs then much in vogue. The death of Wilford Woodruff the next year took a nonthreatening figure out of the picture. And then, too, as times changed, it became increasingly apparent that it had been overly optimistic to hope the division over political rule could simply be walked away from.

Less apparent but in the long run inseparable from political influence and its exercise was the fact that polygamy did not end in 1890. Challenged on what they took to be a divine imperative, Mormon leaders publicly closed the door on polygamy but privately left it ajar. Originally announcing the Manifesto in ambiguous language and circumstances, they were soon crowded into statements that gave it public status as God's revealed word and extended its meaning to terminate existing

plural relationships (cohabitation) as well as prohibit future plural marriages. From the first, however, church leaders continued to cohabit with pre-Manifesto wives and families. They also secretly authorized and performed new polygamous marriages, erecting elaborate screens to hide them. Some also gave quiet voice to their faith that polygamy would be restored, implying that its restriction was little more than a temporary dodge. Confusion resulted among rank-and-file Mormons, who were less than sure what the signals called for. Mormon liberals were disappointed and discomfited, fundamentalists were determined, and most established polygamists cohabited to some degree. Some Gentiles apparently took closet polygamy to be a Mormon way of life that would pass with time. Others angrily reported it, including the members of the last Utah Commission. Officially, goodwill and the demands of economic development, statehood, and partisan politics overrode distrust until 1898.[41]

As the campaign of 1898 began, Utah Democrats had reason to hope that at least some of 1896's victories might be repeated. Silver still promised to offset the continuing depression as an issue, and Republicans appeared ready to split again. Democrats still had holdover strength in the legislature, and B. H. Roberts was willing to run again for Congress, this time with the permission if not the full blessing of his church colleagues. True, Roberts was the admitted husband of three wives (one married after 1890) and the father of recently born twins. On the other hand, relatively little had been said about his private life during earlier campaigns, and if Roberts had any inkling that the time of probation was passing, he was not deterred by it.[42]

Several of his church brethren and a good number of Democrats opposed his candidacy. Included among them were Cache County dissidents who considered that he had abandoned Thatcher in an unseemly fashion in 1896 and a Weber contingent beguiled by Frank Cannon's will-o'-the wisp posturing on silver. Chosen by the Republicans to face Roberts was Alma Eldredge, a Summit County Mormon who was hardly in Roberts's class.

In spite of Roberts's apparent advantages, his election was no cinch because of the swinging pendulum of public opinion concerning polygamy. At the nominating convention Martha Cannon and Ellen Jakeman, who believed Roberts had "domestic duties . . . enough to keep him . . . away from Congress," initiated a determined feminist opposition that before the campaign was through drew support from national suffragette Susan B. Anthony.[43] More threatening, for the moment at least, were well-publicized warnings from the Utah State Presbytery late in August that polygamy and hierarchical rule had not been abandoned and protests in October against Roberts's candidacy from the Presbyterian Synod and the Congregational Association.

Rising to these stimuli, and to promptings of its own, the *Tribune* launched a "furious and incessant campaign." Repeatedly, it charged that Roberts "owed

a 'higher fealty'" to the church, that he was living in violation of the law, that he lacked knowledge and experience in government, that he opposed woman suffrage and the eight-hour workday, that his candidacy violated pledges made before statehood, and that his election would retard economic development.[44] As the election approached, Governor Wells joined the attack, lamenting that Roberts's "personal disabilities" obscured "every other issue." George Q. Cannon worried that Roberts's private life would become a "whip" against the church and seemingly did his best to ensure that it would when he announced that "any man who cohabits with his plural wives violates the law."[45]

Nevertheless, Roberts was elected in November 1898 and looked forward to claiming his seat in December 1899. Within weeks sectarian opposition in Utah crystallized in the Salt Lake City Ministerial Association. Leveling charges against Roberts, it invited "religious bodies all over the country . . . [to] protest" against seating him.[46] Under fire again, LDS leaders stoutly denied that the church had anything to do with Roberts's election.[47] Like Roberts and the Democratic Party, they learned much about national sentiment during the next year.

Immediately at hand was the Democrat-controlled senatorial election of early 1899. A bumbled affair from beginning to end, it "provided drama, excitement, suspense, weeks of florid oratory—everything," political scientist Jean Bickmore White has written, "except a new senator." On the surface, the task did not look complex. Democrats held forty-one seats, compared to sixteen for Republicans and six held by the Silver-fusionists pledged to Frank Cannon. Factions supported Democrats Orlando W. Powers, William H. King, and Alfred W. McCune. In addition, there were Republicans George Sutherland, Frank Cannon, John Henry Smith, and George Q. Cannon.[48] With the public again crowding the galleries and halls, this "warfare of the Toga" proceeded through 164 frustrating ballots.[49] Just as it seemed McCune would carry the day, he was accused of vote buying. Never proved, the charge halted proceedings and revealed that McCune had covered deficits at the *Salt Lake Herald* in a way that could not stand the scrutiny of the situation. Score? One failed Senate election, among several during this period that contributed to the Seventeenth Amendment, providing for direct election of senators in 1913.[50] It was also evidence of how low statehood's grandiose dreams of position in the sisterhood of states had fallen, proof that the church's control was far from absolute, and a staggering blow to Utah Democrats.

The Spanish-American War coincided with these developments. The difficulties between Spain and Cuba, together with burgeoning imperialism, drew Utahns' attention to national issues quite as surely as silver had done two years earlier. Utah's congressional delegation was among the most hawkish in Washington, DC, and at home citizens responded avidly to the growing sentiment for war. Newspapers were

filled with jingoism and were frequently impatient with the McKinley administration's restraint.

Few were more stirred than the Mormons. As historian D. Michael Quinn has shown, they fundamentally changed how they regarded war as hostilities approached.[51] With a Bible-like ambivalence, they had traditionally yearned for the earthly kingdom (Zion) as a refuge from strife but simultaneously had often been militant in temperament. Religious interest rather than patriotism had generally shaped their views. In 1898 this ambivalence flared briefly before settling into wholehearted support of war and expansion. Quinn traces the dramatic decline in pacifist sentiments among church leaders between March and May. The question crystallized at the April conference. Several, including George Q. Cannon and Apostle Brigham Young Jr., emphasized Zion as a place of refuge and the church's obligation to advance peace. Cannon, however, returned to the question of war later in the conference. Sketching a dual obligation to state and church, he stretched Mormon teachings about America as the promised land to encompass a national mission to extend the principles and institutions of liberty worldwide.[52] As Milton L. Merrill has observed, "patriotism" was becoming a "religious principle."[53]

Apostle Young might have accepted Cannon's speech and in time even mirrored it, but conditions around him were more than he could countenance. The black Twenty-Fourth Infantry departed Fort Douglas to fanfare on April 20, waved off by upwards of 20,000 enthusiastic citizens.[54] On April 21 war was declared. On the twenty-third McKinley called for 125,000 volunteers and late in May for 75,000 more. Willard Young and Richard W. Young, brother and nephew to Brigham Jr. as well as West Point men, and the bellicose *Deseret News* editor, John Q. Cannon, rushed to recruit cavalry and artillery units. Worse yet, Apostle Young's sons fairly breathed fire. Three enlisted within days. A fourth, too young to enlist by himself, badgered his father for permission. For girls "real brass army buttons" became the "decoration of the day," the "craze" reaching such heights, according to one observer, that "at the depot," as volunteers entrained, "otherwise modest girls scrambled . . . to cut the buttons from the clothes of entire strangers." The "button fiends" were so unsparing that some soldiers were off to war with pinned-up pants.[55]

In a tabernacle speech before the Salt Lake Stake on Sunday, April 25, Young rashly stepped before the rush. Let Mormon boys devote "the means they make" to the war effort, he said. "Loafers" aplenty could be found "to go be killed." Around town on Monday he was commended and condemned for his pacifist position. To one who accosted him most vigorously, he exploded: the "war spirit" was "anti Christ," and "those who encourage" it and "do not repent . . . will go to hell." On Tuesday he, his brother, and his nephew met with Wilford Woodruff, who scolded him for defying the government and, to his chagrin, instructed "Willard and Richard to

go on receiving volunteers." An official statement "advising the saints to volunteer" soon followed. Young bowed to authority, but three youthful relatives died in "the splendid little war."[56]

With visions of mission and glory, Utah's young men enlisted. Quotas were set at 425 men, but after appeals for larger authorizations and considerable maneuvering, about 800 were accepted. National Guardsmen were enrolled first. Under Governor Wells's directive, recruiters canvassed the state. Volunteers assembled at a tent facility called Camp Kent on the lower part of Fort Douglas. There they were organized in cavalry and light artillery outfits, officered by local men appointed by Wells.[57]

The volunteers set off for war in a surprisingly short time. For most it was garrison duty in the Southeast, at San Francisco, or in one of several national parks. There they suffered from malaria, typhoid, boredom, and, perhaps most of all, unrealized glory. Two artillery companies, however, were assigned to the Philippines. There they saw action against both the Spanish and Aguinaldo's insurgents. They quickly tired of killing and being killed. Tensions arose among them just as quickly, and boyish dreams seemed increasingly difficult to sustain. Petitions for early release were rejected, but by August 1899 they were home. Wiser and less filled with idealism, they still had a sufficient sense of destiny to immediately produce at least two books extolling their exploits.[58]

With the war winding down, B. H. Roberts presented himself to be seated in the House of Representatives in December 1899. In the thirteen months since his election, awakening antipolygamy sentiment had become a virulent national passion. A nationwide reform network with strong sectarian and feminist elements, including the National Congress of Mothers, the National Council for Women, the American Female Guardian Society, the League for Social Service, and the National Anti-Polygamy League, gathered seven million names on petitions demanding Roberts's exclusion. Encased in American flags and piled before the Speaker's desk, they bespoke citizen power that few in Washington dared ignore.

Newspapers and journals had a heyday. In Salt Lake City the *Tribune* sharpened what Milton Merrill called its "policy of imprecation." Taking the lead nationally, Hearst's *New York Evening Journal* serialized Arthur Conan Doyle's anti-Mormon "A Study in Scarlet." Much of the outpouring was fluff. The offerings of one or two, like New York journalist Eugene Young's "Revival of the Mormon Problem" in the *North American Review*, were well informed and moderate in tone, if firm in their determination that polygamy and church dictation had to go.[59]

Utahns did their part to unseat Roberts. Charles Mostyn Owen, a civil engineer with the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad who had worked quietly gathering unimpeachable evidence on new marriages and cohabitation; Dr. William M. Paden, a Utah Presbyterian; and Methodist Thomas C. Iliff stirred anti-Roberts sentiment. Arguing that Mormonism violated the four cornerstones of American society (the

true God, separate church and state, education without priestcraft, and the monogamous home), Iliff's lecture hit hard enough that the church assigned damage-control speakers to follow his course.[60]

The Roberts case moved immediately to committee. With Theodore Schroeder carrying the case for the prosecution and Roberts acting for himself, hearings proceeded throughout January 1900. Discussion turned mainly on four issues of the law and the relation of Roberts's conduct to those issues. First, did polygamist disfranchisement under the Edmunds Act apply to states? Second, were explicit provisions that amnesty depended on future compliance with the law diminished by the fact that the law had not been enforced? Third, did the Enabling Act and subsequent oaths before the Utah Commission restore the political rights of polygamists? Fourth, did the "compact between the United States and Utah" bar cohabitation as well as new polygamist marriages? Ongoing discussion of a constitutional amendment barring polygamy and church influence made it clear that the agitation looked beyond Roberts to the church at large. Throughout the hearings Roberts comported himself with skill and dignity but to no avail. The committee's majority report recommended that he not be seated. A minority recommended that he be seated and then ejected. With the monster petition and public agitation still very much before it, Congress voted overwhelmingly to exclude him.[61]

In Utah Mormons greatly feared an antipolygamy amendment would be passed in the wake of the hearings. Before 1900 was over a deal was reportedly struck with the national Republican Party secretary, Perry Heath, to deliver Utah for the Republicans in exchange for a guarantee that the amendment would be scuttled.[62] City patronage played further into Gentile hands. Church president Lorenzo Snow firmly denied that "the church was seeking to re-establish polygamy," and the search for suitable senatorial candidates among general authorities who were practicing polygamists was abandoned. Governor Wells reaffirmed that no more polygamists would be sent to Congress and called on all Utahns to get the "Utah problem" out of "our newspapers, our pulpits and our platforms," publicizing instead the state's "illimitable" resources and "unsurpassed" climate.[63] In token submission polygamists were retired from some public positions, including postmasters in Provo and Logan, Agricultural College president Joseph Tanner, and board member Marriner Merrill. For a good portion of 1900 the state was represented only by Senator Joseph Rawlins. Turning his attention to the new problems of a Pacific empire, Rawlins failed to provide the leadership Utah Democrats desperately needed.[64]

THE NEW GENERATION

If Utah Democrats were short on leadership, promising prospects were in good supply among Republicans. Indeed, in 1900 it became clear that a new generation

of business-oriented politicians had taken over. Among the leaders were four young Republicans. Over the long haul Reed Smoot, senator for thirty years, and George Sutherland, congressman, senator, and US Supreme Court justice, stood at the top, but in the turn-of-the-century years mining millionaire Thomas Kearns and the popular Heber M. Wells often seemed to have the upper hand. All four were under forty and possessed strong egos, ambition, organizational talent, the capacity for self-promotion, and political support.[65]

Politically, the four boasted a variety of assets. Polygamy was, of course, no problem for Kearns and Sutherland, Wells was unyielding in opposition, and Smoot was untainted personally and looking for a way out for Utah. Sutherland had been a leader in the legislature, where he put himself forward for senator without acquiring serious political liabilities. Kearns had been at the Constitutional Convention, maintained touch with labor, enjoyed important connections with national Republicans, and possessed a ready supply of money. Banker Wells had demonstrated almost flawless form as governor in the maelstrom of the years just past. Smoot was a business prodigy and active in party politics. Perhaps his best qualifications were a penchant for regularity and the timeliness of his advance to the apostleship in April 1900 just as death, and the Roberts case, cleared the decks of old-guard polygamist aspirants.[66] Together with a distinguished cast of fellow workers and behind-the-throne powers, the four of them, Smoot, Sutherland, Wells, and Kearns, made for a time of excitement as the "Mormon Problem" fought itself to a kind of conclusion by 1908.

Rarely has more been up for grabs. With the single-handed representation of Senator Rawlins in Washington, the need to rebuild appeared critical. After Pennsylvania's governor tried to appoint political boss Matt Quay to a vacant senatorial chair, prospects that Governor Wells could claim the empty Utah senatorship for himself placed him at the center of a circle of intense political preening. His ability to call a special election to fill the empty congressional chair also enhanced his power. Republican interest in both positions was high.

Wells's secretary of state, James Hammond, looked more and more like the Republican candidate for Roberts's seat. In a midwinter 1900 arrangement that gave Hammond visibility, Wells made an extended trip east, leaving Hammond as acting governor with full authority to appoint new officers to positions vacated at the Agricultural College when polygamists were forced out.[67]

Speculation ran rampant by the time Wells returned. Names frequently mentioned for the Senate included Wells, Kearns, and Sutherland, as well as Utah Supreme Court justices James A. Miner and George M. Bartch. Smoot's name too began to appear but in a minor key that gave way for the moment, when his appointment to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles was announced early in April 1900. But in the short run the governor's maneuvers came to naught. Hammond

ran for Congress but was no match for Democratic judge William King, who lined up a whirlwind tour by William Jennings Bryan and campaigned convincingly on his own behalf.[68]

But these were momentary reverses. In the general election of 1900 Wells continued to advocate business growth and easily beat Democrat loyalist James H. Moyle to win another term. In a quick reversal Congressman King was defeated by George Sutherland and filled only the remnant of the Roberts term in Congress.

Developments in the Smoot and Kearns camps were even more dramatic. Timed almost as part of the campaign, Kearns met late in the summer with Senator W. A. Clark, a Montana millionaire, and R. C. Kerens, Republican National Committeeman from Missouri, to organize the Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad Company. Sometimes called the "Hot Air Road," it included the takeover of a church road to Saltair and a board position for Smoot in the new company. It is generally held that President Lorenzo Snow agreed to support Kearns for the Senate in a move related to both the railroad and a previous bargain with the Republican National Committee to deliver a Republican congressional delegation. As the senatorial election of 1901 approached, the unpolished Kearns campaigned widely in support of Republican legislators. In the process he repeated Wells's call for development, denounced Bryanism, and endorsed Pacific expansion and an Isthmian canal. He won plaudits from workingmen and disdain from party regulars when he referred to Alaska as an island and Filipinos as "Filyponies."[69]

Smoot ached to be a candidate for the Senate. Yet during the fall of 1900, Lorenzo Snow apparently directed Smoot to yield in favor of Kearns. Soon afterward President McKinley reportedly advised him that his candidacy would injure Utah and the church. Before December was over Smoot was supporting Kearns's 1901 candidacy with the understanding that Kearns would return the favor in 1903. After conversing with Lorenzo Snow on January 3, Smoot's fellow apostle Anthon H. Lund wrote, "In regard to a senator Kearns is thought to be the man who can do us the most good, but what a man to send east! It will be a bitter pill for many to swallow."[70]

This accomplished, everything seemed shipshape. The Republican majority caucused on Friday, January 18, as the candidates hustled off for a weekend of last-minute arm-twisting. On Saturday word of Kearns's support from the church broke in the *Tribune*. Opponents of Kearns accused "the Church of having bargained the senatorship for favors on the polygamy question," as wrote Anthon Lund in his diary. Kearns denied it. Snow was unavailable. Although the very atmosphere reverberated, Kearns was elected to a four-year term in the Senate and by the end of the month was off for Washington, having seeded a field of distrust among Gentiles that soon yielded support for Smoot and, in time, a different kind of political division for Utah.[71]

In 1901 and 1902 neither man was idle. With the same boldness that had made his mining fortunes, Kearns plunged ahead. He temporarily cemented relations with Theodore Roosevelt and initiated pork-barrel legislation and patronage that offended Congressman Sutherland. At home Kearns struggled to balance his Gentile support with his Smoot-church partnership, pushed the Salt Lake Railroad, and completed his South Temple mansion. Suggesting he hoped Smoot could be dropped from the equation, he quietly purchased the *Salt Lake Tribune*. In a move that some thought implied Republican National Committeeman Perry Heath was his candidate for Utah's other senator, Kearns brought him to Utah as publisher and general manager of his newspaper. It was an impressive beginning.

THE SMOOT HEARINGS

Soon, however, things took a turn in Smoot's favor. On October 10, 1901, Lorenzo Snow died, breaking the essential link in the chain that secured Kearns's Mormon alliance. His replacement, Joseph F. Smith, was less susceptible to Kearns's blandishments and gave his undeviating support to Smoot.[72] Of equal significance, Congressman Sutherland, who had crossed swords with Kearns on patronage issues, differed sharply with him over tariff policy and became increasingly interested in his senatorial seat. This finally outweighed Sutherland's reluctance to see an apostle in the Senate. Ignoring his distaste at sometimes being referred to as Smoot's "puppet," he threw his support to Smoot, who had been a boyhood friend and, as Sutherland recalled, had at one time joined the Liberal Party along with "a great number of younger Mormons," thinking to rid the "Church of its peculiar institution."[73] Wells also had misgivings about Smoot's apostle-senator linkage but with two years remaining in his term was in no position to cut him off by running himself. In frequent contact with Kearns, Smoot worked to keep their agreement alive but at the same time engineered the appointment of a set of loyal followers to federal offices. Called the "federal bunch," these men became "the nucleus of the 'Smoot machine.'" Important among them were Mormons James Clove of Provo, E. H. Callister and James J. Anderson of Salt Lake City, Joseph Howell of Cache County, and William Spry of Tooele County. With the possible exception of Spry, these men gave themselves to Smoot with "a loyalty which did not distinguish" between the man and the church. Equally important was the non-Mormon mining man and Smoot confidant C. E. Loose of Provo.[74]

For Republican insiders the election of 1902–3 was one of controversy leading to crisis. Misgivings about Apostle Smoot's candidacy were widespread. Reform groups opposing theocracy began to reassemble as the campaign progressed and press opposition fired up. Speaking through Kearns, Theodore Roosevelt called for Smoot to withdraw as a candidate. Led by William King, Samuel Thurman, and state chairman

James H. Moyle, the Democrats could by no means be written off. Yet Smoot persisted and ultimately prevailed. Paramount elements in his election were his party workers (the federal bunch), President Joseph F. Smith, and the anti-Kearns followers of George Sutherland, whom Smoot agreed to support for the senate.

Apostle Smoot's election provoked a full-scale national reform movement. Backed by a protest group of citizens, the Salt Lake City Ministerial Association was among the first to blow the whistle. Nationwide, Protestant and women's groups ("the storm bureau," according to the *Salt Lake Herald*) rallied quickly, spurring a senatorial investigation that dragged on until 1907.[75] The storm center was the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, which was chaired by Julius C. Burrows of Michigan. Antipolygamy sleuth Charles Mostyn Owen dusted off his files from the Roberts case, and former congressman R. W. Taylor was chief counsel for the prosecution. The investigation became a searching examination of polygamy and the role of the Mormon Church in politics in spite of efforts by Smoot and his attorneys, Waldemar Van Cott and A. S. Worthington, to keep the focus on Smoot, a squeaky-clean monogamist. In Utah Smoot had E. H. Callister, C. E. Loose, and other machine members work to sell him to non-Mormon Republicans who, with Kearns in opposition, were the swing element in party politics. In Washington Smoot played the role of junior senator with a sure instinct for submissiveness and regularity that won grudging respect in the Senate and vocal support from Roosevelt that was frequently all that stood between him and defeat. Behind the entire proceedings loomed disfranchisement for all Mormons.

Held at several different periods between 1903 and 1907, the Smoot hearings aired the Mormon problem thoroughly.[76] Evidence mounted that post-Manifesto polygamist marriages had been common and that cohabitation was an everyday reality. To the conviction of everyone except inner-circle Mormons, who knew how precarious their political power really was, the church was represented as being in outright control in Utah and Idaho. Walking a tightrope between committee members, reformers, Gentile Utah, and the church, Smoot was a telling witness on his own behalf. Other church leaders, including President Joseph F. Smith and Apostles Francis M. Lyman and John Henry Smith, were less effective. Indeed, President Smith shocked and angered the country when he almost defiantly admitted to ongoing plural living and to eleven post-Manifesto sons and daughters. Also damaging were his denials of church political activities and feigned ignorance about post-Manifesto plural marriages.

In hopes it would be taken as evidence of good faith, President Smith issued the Second Manifesto in 1904, declaring again that polygamy was ended. This time the church took firm steps to enforce stated policy. Some questioned the church's sincerity when two apostles, John W. Taylor and Mathias F. Cowley, who had been active in perpetuating polygamy, eluded subpoenas to testify at the hearings and

Smith apparently acquiesced. Smoot secretly declared his readiness to resign if Smith felt it would serve the church. Short of this, he reported, Washington friends saw church discipline against Taylor and Cowley as necessary precursors to seating him and sidetracking a disenfranchising amendment. After much soul-searching, the two recreant apostles were dropped from their quorum, as peace offerings and, according to some, as sacrifices to Smoot's inordinate ambition.

The Senate committee was not mollified. Its majority report held against Smoot, but the Senate voted in his favor after hearing concluding speeches by many of its prominent members, including a bitter anti-Mormon oration from Thomas Kearns and a persuasive statement that polygamy was truly receding from Utah's junior senator, George Sutherland. Although the anti-Mormon crusade flared from time to time in the popular press, it never became a major national issue again, and in Utah the Mormon question focused increasingly on Salt Lake City.

The first eight years of statehood revealed how tenuous the display of good feelings and comity at the statehood celebration had been. The religious tensions that had inflamed territorial politics quickly resurfaced, as Utahns sought the optimal Gentile-Mormon balance in elected office. Polygamy and theocracy cast a pall over the election of prominent Mormons to high offices. As a counterpoint to their religious divisions, Utahns' support of the Spanish-American War demonstrated their patriotism and jingoism and symbolized their incorporation within the American Republic. Although it did not signify political equality, women's electoral and legislative participation enriched and complicated the political process. Most important, as a harbinger of the future, a new generation of political leaders keenly attuned to the corporate worlds of banking and business emerged, represented by Reed Smoot, George Sutherland, Thomas Kearns, and Heber M. Wells.

2

POLITICS IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

THE AMERICAN PARTY

As the Smoot case moved toward its tortured close, the focus of political conflict shifted to Salt Lake City and to a new non-Mormon political party. This development began in March 1904 when Salt Lake City Gentiles responded angrily to evidence emerging in the Smoot hearings that polygamous marriages were still being performed. Perhaps even more irritating to them was testimony from top Mormons justifying "plural living" on the grounds that taking care of existing families had been tacitly condoned by "Utah law enforcement officers" and the "general populace."[1] Convinced that neither the Manifesto of 1890 nor terms making amnesty contingent on submission to antipolygamy laws had been complied with, disillusioned reformers and politicos protested. In addition to the Salt Lake Ministerial Association, leaders of the initial protest included attorney Parley L. Williams and a variety of businessmen and city officials. They reasoned that Mormon domination was facilitated by the division of Gentiles between the two national parties and concluded that a reunion of all Gentiles within a single party was the most promising solution. They aspired to control Salt Lake City first, then the county, other cities, and ultimately the state.

After several meetings in March 1904, the movement lapsed, only to rise again in September. Over the summer the interests of Thomas Kearns and the Salt Lake

City protest converged, as Smoot, his federal bunch, and Joseph F. Smith became increasingly hostile toward Kearns. To Smoot's distress Governor Wells was friendly to Kearns, if not actually in his camp. As convention time rolled around in September 1904, the Salt Lake protest got under way seriously. A series of organizational meetings was held. Organizers named the movement the American Party, focused its opposition on Mormon leaders, condemned "apostolic power" and Mormon control of education, and demanded that pledges to abandon polygamy and cohabitation be honored. When the Smoot machine took control during the conventions, Kearns allied with the Americans. Former senator Frank J. Cannon, now in bitter opposition to the church, soon became editor of the Kearns-owned *Tribune*. With its essential elements in place, the American Party nominated a slate of candidates for state and Salt Lake County offices, supported the Republican cause nationally, and, with Cannon's invective aimed directly at Smoot, turned to a bruising fight.

Smoot and his supporters were badly frightened and ran a determined and ultimately victorious campaign. Agreeing with his lieutenant E. H. Callister that it "will never do to have a governor who is not your friend," Smoot opposed Wells's bid for a third term and waffled back and forth from Callister to businessman John C. Cutler, finally designating the latter as the machine candidate for governor in 1904.[2] In one of Utah's most rugged conventions, the Smoot machine carried Cutler over Wells, who in anger returned to banking but was later supported for a federal appointment by Smoot. Cache Valley's Joseph Howell was reelected to Congress, and a Republican legislature was elected that chose Sutherland as senator in January.

The Americans won no offices in the state election of 1904, but their showing made it clear they were a force to be reckoned with in Salt Lake City. In the December city school board election they drew first blood, electing Joseph Oberndorfer from the municipal Fifth Ward. With Kearns's newspaper opening a blistering path before them in the years that followed, the Americans continued to win city school board and municipal elections. Plans to extend the party's influence to the county and then the state never materialized, although the county became a major field of contest. American mayoral candidate for Salt Lake City Ezra Thompson beat very respectable Republican and Democratic candidates in 1905, and a majority of the city council belonged to the third party. When Thompson retired suddenly in the midst of a police scandal in 1907, businessman John S. Bransford was appointed to fill his term. Bransford was elected in his own right in the city elections of 1907, 1909, and 1911 notwithstanding budget overruns, various scandals, and the determined effort of the nonpartisan, nonsectarian Civic Improvement League to consolidate city and county government and advance the commission form of government that finally displaced the American administration after 1911.[3]

THE EFFORT TO GO STATEWIDE

While Salt Lake City was their power base, the American Party and the Kearns press seized upon a number of state issues in their bid for wider power. Of particular importance was the opening of the Uintah and Ouray Reservations to mining and homesteading. Due in some measure to the efforts of early senators Frank Cannon, Arthur Brown, and Joseph Rawlins, mining law had been modified by 1898 to provide long-term leases (ten years) in the Uinta Basin Indian territory and otherwise make reservations more available for white exploitation.[4]

During Kearns's term as senator (1901–4), the reservation issue continued to gather steam. September 1905 was set as a final date for placing the reservation's twelve to fifteen hundred Indians on individually owned allotments and opening upwards of a million acres to homesteaders from which a much smaller acreage of arable land was to be high-graded for individual Indians. As senior senator, Smoot was closely connected with the mechanics of the opening, as was Utah's land commissioner, William Richards. A land office at Vernal handled the actual entries, while Provo, Price, and Grand Junction, Colorado, were designated as registration towns. Interest was fevered in Utah and throughout the West. Nationally, the Country Life and Back to the Land movements were in full swing, creating a backdrop of moral support for the continuing takeover of Native American lands.

Wasatch Stake president William Smart issued what came to be known as the "reservation circular" to other Mormon stake presidents and bishops. In it, as the *Tribune* pointed out, he came close to issuing a church "call" for Mormon homesteaders and explained that he and his counselors were identifying the best land and developing connections in the land office to facilitate Mormon settlement. Thinking to do Smart's circular one better, Brigham City's stake president, Oleen Stohl, had it published, giving the *Tribune* a made-to-order opportunity to cry church-state interference.[5]

Thousands of would-be homesteaders gathered at the land offices in Provo, Price, and Grand Junction. As the drawing, applications, and site selection proceeded, the *Tribune* lobbed journalistic shells at Joseph F. Smith, Reed Smoot, and William Smart, accusing them of land fraud and conspiracy. The *Tribune*'s flaming headlines conveyed the essence of the attack. Typical was the yield for July 17, 1905: "Thwart Plans of Hierarchy," "Don't Permit the Theft of the Uintah Reserve," and "Church Scheme Has Been Revealed in Letter of the Wasatch Stake Presidency." August 2 was nearly as productive: "Word Is Obeyed to the Letter," "Hierarchy's Instructions to the Saints to Rendezvous at Provo Are Fulfilled," and "Eight Out of Every Ten Registered [Are] Mormons."

In Salt Lake City, civic groups, church organizations, the American Party, and its women's auxiliary joined the outcry. Under the direction of Mrs. A. V. Taylor,

American Party women worked to expose the inequities of the land drawing.[6] The furor notwithstanding, the drawings were finally completed, and some sixteen hundred homestead entries were initiated. Mormons and other homesteaders found no agricultural mecca, and the *Tribune*'s campaign failed to make the American Party a state force, but another bite had been taken out of Ute resources.

THE STOCKADE

A sensational chapter of American Party governance involved vice. Like other cities, Salt Lake was beset with gambling, drunkenness, and prostitution. An episode developed in connection with the latter that helped weaken the Americans and contributed to reforms that enabled the state to play down divisive conflict between local groups. This was the so-called stockade plan to concentrate and regulate prostitution.

For decades a downtown red-light district had existed on Commercial Street, later renamed Regent Street, between Main and State and First and Second South Streets. After the turn of the century, prostitution spread to other areas downtown. In addition to perhaps 100 women who worked in established houses of prostitution, as many as 300 plied their trade elsewhere in the city. City ordinances prohibited prostitution, but public and official sentiment appears to have been divided between those who called for rigid enforcement and eradication and those who, feeling that eradication was impossible, looked for ways to minimize prostitution's evils and, in some cases, to derive revenues from it.

Between 1908 and 1911 a fair number of American Party administrators and law enforcement officials were clearly in the latter camp. Police monitored the Commercial Street houses early in the American Party administration. A system of fines that approximated licensing existed. According to the *Deseret News*, about 135 prostitutes paid a ten-dollar monthly fine in the late summer of 1908. Police worked somewhat to contain prostitution and to clear the streets of streetwalkers and pimps.[7] In the eyes of some, prostitutes were unduly maligned. Western writer Frank Robertson fondly recalled the charity of Commercial Street girls during the period when he often passed through Salt Lake while moving as a "social derelict" from mining camp to construction job to shearing shed. Registered at the Salvation Army's Volunteers of America employment bureau on Commercial Street, he often passed the girls, who came to know him, "[calling] out cheerfully, 'Hey Slim, you had anything to eat today?'" Robertson did not need their charity but declared, "If I'd had to panhandle I would have started with the girls. Outside of Major and Mrs. [Tom] Mackey [who ran the Volunteers of America hall] . . . they were the only ones who cared. . . . I was a Mormon, and Salt Lake City was the headquarters of Mormonism, but not once did it occur to me to look up any of

the authorities. . . . I knew instinctively that all I would have got was a lecture on thrift."[8]

Police chief Tom Pitt made the first official reference to the idea of a stockade as a solution to the city's growing embarrassment. In his annual report for 1907 Pitt described the stockade as a means of removing vice from the city center. Although Pitt later withdrew his support, a movement to implement the stockade quickly ensued. A corporation called the Citizens Investment Company was franchised under state law and during the summer of 1908 bought west-side property and initiated construction that totaled about a half-million dollars. Front person for the operation was Dora B. Topham, otherwise known as Belle London, a notorious madam from Ogden, who reportedly held 90 percent of the stock in the undertaking.[9] Backing it, apparently with general approval of the entire city council, which was dominated by members of the American Party, were Mayor John Bransford, who as a private investor built a boardinghouse for off-duty prostitutes across the street, and council members Lewis D. Martin, an architect who drew up plans for the installation, and Martin E. Mulvey, "a rotund and jovial" Commercial Street saloon keeper.[10]

Construction proceeded quietly until mid-September. At that time more than four hundred unserved warrants issued by the city attorney drew Sheriff Frank Emery's attention, and he initiated a series of raids against Commercial Street houses and streetwalkers. At about the same time, the stockade's imposing walls and unfinished cribs also attracted attention. Newspapers finally got the story, and major articles appeared with background information on the Citizens Investment Company and details about the stockade. The *Deseret News*, the *Intermountain Republican*, and the *Salt Lake Herald* immediately protested. The *Tribune* and the *Telegram* hesitantly supported the American administration until December and then lashed out at the stockade policy.[11]

Salt Lake ministers vocally condemned the stockade, especially as prostitutes moved into the new facility in December. Antipolygamy reformer and Presbyterian W. M. Paden denounced police protection, as well as the system's supporters. Silver-tongued Congregationalist Elmer I. Goshen lamented the fact that the "social evil" seemed beyond suppression. Reverend P. A. Simpkin characterized the system as "a brutal scheme of cattle-pen segregation" and the stockade as a "leper-spot," urging parishioners to protest to the city administration and, failing in that, to petition the county. Worst of all, Simpkin objected, was "planting . . . the forbidden thing on the skirts of the great workingman's district." Mormon leaders indirectly opposed the stockade through the *Deseret News*.[12]

The stockade issue inevitably figured in the campaign of 1908. However, the opposition found it difficult to take full advantage of prostitution's potential as an issue. The extent of city administrators' involvement was unclear during the

campaign, and aside from city officials American Party leaders repeatedly condemned the stockade idea. Beyond that the stockade question was a city issue, and 1908 was a general election in which no city officers were up for reelection. Supported by *Goodwin's Weekly* and *Truth*, as well as the *Tribune* and the *Telegram*, the Americans continued to whale away at Mormon leaders and Smoot. The *Intermountain Republican* replied in kind, focusing on Kearns. The Democratic *Herald* let both the Republicans and the Americans have it. Without bringing its guns to bear on Bransford, the *Deseret News* condemned the stockade and the American Party but otherwise let others carry 1908's noisy campaign.

It truly was a wild election. At the American Party convention Frank J. Cannon demanded "prison or exile" for the "band of twenty-six" Mormon general authorities. The American Party denied any connection with the stockade and ran a full slate of Salt Lake County and state candidates. In a ploy to draw votes from both parties, they tinkered with a dual ballot, tying their county and state tickets to both the Republican and the Democratic presidential candidates.[13]

Republicans listened with delight as Sutherland described the Americans as "more a sickness" than a party.[14] The "cold and naïve" incumbent Republican governor, John Cutler, had run the state effectively for the previous four years, but being "unfortunate enough to believe that the people of" Utah "elected him," he had paid too little "attention to the crowd who had made him." As E. H. Callister put it, Cutler appeared not to "know the game." Smoot agreed that Cutler mismanaged his policies and appointments, so they cost the machine more votes than they gained.[15]

In the end, the Republican machine jettisoned the unfortunate Cutler, nominated Smoot lieutenant William Spry for governor, ran Cache Valley's durable Joseph Howell again for Congress, and fielded a full slate of state and county candidates. At low ebb Democrats nominated Samuel W. Stewart for the supreme court, Lyman R. Martineau for Congress, and after a futile attempt to entice the popular mining millionaire Jesse Knight to stand for governor substituted his son Will J. Knight.

Republicans scored an overwhelming victory in November. Smoot won a second term when the legislature met in January 1909, and Howell rejoined Smoot and Sutherland in the Washington delegation. Spry, who for the moment worked well with the Smoot machine and was popular among non-Mormons and Mormons alike, bolstered the party at home. The Americans won nowhere, not even in the December school board election, except for the redoubtable Joseph Oberndorfer of the municipal Fifth Ward who was unopposed.

For the American Party more severe blows soon followed. The elections over, city administrators publicly announced plans in December to move the prostitutes from Commercial Street to the stockade and promised to provide close police supervision. Almost immediately, a squabble flared. Police chief Tom Pitt withdrew

his support, refusing to oversee the removal of the prostitutes or to police them once moved, so Mayor Bransford replaced him with Sam Barlow. Bransford now acknowledged that the stockade had been his idea and argued that it would be "one of the best regulated districts" in the country.[16] City attorney J. J. Dininny stated his intention to block the mayor's plan, and other leaders in the American movement stood in opposition. Even the *Tribune* editorialized that Bransford's course ran counter to the law. But the mayor persisted, and Salt Lake City's prostitutes moved to the stockade.

For three more years and two additional elections, the Americans figured prominently in city politics. Mormon and polygamy issues were now supplemented by watershed problems and the stockade question. Newspapers shamelessly "traded name calling, criminal charges and sarcastic comments."[17] As a nonsectarian and nonpartisan force, the Civic Improvement League and other reform groups called for the adoption of a commission form of government and organized the Citizen's Party movement of 1909. Efficiency and honesty in government were continuing issues, as scandal and financial difficulty dogged American administrations.

Never particularly popular within the party, Bransford exacerbated internal factions and weakened external support for the party through his actions. Factions withdrew from the party. Reform-minded friends like Reverend Paden continued to harp on the matter of vice and the stockade. Repeated reports of police protection, together with Belle London's conviction for forcibly holding sixteen-year-old Dogney Lofstrom Gray as a prostitute in the stockade, disheartened other supporters, many of whom breathed with relief when the stockade closed late in 1911.[18] Ringing down the end for the American Party was the legislature's passage of a commission government act for first- and second-class cities in 1911 in an effort to reform the system that had contributed to the excesses of the American administrations.

PROHIBITION: BACKGROUND

Over the first two decades of the twentieth century, the reform impulse ran strong nationwide. Progressive reformers stressed democracy and distrusted special interests, power brokers, and political machines. With its opposition to political corruption, call for economic efficiency, and advocacy of the commission form of government, the Civic Improvement League reflected the reformist impulse, as did various insurgencies, including women's suffrage, direct election of senators, and conservation.

Progressive reform on the state level began in earnest during Spry's two terms as governor (1909–17). Within the nation Utah was in the forefront of states regulating women's and children's employment and wages and adopting the eight-hour day

for men working in the mines but fell far behind in political reforms such as direct election of senators and the initiative, referendum, and recall. In 1909 the legislature established a board to prevent the sale of contaminated food. In 1911 the legislature prohibited night work by children and limited the workweek of children in factories to fifty-four hours, excepting farmwork and domestic service. That same year women's employment was limited to nine hours a day, and in 1913 the state established a minimum wage for women, albeit a very low one. Also in 1913 the legislature established a state banking department.[19]

Among the reform movements in the years after 1908, Prohibition was particularly controversial and divisive. From early in the nineteenth century alcohol had repeatedly attracted reformers' attention. As the Progressive movement took hold, temperance became a key issue throughout the country. While it reached its climax with ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919, the temperance struggle played out largely on the state and city levels. For many years the Republican Party, which was often in power, but not by comfortable margins, took local option as the best liquor policy, letting states and municipalities decide who was wet or dry.

Utah had all the markings of a dry state but was nevertheless sharply divided over Prohibition. From the first Mormons had recognized their "Word of Wisdom's" proscriptions against alcohol as part of their religion. But for many Latter-day Saints, abstention was honored more in the breach than in practice. Dixie wine was legendary, consumed mostly in state, although some was doubtless exported to eastern Nevada mining camps. Other pioneer localities, remote and lost to social amenities, were noted for excessive drinking as well. With the boom of the 1880s and early 1890s, burgeoning cities, sheep camps, cow towns, and construction jobs all invited free and easy indulgence. Yet as polygamy waned, abstemiousness became increasingly the hallmark of Mormon peculiarity, and the Word of Wisdom was stressed. By 1894 some proposed writing a temperance clause into the state constitution. And as the temperance movement picked up momentum nationally, few issues possessed greater appeal to Mormons.[20]

Yet Utahns viewed temperance from a variety of positions. For some it was a threat to Utah's small but profitable brewing and liquor distribution industries and a signal that the Mormon determination to govern the state was entering a new phase. To others it was a heaven-sent opportunity to bring the problems of moral decay onto the political stage. To the Republican Party's beleaguered coalition of Mormons and moderate Gentiles, it posed almost impossible challenges. Would "prohibitory legislation" be taken as proof that "at the first opportunity," Apostle Smoot's party had enacted "the Word of Wisdom into law"? Would voters "wonder" what new "'blue law' Smoot would bring forth next from the *Doctrine and Covenants*?"[21]

An interesting case involved the 1903 "Drunk Bill" or "Booze Bill" introduced by Simon Bamberger, who with two other popular Democrats had survived the

overwhelming Republican landslide in 1902. Progressive in outlook, the Drunk Bill called for treatment of alcoholics at county expense. Bamberger argued that drunkenness was a "social disease and therefore a social responsibility." Benefits to society, he thought, would far exceed costs. The bill was widely opposed as "socialistic." Some denounced Bamberger as a dangerous radical. At this distance it seems in keeping with the Progressive bent later apparent in Bamberger's politics. Opposition to the Booze Bill centered more among urban legislators than among rural ones. Whatever the event, Democrat Bamberger took the defeat of his bill in good stead, letting a native flare for fellowship and witty antics (he hid the Speaker's gavel so it would be safe for the Democratic majority he was predicting for the next legislature) add to the esteem in which he was held.[22]

PROHIBITION, 1908

The temperance debate warmed up early in 1908. Few had yet recognized the question's explosive character, and not all knew the line of their best interest. In Washington national Republicans prudently chose to favor local option and a waiting game. In Utah Smoot-machine functionary and devout Mormon E. H. Callister, manager of the *Intermountain Republican*, ran a daily feature on the front page "whipping up" Prohibition.[23] In March Rev. W. M. Paden of the First Presbyterian Church declared that Mormons held the key to Prohibition in Utah. If they ever went after temperance aggressively, he promised, Protestants would help them where Mormons were not in the majority.[24] Church leaders responded cautiously. Many leaders discussed abstinence, some zeroed in on saloons and rejoiced that the spirit of temperance "bids fair to become universal," and others spoke of the economic costs of intemperance. Church president Joseph F. Smith asserted that church leaders were in complete harmony with the temperance movement and urged its support. But he called also for "local option and temperance" rather than outright Prohibition and made it clear that the church wanted "nothing drastic, nothing . . . illiberal or oppressive."[25]

Whether Smith wanted anything drastic or not, his rhetoric caused an angry outburst. Predictably, the *Tribune*'s explosion was extreme. In tying temperance to the Word of Wisdom, Mormon leaders showed themselves to be "a bunch of hypocrites"; they had fostered looseness from the first, and their "drugstore" at ZCMI was the foremost liquor outlet. Few would be duped by such "false pretenders."[26] A more compelling protest came from Ogden's Fred Kiesel. A Democrat and millionaire liquor distributor, Kiesel complained to Reed Smoot that the *Intermountain Republican* had been stirring up the Prohibition issue. In soft words that did little to obscure the steel of his intent, he advised the senator, "for your party," that to embrace Prohibition would be a personal as well as a political blunder that would cause the American Party to once again "break out." To avoid such "evils," Kiesel

suggested that "your party should not commit itself" to outright Prohibition, "until they do so nationally, but rather recommend a waiting attitude. . . . All we ask of you then is to keep down the present agitation in Utah and await developments."[27]

As he must have known, Kiesel's was a big order. Nevertheless, the approach spelled out by Kiesel became the policy of the Smoot machine and the Utah Republican Party. Supported by business interests both in and out of the church, and by the national party and with President Joseph F. Smith as silent partner, Smoot undertook to hold the temperance movement in check: for the next eight years he extolled "the virtues of temperance" and local option whenever Prohibition was mentioned. Mortally afraid of the American Party and the explosive hostility of anti-Mormonism nationally, Smith gave frequent lip service to Mormon involvement in Prohibition but at critical times dampened the fervor of his followers. It helped keep the shaky accord between Gentile and Mormon alive but made a near-lethal weapon of Prohibition.[28]

Smoot's tightrope walk was not easy, though. When in 1908 Governor John C. Cutler announced his candidacy for reelection and later made the fatal mistake of speaking out for Prohibition,[29] Smoot dumped him as the party candidate in favor of William Spry, who well understood the utility of wooing Gentile support and the need to sidetrack Prohibition.[30] Another pillar in the senator's local-option faction was Cache County's Joseph Howell, who was again nominated for Congress, bringing an undeviating loyalty to Smoot and the Republican Party along with a northern Utah team of his own, headed by Logan newspaperman Herschel Bullen.[31]

As the election approached, questions about the church's position sharpened when Apostle Heber J. Grant introduced a resolution at the October conference calling for Mormons to use their influence to have "such laws enacted . . . as may be necessary to close saloons, [and] otherwise decrease the sale of liquor."[32] With Taft running for president, a new candidate for governor, the steadfast Howell for Congress, a "no change" platform as far as liquor regulation was concerned, and (one suspects) an adequate campaign fund, the Republicans swept into office, including legislators pledged to reelect Smoot. For the moment, at least, Prohibition seemed under control. But if there was a lull, it was the quiet before a storm.[33]

Early in January 1909 as the legislature met, the storm broke when the Cannon Bill, "a stringent state-wide prohibition measure," was introduced in the House. Smoot's "no change" temperance policy came under heavy fire even as he was being reelected by the Republican legislature. Newspapers flayed him. Exposés portrayed him as a conspirator of diabolical cunning who first stirred up the liquor interests, let them buy him off, and, betraying principle, party, and voters, diverted the movement. Friends "denounced him" scathingly or "in sorrow." Fellow apostles "called him to repentance" or "castigated him in terms . . . reserved for Tom Kearns and Frank Cannon."[34] The most savage attacks came from A. S. Reiser, Nephi

Morris, and others styling themselves as "Prohibition Republicans" whose invective reflected Prohibition's divisive potential.[35]

Smoot took refuge, as was often his wont in times of stress, in Washington, DC, far from the madding crowd. At home E. H. Callister, James Anderson, James Clove, C. E. Loose, and others of the federal bunch took a much worse beating, as they held legislators in line one day and lost them the next. All but overwhelmed by seventy-five thousand signatures demanding statewide Prohibition, they faced a crack corps of Anti-Saloon League workers unconditionally committed to statewide Prohibition and headed by Charles W. Nibley (the "Richelieu of the church," James Clove dubbed him during the storm's fury), Heber Grant, and Protestant coworkers like Rev. Louis Fuller. Agonizing in the realization that in the worst of eventualities he was expected to veto Prohibition, William Spry told old friends that if "fanaticism" continued to mount, "burning at the stake would be in order in six months."[36]

In their correspondence to each other Smoot and his workers marveled that other Mormons failed to appreciate what to them was plain: a moratorium had to be called on the fight for Prohibition. Gentiles in Washington and Utah took the church's "October resolution" and the blitz that followed to be a clear case of "church domination of state."[37]

With the legislature under way, Smoot and his local managers made separate appeals to Joseph F. Smith in the forepart of February. Smith's response bolstered them all for the long haul. "Political operations," he wrote, "had crashed headlong into . . . moral fervor." The church itself was not in the fight. Church members were. At this point they could not be called off. On the other hand, Smith was by no means willing to "sacrifice" Smoot. Be patient and hold the line, he pleaded.[38]

The Cannon Bill was defeated in the state senate. Smoot supporters Henry Gardner and Carl Badger, respectively president of the senate and Smoot's former secretary, drafted bills setting up strictly regulated local option. In the last days of the legislature the Badger Bill made it through both houses, apparently to the surprise of Smoot, Spry, and other "no change" advocates. To the delight of the Utah and national brewery interests, Spry vetoed it on March 23 after the legislature had adjourned. Spry explained that laws giving local authorities the same power already existed, making the tougher Badger Bill unnecessary, but he evidently saw his veto as a concession to the liquor interests.[39]

PROHIBITION: LULL IN THE STORM

In 1910 the Prohibition issue was relatively quiet, as Mormon activists were reined in by LDS Church leaders. Heber J. Grant complained of being "muzzled," and Salt Lake Stake president Nephi Morris, an outspoken Smoot critic and avid prohibitionist, was silenced by general authorities.[40] As a result of local-option elections,

Provo and several smaller cities and rural counties went dry. Reformers worked with town boards and county commissions to shut down saloons and restrict liquor sales in drugstores. At the state conventions both parties wrote temperance planks, the Democrats endorsing outright Prohibition and the Republicans pledging enforced local option.

With the Republicans in control, a retooled local-option law was passed early in 1911, providing for local-option elections the following June in every incorporated town and city. On June 27 in the state at large, the drys won 39,766 to 31,477, but it was a hollow victory. Salt Lake City and Ogden voters rejected Prohibition, the former by a 14,008 to 9,327 vote. Without these two cities, no pretense could be made that Utah was dry. The election reportedly closed 101 of the state's 336 saloons. Of the remaining 235, 141 were in Salt Lake, 32 in Ogden, and 62 scattered in twenty-one camps and towns.[41]

In a sermon that suggests how deeply his ambivalence ran, Joseph F. Smith addressed the liquor question in October 1911. Describing the corporate arrangements under which the church's Hotel Utah was built and operated, he acknowledged that its amenities included a bar but blamed his listeners, who, he said, had not voted it dry during the local-option election. He argued it was better for travelers "who want to 'wet up'" to see the "beauties of Zion" from the vantage of the Hotel Utah than to have to "see everything that is not beautiful" from other watering spots.[42]

Smith's speech was widely seen as a strike against Prohibition. It indicates the extent to which the corporate values then transforming America, including the booster mentality and the profit motive, had seeped into the very heart of the church.[43] Indeed, the issues at hand may have cut as deeply into the Utah cultural milieu as had the Manifesto and the development of two-party politics.

The Prohibition movement met few great tests in 1912, but other developments continued to distance the dominant church from progressivism. Nationally, Theodore Roosevelt and the "Bull Moosers" bolted from the Republican Party, Woodrow Wilson brought new hope to the Democrats, and a three-way presidential race developed between President Taft, Wilson, and Roosevelt. Happily echoing B. H. Roberts's angry charge that Republicans had made Utah the most "boss-ridden, trust bound," and subservient "state of the Union," Democrats wrote a platform that embraced Wilson and a wide range of Progressive measures, including Prohibition, but nominated the slow-footed John Tolton for governor.[44]

The Smoot-dominated core of the Republican Party stood fast in all this. Boasting that "there are no half-breeds" among them (an allusion to Roosevelt's third-party attempt at the White House), they along with Joseph F. Smith backed Taft, rejected progressivism "lock stock and barrel," stayed with protectionist economic policies and local option, and concurred with President Smith that the constitution

ought to be defended from the "fads" of progressivism, paramount among which were proposals for "direct government."[45] Picking up on the constitutional theme at the LDS conference, other church leaders happily condemned progressivism by "implication and name." James E. Talmage claimed that of all dangerous counterfeits, none was worse than the "spurious brands of liberty and freedom" that were "being offered on every hand." Counselor Charles W. Penrose inveighed against the "multitudes" assuming functions delegated to representatives by the constitution and warned listeners not to tear out its "vitals."[46]

Nevertheless, Progressives made inroads into the Smoot machine. C. E. Loose, Smoot's business associate and longtime party worker, and William Glasmann, Ogden mayor and publisher of the *Evening Examiner*, defected to Roosevelt. Even worse were insurgents such as former senate president Stephen H. Love and the prohibitionist Nephi L. Morris, who ran, respectively, for Congress and governor on the Progressive Party ticket. A full-scale feud was also under way between Smoot's Utah party manager, E. H. Callister, and Governor Spry, who was building an independent power base more successfully than Cutler had done earlier.

Securing 37.7 percent of the vote, Taft carried Utah by 5 percentage points over Wilson.[47] Socialist Eugene V. Debs took 8 percent of the Utah presidential vote, and the Progressives ran well. But the Republicans retained control of the legislature and reelected Congressman Howell. They laid special significance to Spry's easy defeat of John Tolton, heartening themselves with the idea that it was a mandate for local option and a defeat for Prohibition.[48]

In 1914 Prohibition seemed at first glance far from the minds of Utah voters. The European outbreak of World War I, Wilson's mounting personal popularity, and Latin American and Mexican crises were much in the news. At home the Democrats needed to identify a center of gravity for a party badly divided between silver-tongued orators such as B. H. Roberts, perennial candidates William King and James H. Moyle, and "sugar daddies" Simon Bamberger, Samuel Newhouse, Jesse Knight, and A. W. McCune. Republicans were distracted by the Spry-Callister feud and needed to woo Prohibition Progressives like Nephi Morris and the Bull Moose followers of Ed Loose and William Glasmann from the "heresy" of 1912. Smoot faced the attractive Democrat James H. Moyle in a first-ever direct senatorial election. This challenge he met with a "great man" campaign, emphasizing his national reputation and association with top national Republicans. His pitch had a telling impact on Mormon voters. Prohibitionist leader John M. Whitaker grudgingly excused Smoot's local-option stand with the diary notation that the senator "is now reckoned the most competent legislator and powerful Chairman of Washington."[49]

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Nevertheless, wets and drys moved toward a shoot-out. National developments loosened the restraints on the back of the local-option policy that had so long guided Utah's Washington delegation. The Kenyon-Runyon Act of 1913 sought to regulate interstate commerce difficulties growing from the effort to stop the flow of liquor from wet to dry states. Locally, temperance-minded Mormons and Gentiles cooperated more easily.

John M. Whitaker, a capable commoner who had married a daughter of church president John Taylor, played a key role in this cooperation after he became president of the Utah Federation of Prohibition and Betterment Leagues.[50] Soon before this new period of activity began, Whitaker was invited to a temperance meeting on March 24, 1914. To his surprise he found it was a "meeting of Salt Lake Ministers," including Presbyterian reverend Frank Leonard, Methodist Episcopal reverend D. E. Carter, and a number of "Christian Endeaverers and Temperance workers." A Mrs. Oxhurst was chair, and Whitaker ended up speaking on how they could organize to "bring on national prohibition." He soon saw that people he had earlier taken to be enemies were friendly. The Anti-Saloon League of Salt Lake County was reorganized, and Lady Holder of the Women's Christian Temperance Union talked about Utah conditions and helped modernize the Anti-Saloon League organization. By mid-June Whitaker had a nonsectarian lecture series going in support of a local-option election in Murray. Speakers included Protestants H. W. Rehard, G. F. Goodwin, E. C. Mork, and H. L. Paige and Mormons E. S. Sheets, Joseph F. Merrill, and himself, who often worked together. By common consent both the meetings and the lectures "never allowed religion to be discussed. Only the one cause—prohibition."[51]

On October 3 the Federation of Prohibition and Betterment Leagues was in place. Consisting initially of twenty-one different organizations, the federation was nonsectarian and "without political bias." It sought to establish county organizations, promote national Prohibition, and pass statewide Prohibition laws in 1915. Although such prominent prohibitionists as Richard R. Lyman, George H. Brimhall, and Orson H. Hewlett raised some opposition, a resolution passed calling for pledged legislators and for a bill that would become state law only when ratified by a majority of voters. Whitaker was elected president; George Startup, an outspoken Provo candy manufacturer, as vice president; and Provo's Rev. Philip King as general secretary.[52]

During the rest of October the federation was active. By October 12 candidates for the legislature had been circularized, a preliminary list of approved candidates drafted, and interviews scheduled. On the seventeenth Michael J. Fanning, a national leader from Philadelphia, spent the day with Whitaker. On the twenty-second Whitaker met with Reed Smoot, explaining that the federation would not