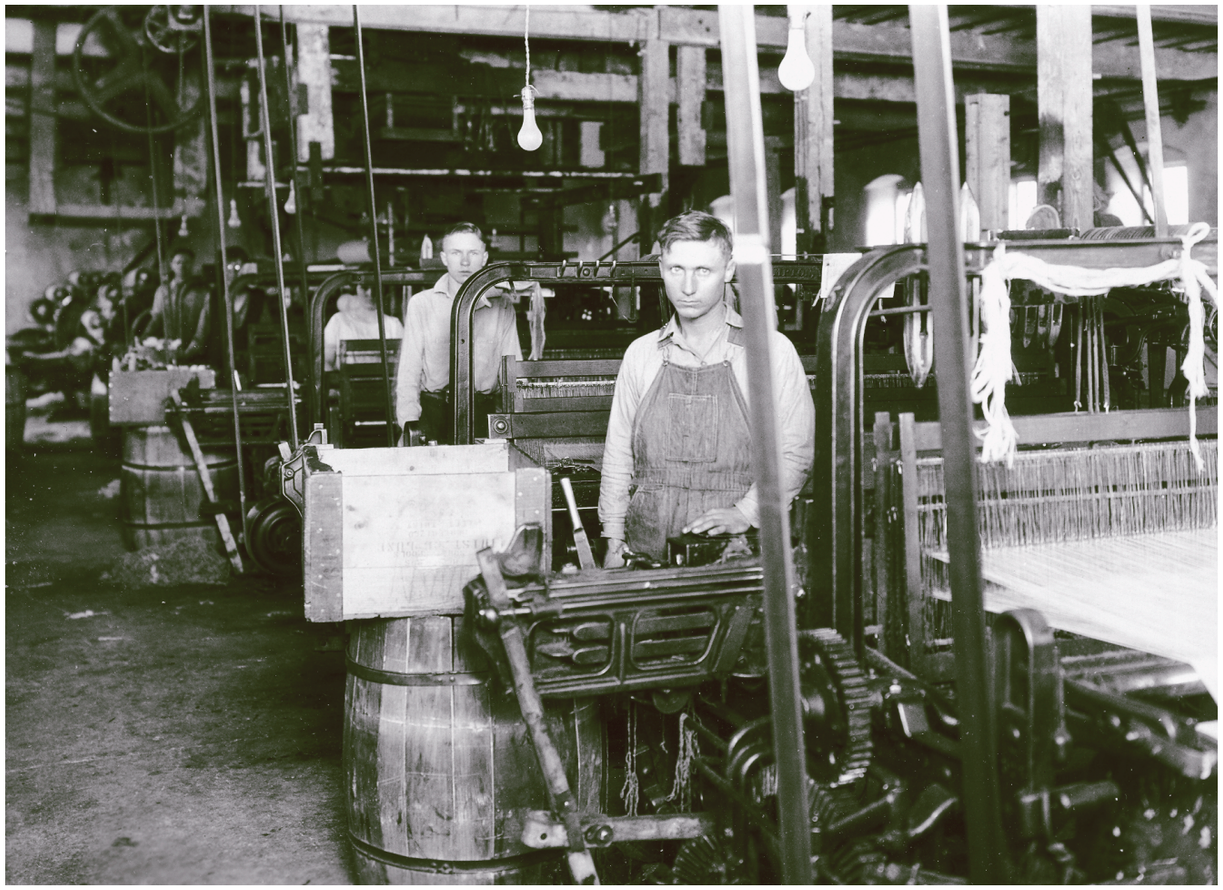
UTAH

HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

SPRING 2007 • VOLUME 75 • NUMBER 2



SPRING 2007 • UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY VOLUME 75 • NUMBER 2

UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

(ISSN 0042-143X)

EDITORIAL STAFF

PHILIP F. NOTARIANNI, *Editor*
ALLAN KENT POWELL, *Managing Editor*
CRAIG FULLER, *Associate Editor*

ADVISORY BOARD OF EDITORS

LEE ANN KREUTZER, Salt Lake City, 2009
STANFORD J. LAYTON, Salt Lake City, 2009
ROBERT S. MCPHERSON, Blanding, 2007
W. PAUL REEVE, Salt Lake City, 2008
JOHN SILLITO, Ogden, 2007
NANCY J. TANIGUCHI, Merced, California, 2008
GARY TOPPING, Salt Lake City, 2008
RONALD G. WATT, West Valley City, 2007
COLLEEN WHITLEY, Salt Lake City, 2009

Utah Historical Quarterly was established in 1928 to publish articles, documents, and reviews contributing to knowledge of Utah history. The *Quarterly* is published four times a year by the Utah State Historical Society, 300 Rio Grande, Salt Lake City, Utah 84101. Phone (801) 533-3500 for membership and publications information. Members of the Society receive the *Quarterly*, and *Currents*, the quarterly newsletter, upon payment of the annual dues: individual, $25; institution, $25; student and senior citizen (age sixty-five or older), $20; sustaining, $35; patron, $50; business, $100.

Manuscripts submitted for publication should be double-spaced with endnotes. Authors are encouraged to include a PC diskette with the submission. For additional information on requirements, contact the managing editor. Articles and book reviews represent the views of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Utah State Historical Society.

Periodicals postage is paid at Salt Lake City, Utah.

POSTMASTER: Send address change to *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 300 Rio Grande, Salt Lake City, Utah 84101.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Department of Community and Culture
Division of State History

BOARD OF STATE HISTORY

MICHAEL W. HOMER, Salt Lake City, 2009, *Chair*
PAM MILLER, Price, 2007, *Vice Chair*
PAUL ANDERSON, Salt Lake City, 2007
JOHN D. BARTON, Roosevelt, 2007
CLAUDIA F. BERRY, Midvale, 2009
MARTHA SONNTAG BRADLEY, Salt Lake City, 2009
SCOTT R. CHRISTENSEN, Salt Lake City, 2009
RONALD G. COLEMAN, Salt Lake City, 2007
CHERE ROMNEY, Salt Lake City, 2007
MAX J. SMITH, Salt Lake City, 2009
MICHAEL K. WINDER, West Valley City, 2009

ADMINISTRATION

PHILIP F. NOTARIANNI, *Director*
WILSON G. MARTIN, *State Historic Preservation Officer*
ALLAN KENT POWELL, *Managing Editor*
KEVIN T. JONES, *State Archaeologist*

The Utah State Historical Society was organized in 1897 by public-spirited Utahns to collect, preserve, and publish Utah and related history. Today, under state sponsorship, the Society fulfills its obligations by publishing the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and other historical materials; collecting historic Utah artifacts; locating, documenting, and preserving historic and prehistoric buildings and sites; and maintaining a specialized research library. Donations and gifts to the Society's programs, museum, or its library are encouraged, for only through such means can it live up to its responsibility of preserving the record of Utah's past.

This publication has been funded with the assistance of a matching grant-in-aid from the National Park Service, under provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as amended.

This program receives financial assistance for identification and preservation of historic properties under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. The U. S. Department of the Interior prohibits unlawful discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, age, or handicap in its federally assisted programs. If you believe you have been discriminated against in any program, activity, or facility as described above, or if you desire further information, please write to: Office of Equal Opportunity, National Park Service, 1849 C Street, NW, Washington, D.C., 20240.

UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

SPRING 2007 • VOLUME 75 • NUMBER 2

98 **IN THIS ISSUE**

100 **"…I am not and never have been a polygamist": Reed Smoot's Speech before the United States Senate, February 19, 1907**
By Michael Harold Paulos

116 **The Baron Woolen Mills: A Utah Legend**
By Rebecca Andersen

134 **The Beginnings of *The Journal of Discourses*: A Confrontation Between George D. Watt and Willard Richards**
By Ronald G. Watt

149 **Leo Haefeli, Utah's Chameleon Journalist**
By Val Holley

164 **"Leftward March": 1930s Student Liberalism at the Utah State Agricultural College**
By Robert Parson

183 **BOOK REVIEWS**

Levi S. Peterson. *A Rascal by Nature, A Christian by Yearning: A Mormon Autobiography*
Reviewed by William A. Wilson

John P. Hatch, ed. *Danish Apostle: The Diaries of Anthon H. Lund, 1890-1921*
Reviewed by Davis Bitton

Melvin C. Johnson. *Polygamy on the Pedernales: Lyman Wight's Mormon Villages in Antebellum, Texas, 1845 to 1858*
Reviewed by Newell G. Bringhurst

Kenneth W. Merrell. *Scottish Shepherd: The Life and Times of John Murray Murdoch, Utah Pioneer*
Reviewed by Jessie L. Embry

Jeffrey E. Sells, ed. *God and Country: Politics in Utah*
Reviewed by Douglas D. Alder

Colleen Whitley, ed. *From the Ground Up: The History of Mining in Utah*
Reviewed by Richard V. Francaviglia

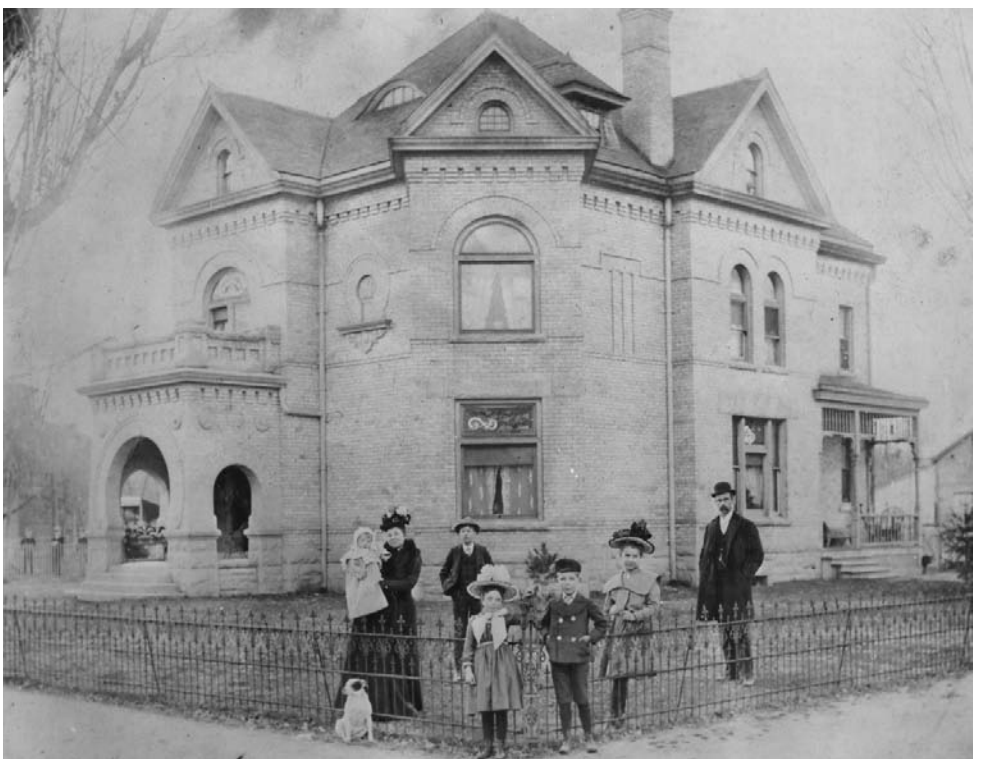
Duane Smith. *A Time for Peace: Fort Lewis Colorado, 1878-1891*
Reviewed by Edward J. Davies

Tom Rea. *Devil's Gate: Owning the Land, Owning the Story*
Reviewed by Ann Chambers Noble

198 **BOOK NOTICES**

© COPYRIGHT 2007 UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

IN THIS ISSUE



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

One hundred years ago the Panic of 1907 threatened the well-being of the United States as bank failures, widespread layoffs, and a severe dip in industrial production portended a serious economic depression for the country. On the eve of that crisis the United States Congress was preoccupied with the controversial seating of Utah's Republican Senator Reed Smoot. The four year struggle to seat Smoot after his election to the United States Senate in 1903 was one marked by intense controversy, religious and political zeal, and a drawn-out debate on the qualifications, conduct, and beliefs of an individual elected to the Senate. Smoot was challenged because of his position as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and unresolved issues regarding the continuation of Mormon polygamy. The climax of the battle came on February 19, 1907, when Smoot defended himself in an impassioned speech that addressed the issues of polygamy, separation of church and state, and states' rights. Just what impact the speech had on the final vote is unclear, but in the end the United States Senate voted forty-two to twenty-eight to permit Smoot to take his seat. He was elected to four more terms, serving as a senator until 1933. Our first article for the Spring 2007 issue includes the text of Smoot's 1907 speech and an overview of the four-year challenge to his seating in the Senate.

Our second article on the Baron Woolen Mills looks at one of Utah's pioneer industries that began as a component of the nineteenth century United Order movement launched in Brigham City under the leadership of Lorenzo Snow in the 1860s. As the cooperative movement came to a close, the Brigham City Woolen Mill did not cease, but carried on as part of the emerging Utah economy under the leadership of an English Mormon convert, James Baron and his descendants. The Baron Woolen Mills remained a viable part of the economy of the Intermountain West until near the end of the twentieth century.

One of the most valuable resources for students of Utah in the nineteenth century and the Utah phase of Mormonism is the *Journal of Discourses* published twice a month in Liverpool, England, from 1854 to 1886. The twenty-six volumes contain 1,438 speeches given by fifty-five people including 390 speeches by Brigham Young. It is ironic that this valuable collection grew out of a labor dispute between two Mormon stalwarts—Willard Richards and George D. Watt. Our third article examines the circumstances that led to the publication of the *Journal of Discourses* while revealing much about the nature of employment and compensation in pioneer Utah.

Leo Haefeli was also a part of Utah's early publishing history, earning his living as a schoolteacher and as a writer for local newspapers. Born in Switzerland where he was educated in a Catholic seminary, Haefeli immigrated to the United States and worked for a German-language newspaper in New York City. Just how he found his way to the Swiss settlement in Midway is not clear, but once there he became a member of the Mormon faith in 1875 and spent the rest of his life in Utah. Haefeli demonstrated an unusual talent for languages. His command and use of the English language was unexcelled by contemporary British or American writers. His skill in translating German and French writings into English was exceptional. Haefeli became a warrior in the pro-Mormon/anti-Mormon newspaper battles of the last decades of the nineteenth century. Haefeli was not a stalwart but switched sides as circumstances changed and opportunities arose. As our fourth article for this issue reveals, the appellation Utah's chameleon journalist fits the charismatic Haefeli.

Our final article for this issue also deals with the topic of journalism and writing as it examines the writings and activities of a group of students at Utah State Agricultural College in the 1930s whose liberal legacy is unveiled under the provocative title, "Leftward March."

LEFT: The Reed Smoot Family photographed in front of their Provo Home c. 1907
ON THE COVER: Workers inside the Baron Woolen Mills, Brigham City
PHOTO CREDIT: THE BARON FAMILY, BRIGHAM CITY

"... I am not and never have been a polygamist": Reed Smoot's Speech before the United States Senate, February 19, 1907

BY MICHAEL HAROLD PAULOS

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Reed Smoot hearings had a profound effect on the course of both Mormon and Utah history. Elected to the United States Senate in 1903, Smoot represented Utah in the nation's capital for thirty years.[1] For many Americans, Smoot became the face of Utah. Three years prior to Smoot's successful election to the Senate, he was called to be an Apostle in the LDS church, where he served for more than forty years. The unique juxtaposition for Smoot both as a senator and apostle helped open doors for his church within the country and abroad.[2] At the time of his death, Smoot was third in seniority among the LDS church apostles.

Reed Smoot symbolized what some Mormon historians have described as the "transition" period of the Mormon church as it grew from a local or regional church into an American religion.[3] The Reed Smoot hearings were a major catalyst in facilitating this transition.[4] The Smoot hearings attracted widespread attention as most American newspapers published frequent stories, front page in many cases, on the daily events and sensational testimony. Mormonism and its adherents were viewed with skepticism, and the controversy surround-

Reed Smoot, c. 1907.

Michael Harold Paulos is a MBA graduate student at the University of Texas in Austin and author of the forthcoming documentary history on the Reed Smoot hearings, to be published by Smith-Pettit Foundation/Signature Books. He would like to thank Alex Paulos, Rob Holland, Bruce Quick, Gary Bergera, and Tom Kimball for their helpful suggestions on the article.

[1] Smoot's five-term tenure as a senator from Utah is only matched by one other senator, Orrin Hatch, current senator from Utah who was re-elected for a sixth term in 2006.

[2] For examples, see John C. Thomas, "Apostolic Diplomacy: The 1923 European Mission of Senator Reed Smoot and Professor John A. Widtsoe," *Journal of Mormon History* 28 (Spring 2002): 130-65; Harvard Heath, "Reed Smoot: First Modern Mormon," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Brigham Young University 1990), 683-84.

[3] For the best study on the transition period, see Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

[4] For more on the impact of the Smoot hearings on Mormon and Utah history, see Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1991), and Heath, "Reed Smoot."

ing the hearings captured the American people's attention.[5]

The hearings were a painful ordeal for all involved—especially Republican Senator Reed Smoot, who was caught in the middle of the firestorm. The senator's voluminous correspondence throughout the hearings bespeak the anxiety, stress, and pressure under which he labored.[6] At one particular difficult time Smoot lamented, "I must admit that it is the hardest thing [Senate Hearings] that I have had to meet in life. I have thought a great deal over the situation, it has worried me until I can hardly sleep, I have prayed over it and have received no answer to my prayers satisfactory to myself…"[7]

The whole investigation was unpredictable and emotionally challenging for the senator and Smoot frequently recounted to friends and family the health problems and stress he encountered during the hearings. Smoot explained to President Joseph F. Smith, "I have thought at times that my letters would give…the impression that I was exceedingly blue and downcast, but that is not the case. It is true that at times the clouds look very dark and seem to hang very low, but as the days pass by the sunshine again appears...."[8]

The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections held hearings in Washington, D.C., on Reed Smoot's right to retain his elected seat. The decision to hold hearings was made after the committee received two protests from Utah. Some Utah residents considered the influence of the LDS church in business and politics to be excessive and a violation of the

"The Mill of the Gods," Salt Lake Tribune, Saturday, February 10, 1906. "The Whirlwind," Salt Lake Tribune, Monday, February 11, 1907. The Tribune caricatured the pressure Smoot was laboring under. Courtesy Brigham Young University Family History Center.

[5] For a recent study that discusses public opinion of Mormonism during the Smoot hearings, see Ian Shin, "'Scoot -- Smoot – Scoot': The Seating Trial of Senator Reed Smoot," *Gaines Junction: Undergraduate Interdisciplinary Journal of History* 3 (Spring 2005), 143-64.

[6] The Reed Smoot papers, which include his correspondence, are housed in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections at Brigham Young University.

[7] Reed Smoot to Joseph F. Smith, March 23, 1904, Smoot Papers.

[8] Reed Smoot to Joseph F. Smith, April 9, 1904, Smoot Papers.

principle of separation of church and state. They used the election and seating of Reed Smoot to bring national attention to their views. The first protest was filed early in 1903 by eighteen disgruntled Utahns. It contained six main charges and was twenty-six pages in length. Rather than attacking Smoot directly, the six charges were aimed at the Mormon church and its leadership and included the following:

1. The Mormon priesthood, according to the doctrines of the church, is vested with supreme authority in all things temporal and spiritual.
2. The first presidency and twelve apostles are supreme in the exercise and transmission of this mandate of this authority.
3. As this body of men has not abandoned the principles and practice of political dictation, so also it has not abandoned belief in polygamy and polygamous cohabitation.
4. That this is the attitude of the first presidency and apostolate, even since the suspensory Manifesto of 1890, is evidenced by their teachings since then.
5. This body of officials, of whom Senator-elect Smoot is one, also practice or connive at and encourage the practice of polygamy and polygamous cohabitation, and those whom they have permitted to hold legislative office have, without protest or objective from them, sought to pass a law nullifying enactments against polygamous cohabitation.[9]
6. The supreme authorities in the church, of whom Senator-elect Reed Smoot is one, to wit, the first presidency and twelve apostles, not only connive at violations of, but protect and honor the violators of the laws against polygamy and polygamous cohabitation.[10]

The protestors maintained their action was not because of "…malice or personal ill-will toward Apostle Smoot nor toward the people whom he seeks to represent in this high position. We wage no war against his religious belief as such…We accuse him of no offense cognizable by law, nor do we seek to put him in jeopardy of his liberty or property…."[11] John L. Leilich, signer of the first protest, also filed a second protest. [12] His protest included similar to those charges outlined in the first protest, but also accused Smoot of being a polygamist in violation of federal law and: " That the oath of office required of and taken by the said Reed Smoot, as an apostle of the said church is of such a nature and character as that he is thereby disqualified

[9] Post-manifesto plural marriages were a central theme of the Smoot hearings. Extensive attention was given to the unscrupulous plural marriage activities of many general authorities. Specifically, the testimony revolved around the conduct of Apostles Matthias Cowley and John W. Taylor. Defying senatorial subpoenas, Cowley and Taylor fled the country to avoid testifying before the Senate committee. The balky apostles' actions were viewed as de facto complicity in post-manifesto plural marriages. Many of Smoot's Republican colleagues in the Senate demanded that he and President Joseph F. Smith coerce the two apostles to appear in Washington. Efforts to persuade Taylor and Cowley to testify were unsuccessful. Cowley and Taylor resigned under duress from the Quorum of the Twelve in 1905. For more on this episode, see Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity*, 102-10; and Victor W. Jorgensen and B. Carmon Hardy, "The Taylor-Cowley Affair and the Watershed of Mormon History," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1980): 4-36.

[10] The full protest can be found in U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Priviledges and Elections. *Proceedings before the Committee on Priviledges and Elections of the United States Senate in the matter of the protests against the right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a senator from the state of Utah, to hold his seat*. 4 vols. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1904-1906), 1: 26.

[11] Smoot Hearings Vol. I: 25.

[12] Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identify*, 181. Reverend John L. Leilich was the superintendent of the Utah Methodist missions. The Leilich charges can be found in Smoot Hearings, Vol. I: 26-30.

from taking the oath of office required of a United States Senator…"[13]

The false charge that Smoot was a polygamist was based on hearsay, and ultimately wound up hurting the credibility of the petitioners and undermined their case against Smoot. Nevertheless, the Senate committee took each charge seriously and began the process of investigating Smoot. Arriving in Washington under a cloud of controversy and uncertainty, Smoot was allowed to take the oath of office on March 4, 1903, that began his term as a United States Senator.

The first formal meeting of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections was held on January 16, 1904, and testimony was initiated a month and a half later on March 2, 1904. Stenographers recorded the hearings, published as four volumes—a total of 3,432 pages. The Senate Committee completed its investigation on June 1, 1906. Although the majority of committee members were Republicans, as was Smoot, the committee voted recommending that Smoot not be allowed to retain his seat.[14] The committee recommendation did not prevail and eight months later, on February 20, 1907, the full Senate voted 42-28 to allow Reed Smoot to retain his Senate seat. The vote was considered by most Utahns as a vindication for both Smoot and the Mormon church.

During the eight month period between the adverse committee recommendation and the full Senate vote, at least eight Senators gave lengthy speeches on the Senate floor about the question.[15] Smoot received conflicting advice about speaking in his own defense. Carl A. Badger, Smoot's secretary during the hearings, recalled:

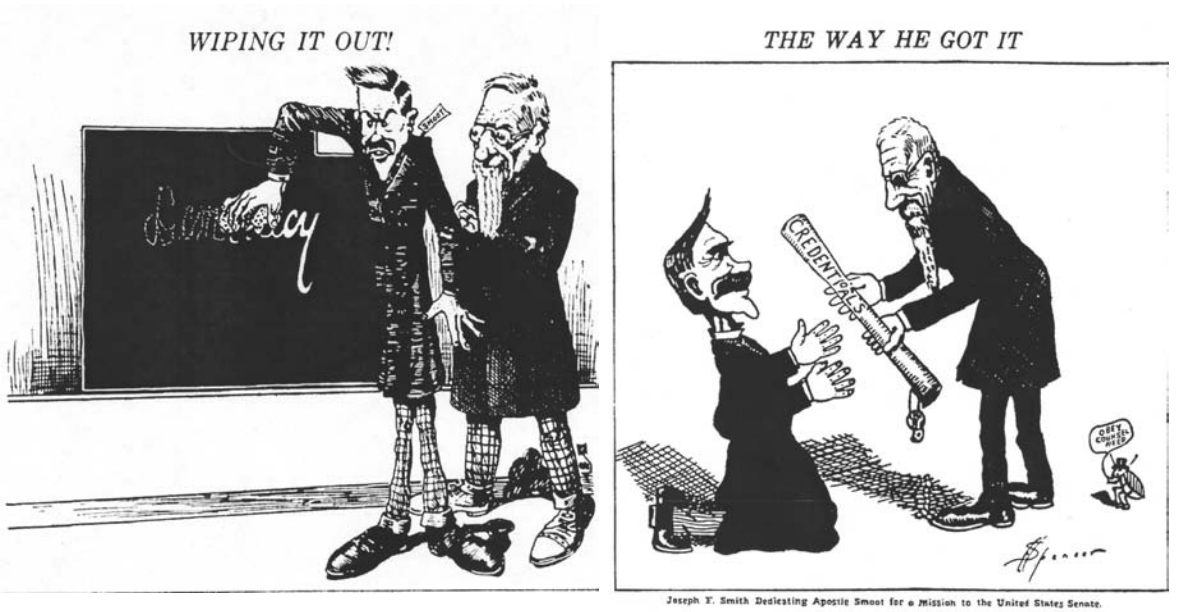
> The Senator has received conflicting advice as to whether he ought to speak; as to when he ought to speak; and as to what he ought to include in his speech. He has finally decided, however, that he will speak…he has James H. [Anderson] hunting up material, and he had me writing a little yesterday. He was writing, James was writing, I was writing, we were writing three...We have been trying to hold him down to forty minutes, I said thirty, but the Senator wants to talk for two hours. There is plenty to say, but the question is whether he can say it to advantage.[16]

[13] The Mormon temple endowment ceremony was also a central theme of the Smoot hearings. Sundry witnesses were called to Washington to testify on specific aspects of the ceremony. Two politically motivated Senators Julius Caesar Burrows (R-MI) and Fred T. Dubois [D-ID] used the Smoot hearings as a venue to grandstand against Mormonism. At every opportunity, Burrows pushed witnesses to disclose the endowment ceremony. Viewing the sum total of testimony, the witnesses' descriptions of the endowment ceremony correlated generally, but contradicted in specifics. The Leilich allegation of an unpatriotic oath was unsubstantiated and was never seriously considered.

[14] The Senate committee included seven Republicans and five Democrats. Two Republicans voted against Smoot including the Chairman, Senator Julius Caesar Burrows (R-MI) and Senator Jonathan Dolliver (R-IA). The committee vote against Smoot was seven to five.

[15] The eight senators giving speeches were the following, For Smoot: Albert Hopkins (R-IL), George Sutherland (R-UT), Philander Knox (R-PA), Reed Smoot (R-UT), and William Dillingham (R-VT); Against Smoot: Julius C. Burrows (R-MI), Fred Dubois (D-ID), and James Berry (D-AR).

[16] Carl Badger to Rose Badger, December 23, 1906. Quoted in Rodney J. Badger, *Liahona and Iron Rod* (Bountiful: Family History Publishers, 1985), 343. James H. Anderson was a politically active Utahn in Washington, D.C., during the hearings. In 1904, he served as the delegate from Utah to the Republican National Convention. See http://politicalgraveyard.com/bio/anderson5.html accessed December 28, 2005.



"Wiping it Out!", Salt Lake Tribune, Friday, November 9, 1906. "The Way He Got It," Salt Lake Tribune, Friday, March 2, 1906. Opponents of Smoot and the LDS church felt that Senator Smoot was stage-managed by President Joseph F. Smith. Courtesy Brigham Young University Family History Center.

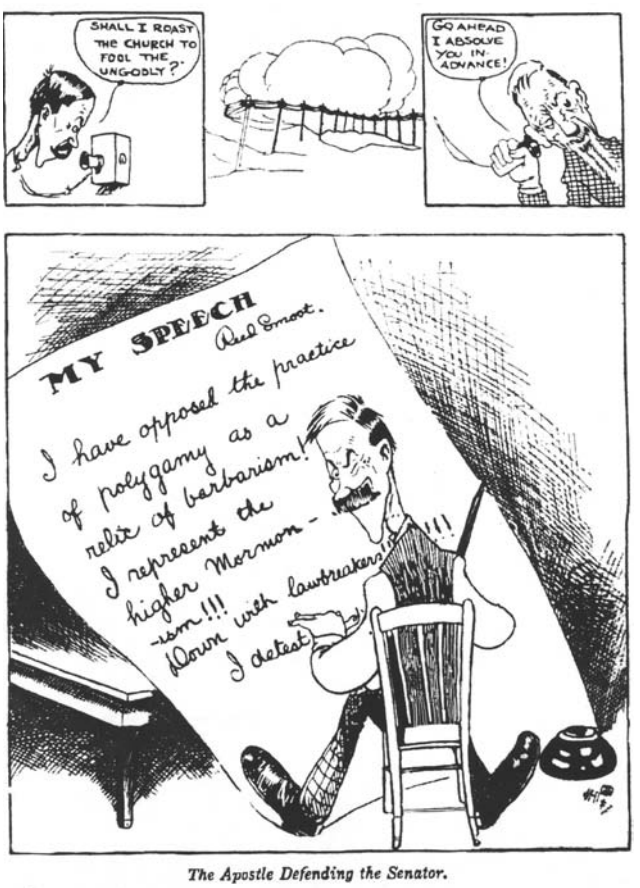
More than a month later Badger wrote, "the Senator has almost abandoned the thought of speaking…He has insisted that he must speak, and he has been worrying himself thin for the last two months in the travail of a speech…"[17] Despite the vacillation leading up to the Senate vote, Smoot gave his prepared speech on the Senate floor Tuesday, February 19, 1907. The speech was approximately thirty minutes in length. A proud Carl Badger reported:

> The Senator spoke very well…better than I have ever heard him speak, and better than I had expected him to speak. He read me his speech before he went to the Senate Tuesday morning. He was very nervous and seemed worn out to me; his voice did not carry well and seemed to be husky. But when he stood up in the Senate and got under way, he showed energy and decision; his voice carried to the farthest nook of the Senate; he was bold and aggressive; his enunciation was distinct; and everything considered he did remarkably well…The Senator was listened to attentively, and when he got through he received a number of congratulations. The Senator [Smoot] says that [Senator] Lodge [R-MA] said: "My G--! But it was impressive…"[18]

In his speech Smoot cogently rebutted the more pungent charges leveled against him and the Mormon church. At the beginning of his speech, Smoot adamantly refuted the charge that he was or ever had been a polygamist. Then, using LDS church generated statistics, Smoot presented his view that plural marriage since the manifesto was waning, and that as the older generation of polygamists passed away the practice would cease. In making this argument, Smoot conceded that some post-manifesto marriages had been

[17] Carl Badger to Rose Badger, February 3, 1907. Quoted in Badger, *Liahona and Iron Rod* 362.
[18] Carl Badger to Rose Badger, February 21, 1907. Quoted in Badger, *Liahona and Iron Rod* 368.

performed, but minimized these indiscretions by stating they were "sporadic and not systematic." The Apostle-Senator then countervailed the charge made against the church that the Endowment ceremony contained a disloyal oath, subversive to being an upright citizen. Explaining the sacred nature of the temple ceremony, Smoot gingerly denied the oath's existence. Bolstering his argument against the charge of disloyalty, Smoot enumerated several examples of Utahns since statehood (some eleven years) that exhibited loyalty to the United States—citing examples of Utah soldiers who had fought and died in the Spanish American War as well as the Philippine Insurrection. Closing his speech, Smoot unequivocally pledged his own personal loyalty, "I owe no allegiance to any church or other organization which in any way interferes with my supreme allegiance in civil affairs to my country—an allegiance which I freely, fully, and gladly give."



"The Apostle Defending the Senator." The Salt Lake Tribune's depiction of Reed Smoot writing his speech. Salt Lake Tribune, January 29, 1907. Courtesy Brigham Young University Family History Center.

Full text of Senator Reed Smoot's speech on senate the floor, Tuesday, February 19, 1907 follows:

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, in what I shall say to the Senate I do not intend to analyze the voluminous testimony taken before the committee or to make an argument thereon. The greater part of this testimony has been before the Senate for more than two years, and all of it for nearly one year. It has been fully argued by the distinguished Senators who have already spoken upon this question.

My own testimony, covering more than 125 pages of the record, is before you, and I do not feel that I should trespass upon your time by indulging in any extended discussion. Indeed, I should have been content to submit the case upon the record and speeches made by others, without saying anything

myself at all, except that there are certain matters which can be known only to myself; and I think that the Senate is entitled to a frank statement from me as to my personal attitude respecting those matters. The Senate is entitled to know my personal attitude upon the subject of polygamy and upon the subject of loyalty to this Government. Upon these two matters I shall express myself briefly, but with entire candor.[19]

First, I desire to state as I have repeatedly heretofore stated, to the Senate and to the country that I am not and never have been a polygamist. I never have had but one wife, and she is my present wife, and I deem it proper to further state that I have never taught polygamy.

There has been a more or less prevalent opinion that the doctrine of polygamy was obligatory upon the members of the Mormon Church, whereas, in truth and fact, no such obligatory doctrine has ever existed. The revelation concerning polygamy, as originally made and as always interpreted, is permissible, and not mandatory. As a matter of fact, only a small percentage of the adherents of that faith have ever been polygamists. The vast majority of the adult members of the church, from its foundation to the present time, have been monogamists.[20]

The Mormon people, however, regarded this doctrine, although permissible in character, as part of their religious faith, and when the law was passed denouncing its practice the execution of the law was resisted on the ground that it was unconstitutional as being an interference with their religious liberty. Appeals were taken to the highest courts of the land, every phase of the subject was tested in the courts, and the law was upheld. Then the church adopted the manifesto against polygamy, which was ratified by the general conference of the people, and thereupon the practice of polygamy for the future was abandoned.[21]

[19] Smoot testified before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections on January 20, 21, and 23, 1905.

[20] Smoot's assertion that plural marriage was not "obligatory upon members of the Mormon Church" was not entirely accurate. As a politician Smoot presented his personal understanding with spin on a complex issue. Though plural marriage was initially reserved for a select few and not obligatory, the so-called principle was later elevated to the defining practice of Mormonism. Many nineteenth century church leaders taught that plural marriage was necessary for salvation. For more on the history of polygamy, see B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992) and more recently, B. Carmon Hardy, "That 'Same Old Question of Polygamy and Polygamous Living:' Some Recent Findings Regarding Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Mormon Polygamy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 73 (Summer 2005): 212-24.

[21] Smoot's interpretation of the manifesto as a logical outgrowth of Supreme Court decisions rather than as an authentic revelation was similar to President Joseph F. Smith's position. In fact, President Smith testified on this topic at the hearings:

"The Chairman. There is one thing I do not understand that I want to ask about. This manifesto suspending polygamy, I understand, was a revelation and a direction to the church?

Mr. Smith. I understand it, Mr. Chairman, just as it is stated there by President Woodruff himself. President Woodruff makes his own statement. I can not add to nor take anything from that statement.

The Chairman. Do you understand it was a revelation the same as other revelations?

Mr. Smith. I understand personally that President Woodruff was inspired to put forth that manifesto.

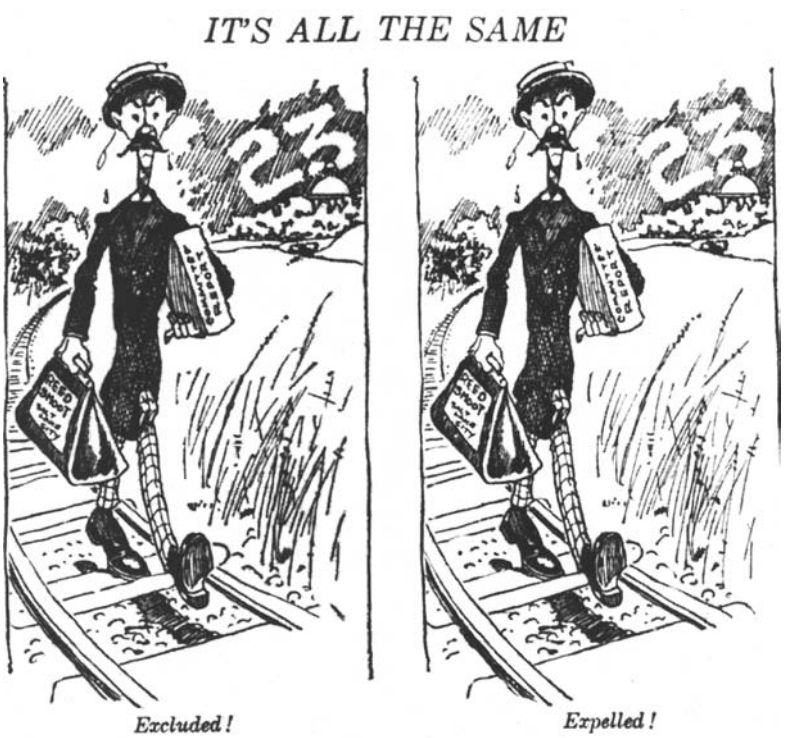
The Chairman. And in that sense it was a revelation?

Mr. Smith. Well, it was a revelation to me.

This manifesto, adopted in 1890, discontinuing plural marriage, has been presented and discussed in church conferences repeatedly, sent out in the church book, The Articles of Faith, and in many other publications issued by the church, such as text-books for the various quorums, manuals for the mutual improvement associations, Sunday schools, primaries, conference proceedings, etc., and in that way has been much more widely circulated than the original revelation on marriage. Consequently its text, tenor, and purpose in prohibiting marriages violative of law are known to every member of the church in every part of the world.[22]

But the practice, which had prevailed in the period previous to 1890, left a heritage for the succeeding period that was a grave problem. There were in 1890 about 2,451 male members of the Mormon Church who had polygamous families. That these were placed in a position of difficulty was recognized by all who were familiar with conditions. The present conditions in reference to polygamous cohabitation have grown out of past conditions, and both must be considered together to fully understand the toleration exercised by most of the people of Utah, Mormon and non-Mormon alike.

The status of the men who had entered into the plural marriage relation before the issuance of the



"It's All The Same." Salt Lake Tribune, Wednesday, June 13, 1906. The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections voted against Smoot, but demurred on if he should be excluded or expelled. Courtesy Brigham Young University Family History Center.

The Chairman. Yes.

Mr. Smith. Most emphatically…" Smoot Hearings, Vol. I: 108.

It is interesting to note that many Latter-day Saints today consider the Manifesto to be a freestanding revelation, and not the upshot of decades of oppressive legislation and adverse adjudications. For the most erudite treatment of the events leading up to the Manifesto, see Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century Utah* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolin Press, 2002).

[22] Smoot does not mention here that the Manifesto had not yet been included in the published Doctrine and Covenants. The first time the Manifesto appeared in the Doctrine and Covenants was 1908. See Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Brigham Young University, April 1974), 1825-33.

manifesto had been fixed before that time. There was no power in the church or in the law to change that existing fact. What had been done had been irrevocably done. The only question was as to the future. What should be the attitude of the people toward the future relations of those who had entered into the polygamous status before the manifesto? This problem was a serious and perplexing one.

At that time all the machinery of the courts in the Territory was in the hands of non-Mormon officials who had been vigorous in the prosecution of polygamous relationships. These recognized the vexed nature of the situation and extended the olive branch, as it were. As a relief in this dilemma came an exercise of forbearance on the part of prosecuting officers. The three assistant United States district attorneys for that period were E. B. Critchlow, Frank B. Stephens, and William M. McCarty.[23] Judge McCarty was inclined to continue prosecutions in some cases, but the United States district attorney refused to allow his accounts therefor [sic] and he ceased. Mr. Critchlow was the writer of the principal protest in this case and one of its signers. All of these and other Government prosecuting officers testified before the committee to the cessation of prosecutions against then existing polygamous relations, and of the general sentiment among the non-Mormon population that that was the best and quickest way to get rid of the whole question—to let the old-time relations naturally end in death. There was a general acquiescence by the people, both Mormon and non-Mormon, in this method of solving the problem. And this method is working out a complete and final solution.

At the time the manifesto was adopted there were 2,451 polygamous households in the church. Careful statistics have been taken and preserved, and will be found in the testimony, which show that this number has gradually decreased until there was at the time the testimony closed not to exceed 500 such households in existence.[24]

There are twenty-six general authorities of the Mormon Church, including the first presidency, patriarch, apostles, first council of seventies, and presiding bishopric. In 1890 this list of officials was composed of twenty-three polygamists and three monogamists.[25]

[23] Critchlow testified at the Smoot hearings on March 10, 11, and 12, 1904. Critchlow moved to Utah in 1873. He was appointed to be assistant United States attorney in 1885 and 1890. For his full testimony, see Smoot Hearings, Vol. I: 542-687. Stephens testified at the Smoot hearings on January 24, 1905. Stephens moved to Utah in 1888; appointed to be assistant United States attorney from 1891 to 1893. Stephens was also elected to be city attorney of Salt Lake City in 1900 and 1901. For his full testimony, see Smoot Hearings, Vol. III: 344-400. McCarty testified at the Smoot hearings on January 16 and 17, 1905. A native of Alpine Utah, he was not Mormon. McCarty was appointed to be assistant United States district attorney in 1889; elected to be a Sevier County attorney in 1892 and 1894; elected district judge of sixth judicial district in 1895 and 1900; elected to be associate justice of Utah Supreme Court in 1902. For his full testimony, see Smoot Hearings, Vol. II: 878-933, 949-50.

[24] The 1890 number of 2,451 was internally tabulated by the Mormon church and included only polygamists living in the United States. The Senate committee accepted these figures. Other numbers for polygamists presented at the proceedings include: 1899—1,543; 1902—897; 1903—647. The 500 polygamists figure was an extrapolation from the foregoing years. See Smoot Hearings, Vol. I: 38.

The first presidency and council of apostles, prior to my selection as an apostle in 1900, was composed of ten polygamists and five monogamists. In 1906 these same quorums comprised five polygamists and ten monogamists. Of the fourteen general authorities chosen since 1890, only two were polygamists, the other twelve being monogamists.

Of the seven apostles chosen since April, 1900, when I was named, only one was a polygamist, the other six being monogamists. The only polygamist chosen an apostle since l897 is now 75 years of age, and entered into that relationship before the manifesto. At the time of his selection as an apostle his youngest child was 22 years of age. He has been a member of the church for over half a century, performing faithful and distinguished church service during most of this long period. It was on account of his long, faithful service that I voted for him to be an apostle. Nothing would have induced me to have voted for him if he had been guilty of taking a plural wife since the manifesto.[26]

Of the 96 members of presidencies of stakes (ecclesiastical subdivisions) in 1890, 47, or about one-half, were polygamists. Of 165 such prominent church officials in 1906—the increase in number being because of the creation of new "stakes"—only 16, or less than 10 percent, were polygamists.

But, Mr. President, it is claimed that there have been new cases of polygamous marriage since the manifesto, and this presents altogether a different question.

I have no hesitation, Mr. President, in declaring to the Senate and to the American people that, in my opinion, any man who has married a polygamous wife since the manifesto should be prosecuted, and if convicted, should suffer the penalties of the law; and I care not who the man might be or what position he might hold in the church, he should receive the punishment pronounced by the law against his crime.

The testimony taken before the committee tends to show that there have been some polygamous marriages since the manifesto. I believe sincerely, Mr. President, that such cases have been rare. They have not

[25] In 1890 twenty-five of the twenty-six general authorities had married plural wives at some point in their lives. Smoot was accurate in stating that there were three living monogamously. Called to be an apostle in 1889, Anthon Lund had never practiced plural marriage. The other two monogamists were Presiding Bishop William B. Preston and Patriarch John Smith. In 1900 fourteen out of fifteen members of the First Presidency and Council of Twelve had at one time practiced plural marriage. Only Anthon Lund and Rudger Clawson were considered monogamists in 1900. In 1906, eight out of fifteen members of the First Presidency and Council of Twelve had practiced plural marriage at one time. Sixteen new general authorities were called after 1890, ten of whom were lifetime monogamists. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1997), 641-725.

[26] Smoot is referring to Apostle Charles W. Penrose. Penrose was ordained an apostle on July 7, 1904. Penrose had two plural wives on this date of ordination (his first legal wife had passed away in January 1903). At the time of his selection to the Quorum of the Twelve, Penrose was the editor of the *Deseret News*. The Penrose ordination to the apostleship received a great deal of traction in the Smoot Hearings. Penrose testified as a witness in Smoot hearings on Saturday December 17, and Tuesday, December 20, 1904. For his full testimony, see Smoot Hearings, Vol. II: 254-65, 438-44.

received the sanction or the encouragement of the church. They have been sporadic and not systematic in their occurrence.[27]

In respect to the thoroughness of the search made by the committee for such violations of the law, a witness before the committee testified that he had been employed since 1898 in hunting down such cases; that he "had undoubtedly the closest information possible" on this matter. This witness gathered and presented all the rumors, intimations, and suspicions he could discover of new polygamous relations in the United States, Canada, Mexico, or elsewhere, and the whole number thus suggested, though not proved, is less than an average of two cases for each year since the manifesto in all these communities, numbering over 300,000 people.[28]

In most of the cases where rumor attached to persons a violation of the law, such persons are and have been fugitives from justice, and the alleged marriages have none of them been charged to have occurred within the jurisdiction of the United States. In but one instance was there direct proof of the plural marriage, and this, it was testified, occurred in Mexico, where the parties, after importuning an apostle then in charge of the Mexican mission to marry them and being refused, went 75 miles to another apostle, who was visiting the mission, and, as far as the testimony shows (the apostle is dead), without his knowledge that there was a previous marriage and a living wife of the man, secured his consent to marry them.[29]

[27] Smoot's opponents posited approximately twenty cases of post-manifesto marriages throughout the hearings. The evidence from testimony on these marriages was contradictory and unreliable. Mormon historian Carmon Hardy compiled a tentative list of 262 post manifesto plural marriages between the years 1890 and 1910. See Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 389-93. D. Michael Quinn and Kenneth Cannon II found evidence for 156 and 250 post-manifesto marriages respectively. See D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriage, 1890-1904," *Dialogue* 18 (Spring 1985): 9-105; and Kenneth L Cannon II, "After the Manifesto: Mormon Polygamy 1890-1906," *Sunstone* 8 (January-April 1983): 27-35. Given the weight of evidence mentioned here, there were certainly more plural marriages than Smoot believed. I do not question Smoot's sincerity here, as the majority of these marriages were authorized and performed clandestinely. Smoot was adamantly opposed to polygamy and, therefore, likely would not have been informed about illicit post-manifesto marriages. Moreover, after his election to the Senate in 1903, Smoot spent the majority of his time in Washington, D.C., far from Utah. It is likely that if Smoot had been apprised of post-manifesto marriages, he would have denounced them and perhaps resigned his apostleship. Discussing this topic, Smoot historian Harvard Heath points out, "Without Smoot's diaries for this period, it is left to speculation as to the extent of his knowledge of the allegations. However, evidence seems to indicate he was unaware of much that … other elder members of the Quorum of the Twelve surely knew. It seems apparent that Smoot was only told on a need-to-know basis. He seemed burdened enough with what was known without placing greater worries on his shoulders by having those who knew more tell more. It is very likely Smoot knew more than he revealed to anyone." Heath, "Reed Smoot," 190-91.

[28] Smoot was likely referring to Charles Mostyn Owen, who was hired in 1899 to spy on suspected Mormon polygamists. Owen was hired by the *New York Journal* to act as a correspondent in the anti-B.H. Roberts campaign, when Roberts was elected and subsequently excluded from Congress. Mormon people despised Owen for his unscrupulous activities. President Joseph F. Smith obliquely referred to Owens as a "spotter and informer." For Owen's testimony at the Smoot hearings, see Smoot Hearings, Vol. II:395-405, 412-438.

[29] The apostle referred to by Smoot was Brigham Young Jr. This tenuous story was unfolded to the committee by Mrs. Clara Mabel Barber Kennedy, who was seventeen years old at the time of the plural marriage. Mrs. Kennedy's testimony that Brigham Young Jr. performed the plural marriage was impeached. See Smoot Hearings, Vol. I: 388-408.

If any of these cases, resting as they do at the present time upon rumor and suspicion, are actually cases of attempted assumption of polygamous relations, such attempt is not only without the sanction and approval of the Mormon Church, but is in the face of, and in defiance of, its most solemn protest and admonition.

The forbearance displayed toward old relations does not apply to persons who might seek to form new relations; toward the latter there is the most determined hostility and aversion.

The Mormon church has stopped plural marriages, and no polygamous relation assumed subsequent to 1890 is with the permission, sanction, or approval of the church; that is final and fixed. Every such violation of the law has the express condemnation of the church. The manifesto of 1890 was submitted to and approved by the conference of the church—which means by the body of the members of the church—and it remains the law of the church, binding upon every officer thereof, however high. It can-not be repealed, modified, or suspended except by the same power that enacted it.[30]

Reference has been made to an alleged treasonable obligation which it is sought to claim is a part of the Mormon endowment ceremonies. The Senate will understand that these ceremonies are of a sacred character to those participating in them and are therefore not divulged. They were instituted in the Mormon Church by Joseph Smith, sometime prior to his death, and are yet given as part of the temple ceremonies; being of a religious, spiritual character, they are for the living and for the dead, a part of the Mormon belief being vicarious performance of ordinances and ceremonies.

There does not exist in the endowment ceremonies of the Mormon Church the remotest suggestion of hostility or of antagonism to the United States or to any other nation. They are of a purely religious nature, wholly between the person taking them and his God, and, as with the ritual of various fraternal organizations, regarded as sacred and secret.

Comment has been made on the fact that upon one occasion, before the year 1890, a single district judge in Utah—one of four such judges, Judge T. J. Anderson—refused to naturalize several Mormons because of an alleged endowment oath. But your attention was not then called to the significant fact, shown by undisputed testimony before the committee, that not only did the other judges not agree with him, but that within a month after rendering the decision referred to the same judge admitted to citizenship Mormons who had received the endowment ceremonies, and he never again refused them.

[30] Smoot is reiterating the same nuanced argument made by President Joseph F. Smith before the Senate committee. Smith's testimony before the Senate committee stated this point on several different occasions; leading many to conclude that President Smith was lying. Smoot historian Kathleen Flake has argued persuasively that by stating that the "church," rather than its members, did not authorize, consent, sanction, or have knowledge of any post-manifesto plural marriages, President Smith and by extension, Senator Smoot were technically able to retain honesty. See Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity*, 76.

It is also significant that this decision was rendered in Salt Lake City shortly before an important and bitterly contested municipal election—the contest being between pro-Mormon and anti-Mormon parties. And never again during the six years before Utah was admitted as a State, was it attempted to prevent the naturalization of a Mormon on these grounds.

Adverting to the religious and spiritual character of those ceremonies, it is conceded that such character in ceremonies often has an influence on the conscience and conduct of the persons concerned. There is not a solitary instance where that influence in the endowment ceremonies has been displayed in an act of hostility to the Government. If any effect has been wielded, it has been for the most devoted loyalty to our own nation.

The application in this respect, as to the loyalty of the Mormon people, can be brought home readily by an illustration within our own knowledge. We will pass by the incident of the Mormon exiles from Nauvoo furnishing a battalion for the United States Army in the war with Mexico; the action of the Utah pioneers in raising the American flag in the Salt Lake Valley when that was Mexican soil; the fidelity of Utah to the Union during the civil war. Come to the period of the Spanish American war and the insurrection in the Philippines—all, within our personal recollection.

Mr. President, we are grateful to the men who, on the field of battle, offer their lives, a noble sacrifice for the honor of the nation and the glory of the flag. Whether they pass unscathed amid the storms of shot and shell to ultimate victory; whether they return with maimed and scarred bodies; or whether they meet the angel of death in facing their country's foe, we give to them unstinted praise for their heroism which has made the American flag respected in every nation upon the globe and has placed our own America the foremost of earth's Governments in maintaining the sacred principles of freedom and human rights. Such actions on the part of American soldiers are a proof of fidelity, of loyalty, that is beyond controversy; and well it may be.

The State of Utah came into the Union eleven years ago.

Scarce two years had passed when there appeared on our national horizon the cloud of war with Spain. You all know the causes and the results. When the nation's chief, the late President McKinley, called for volunteer's to uphold the honor and dignity of the American flag in the struggle which was at hand. Utah was neither last nor least in the ranks of patriotic response. Side by side, shoulder to shoulder, with every other State in the Union, she furnished her full quota of American soldiers and offered more.

There was no question of religious distinction or dispute then. The Utah Light Artillery was composed of men of differing religious beliefs, including orthodox Mormons who had partaken of their church rites known as the "endowment ceremonies." Maj. Richard W. Young, the commanding officer

[31] Richard W. Young was a grandson of Brigham Young, and a prominent figure in Utah at the turn of the century. Young graduated from West Point and Columbia College law school. Young testified as a witness for Smoot at the hearings on January 17 and 19, 1905. At the time of his testimony, Young was President of the one of the four LDS stakes in Salt Lake City.

of the Utah Light Artillery, was one of these.[31] Sergt. Harry A. Young and others who gave up their lives for the flag were of this number.[32] And in so far as these endowment ceremonies may have relation to this Government, an unreserved and indisputably accurate interpretation is given by the record of the Mormons mustered into the Utah Light Artillery, which served in the war with Spain and during the subsequent Philippine insurrection. No man has a right to question that interpretation; no true American will do it; it is inscribed in letters of fire by the history of many a battlefield.

It is not my province to describe the operations of the Utah Light Artillery in the Philippine Islands during 1898 and 1899. There is no hint or suggestion on my part that they were better than any other organization. They were the same as the men from Pennsylvania, California, or the States of the mountains and the plains. The reports of the commanding general have an oft-repeated expression: "As usual the Utah battery did most excellent service."

A high meed [sic] of praise has been given to all those Army organizations[,] which fought successfully through the Philippine campaign, and it was well deserved. Like the organizations from other States, the Utah Light Artillery had its losses. The frequent official report was: "These casualties occurred while serving their guns."[33]

In the face of an accusation of an "oath of hostility," what is the reply of those men of the Utah Light Artillery who had received of the Mormon Church endowment ceremonies? It is given in the roar of battle at Malate, before Manila came into possession of our troops; at Caloocan, when the Filipino insurrection burst forth in its fury; along the Pasig, searching out the ambuscades of a fierce and bloodthirsty foe; in the personal privation, the nerve-racking strain of scores of hard-fought engagements, and the unswerving loyalty of those American soldiers, who never shrank from duty or wavered in the face of the enemy; it is given in the mutilated and lifeless remains of those brave boys whom our Government brought back home to Utah, to be placed at rest by their loving relatives and friends. And here in the Senate of their countrymen, upon the incontrovertible witness borne by the brave survivors and the heroic dead of the Utah Light Artillery, I hurl back the charge of the defamer that there ever was a word or breath of hostility or disloyalty in the sacred religious ceremonies which they or any other persons participated in as members of the Mormon Church.

It is not an infrequent occurrence, Mr. President, for somebody, often a person of prominence, to come out with a declaration that this or the other thing is "menacing" the life of the Republic; that we are following the path

[32] Sergeant Harry Young, a Mormon, was the son of Lorenzo Dow Young. Sergeant Young was a member of the Utah Light Artillery Battery A, and was killed in the Philippines at Santa Mesa on February 6, 1899. His captain was Richard W. Young. See <http://www.fortdouglas.org/spanamvolunteers.htm> and www.familysearch.org accessed December 27, 2005.

[33] The *Deseret News*, August 19, 1899, reported that twenty-one members of the Utah Light Artillery were either killed or serious wounded in battle.

which brought ancient world powers to decay; that our wealth, our industrial combinations, our free speech, are crowding the nation to destruction. Notwithstanding all these dire predictions, none of which is more absurd than the myth of Mormon "hierarchal" domination, the American Union is going to stand. It will continue a free and enlightened Government. It is founded on the popular will of a liberty-loving people. It discusses its public questions and decides them according to rules of tolerance, humanity, and justice. It is builded [sic] on the undying principles of human rights and human freedom. As such it will advance. It will grow. It will increase. It will progress. No other nation will prevail against it. It has the favor of God and the gratitude of its own people to perpetuate it along the centuries to come, as they have maintained it in the century that is past.

Those who lament its possible overthrow or shiver in apprehension at its being swept away will not live long enough to view as a reality the fancied cause of their lamentations and apprehensions, nor will their children or their children's children. The Government of the United States is here to stay and to win over every obstacle. And so far as I am concerned, I formally and solemnly aver that in every vote and action as United States Senator I shall be governed in the future, as I have been in the past, only by my convictions of what is best for the whole people of the United States, under my oath to support the Constitution and laws of this nation.

In closing, let me say, under my obligation as a Senator that what I have said under oath before the committee, that I have never taken any oath or obligation, religious or otherwise, which conflicts in the slightest degree with my duty as a Senator or as a citizen. I owe no allegiance to any church or other organization which in any way interferes with my supreme allegiance in civil affairs to my country—an allegiance which I freely, fully, and gladly give.

Reed Smoot's speech was given the day before the full Senate plenary debate and vote. Republican President Theodore Roosevelt bestowed his unqualified support to Smoot from their first meeting, and was responsible for persuading many Republican senators to vote for Smoot. In 1907, there were ninety senators in Congress, fifty-eight of whom were Republicans. It is unlikely that Smoot's speech per se changed any votes to his favor. When the votes were all counted, thirty-eight Republicans voted in favor of Smoot, while ten Republicans voted against him. Four Democrats voted in favor of Smoot and eighteen voted against him. Nineteen senators were not present and Smoot did not vote.

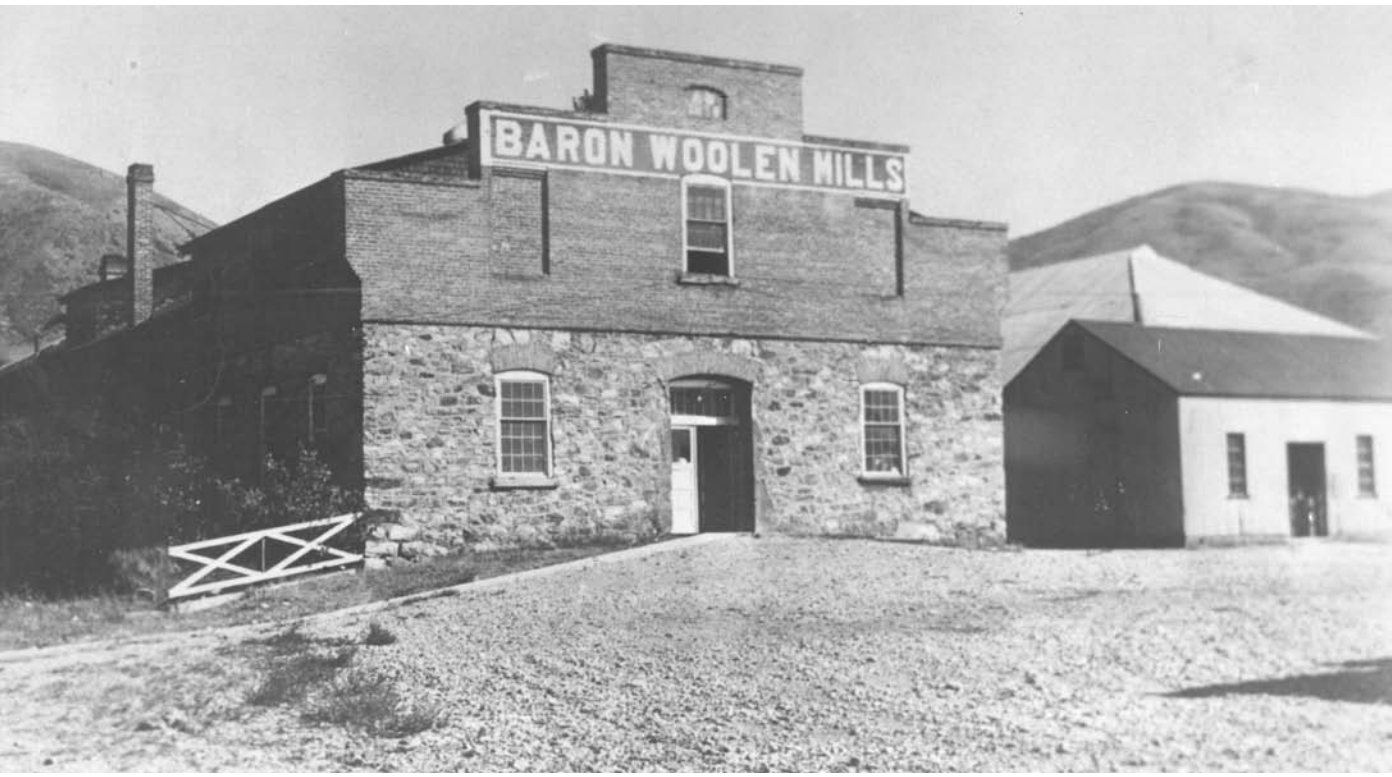
One hundred years have elapsed since Reed Smoot gave this speech. In many ways, Smoot's senate floor defense has increased in importance. Despite U.S. history textbooks essentially ignoring the Apostle- Senator's speech, many of the issues he faced have resurfaced in contemporary political dialogue. In a different context, the public policy debate over the definition of marriage was revisited in both the 2004 and 2006 elections. The debate paradoxically placed the LDS church on the opposite side of

"Triumphal Entry!" Salt Lake Tribune, Tuesday, February 26, 1907. Smoot was vindicated by a Senate vote of 42-28. This cartoon pictures seven of Smoot's supportive colleagues, including Chauncey Depew [R-New York], Thomas Platt [R-New York], Albert Hopkins [R-Illinois], Joseph Foraker [R-Ohio], William Dillingham [R-Vermont], Albert Beveridge [R-Indiana], and William Dillingham [R-Vermont]. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University.

the issue.[34] Also, since Smoot's vindication several Utah and non-Utah Mormon politicians have been elected to national office with minimal religious ballyhoo. This trend appears to have ended. Ironically, the same skeptical religious questions asked of Smoot have reappeared and are currently being asked of potential 2008 U.S. presidential candidate Mitt Romney. Many political insiders aver that for Romney to allay voter concerns over his membership in the Mormon church, he must give a speech similar to that of President John F. Kennedy when he distanced himself from the Catholic church. With the republication of this speech, it seems that a speech similar to Smoot's would be more apropos.[35]

[34] For a discussion of this marriage public policy paradox via-a-vis the LDS church, see Michael H. Paulos, "A Century Ago: The LDS Church and Constitutional Amendments," *Salt Lake Tribune,* June 11, 2006.

[35] For more on this topic see, Michael Paulos, "Can a Mormon be Elected President of the United States?," *The LBJ School of Public Affairs Online Journal,* October 22, 2006. http://lbjjournal.org/index.php?opion=content&tastk=view&id=427, accessed December 2, 2006.



ALL PHOTOGRAPHS ARE COURTESY OF THE BARON FAMILY

The Baron Woolen Mills: A Utah Legend

By REBECCA ANDERSEN

On February 4, 1871, amidst unseasonably warm weather, Brigham City residents gathered to inspect their completed woolen factory. A momentous occasion, the opening of the woolen mill marked the second industry launched under the Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association. Concerning the auspicious occasion, Brigham City's *Deseret Evening News* correspondent, "A.C.," reported: "Everything about the institution is substantially made, and in good style and order."[1] With the exception of three fires and a brief time of abandonment in the early 1900s, the industry retained its original function, transforming sheep's wool into needed and useful products under the James Baron family. Although its 1988 sale by the Baron Family caused the mill to spiral into disrepair, under four generations of Baron ownership and careful

The Baron Woolen Mills

Rebecca Andersen is a graduate student in history at the University of Utah. She wishes to thank the Baron family for their support and cooperation.

[1] *Deseret Evening News* February 8, 1871.

management, Brigham City's woolen mill outlived all other Utah woolen mills, creating a reputation of honesty and high quality products.

The mill's pioneer origins and history through the twentieth century provide a close look at how one Utah industry responded to change over time. Though descriptive in nature and admittedly limited in scope, it is hoped this paper can serve as a useful foundation for future research linking the Baron Woolen Mills to Utah's larger economic, industrial, and social picture.[2]

The erection of Brigham City's woolen mill in 1871 cannot be separated from the larger cooperative movement fostered by Mormon Apostle Lorenzo Snow. In 1854 Brigham Young sent Snow to lead the settlement of Brigham City. Responding to Brigham Young's emphasis on Mormon self-sufficiency, Snow established a cooperative general store in 1864 as the base to launch further business ventures to promote community unity and self-sufficiency. According to Leonard Arrington, the original cooperative movement "was nothing more than a joint-stock enterprise to which Snow and three others subscribed $3,000."[3] Later, local residents became stockholders in the Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association, commonly known as the Brigham City Co-Op, when their labor was credited as capital to acquire stock. Furthermore, home industry workers received a special kind of scrip, redeemable at any of the later co-op industries.[4]

In 1866, two years after the advent of the general store, settlers established a tannery to provide leather goods. Next, the co-op began construction of a water-powered woolen mill located along Box Elder Creek to manufacture cloth and blankets. The community's most expensive enterprise yet, the mill cost approximately thirty-five thousand dollars. Mechanic Alanson Norton was sent East with instructions to obtain needed machinery. James Pet, a builder and later mill superintendent, oversaw the mill's construction.[5]

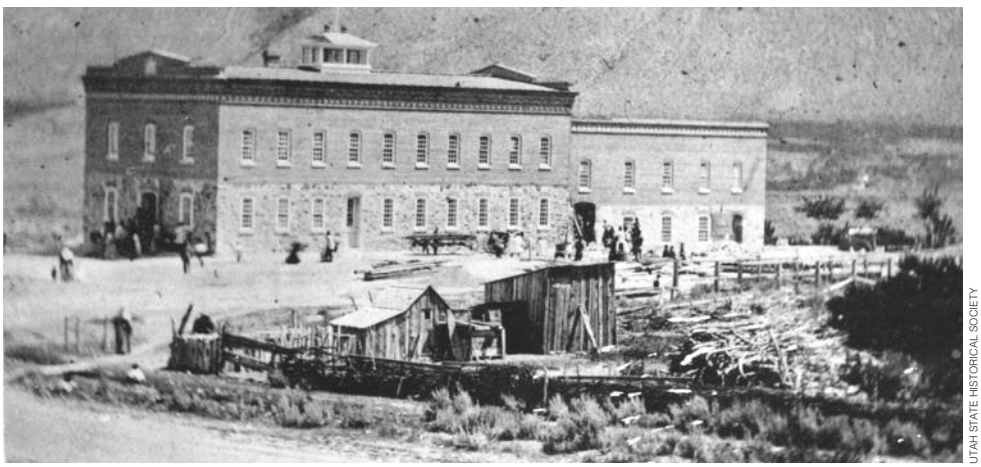
Settlers established a cooperative sheep herd to insure a constant supply of wool. Those who contributed sheep for the herd obtained capital stock in the Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association. Another venture designed to expand the textile production occurred nearly four

[2] With the exception of Frederick M. Huchel's unpublished 1981 paper, "A History of the Brigham City Woolen Factory, Baron Woolen Mills," the mill's history has been overlooked. This study complements Huchel's invaluable research with its discussion of mill operations under the Baron brothers and its ultimate closure. A photocopy of Huchel's paper is available at the Brigham City Museum, Brigham City, Utah.

[3] Leonard Arrington, "Cooperative Community in the North: Brigham City, Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (Summer 1965): 201.

[4] Huchel, "A History of the Brigham City Woolen Factory," 4; Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), 120.

[5] Frederick M. Huchel, *A History of Box Elder County* (Salt Lake City: Box Elder County Commission and Utah State Historical Society, 1999), 91, 92; Andrew Jenson, *Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Vol. 1* (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901), 390.



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Baron Woolen Mills, known originally as the Brigham City Woolen Mills, c. 1885.

hundred miles to the south along the Virgin River where settlers from Brigham City took turns planting and raising cotton between 1874 and 1879. James May and later Israel Hunsaker presided over the settlement called Camp Lorenzo. Typically, a Brigham City group stayed a maximum of two years in Dixie before being relieved by another group. Although workers harvested good quality cotton, shifting personnel and the added cost of maintaining a dam along the Virgin led to the venture's cessation.[6]

The Brigham City Woolen Mills quickly became the most prominent and lucrative business venture launched by the mercantile association.[7] Lorenzo Snow wore samples of the mill's products on his trip to Europe. An enthusiastic supporter and promoter of home industry, he recounted:

> I engaged a suit of clothes last fall (1872) of a tailor in Brigham City, the material of which was made at our woolen factory. I wore this as a traveling suit through Europe and Palestine, and felt rather proud in exhibiting it as a specimen of "Mormon" industry.…While in France we had an interview with President Thiers and his cabinet; this was at Versailles, and it so happened I then was dressed in this home made suit, my aristocratic one being locked in my trunk at Paris....I was received by the President as cordially, and I believe he shook hands with me as warmly and fervently as though I had been arrayed in superb broadcloth.[8]

Just as the mill was becoming the cooperative movement's showpiece, tragedy struck on December 21, 1877. In an early morning fire, Brigham City's woolen mill burned to the ground. According to a report in the *Deseret Evening News,* after John Laird made his eleven o'clock rounds insuring all fires were out; he went to bed only to be wakened at 2 a.m. as

[6] Andrew Karl Larson, *The Red Hills of November: A Pioneer Biography of Utah's Cotton Town* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1957): 79-80.

[7] Huchel, *History of Box Elder County*, 94.

[8] Quoted in Thomas C. Romney, *The Life of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Sons of the Utah Pioneers Memorial Foundation, 1955), 291.

smoke engulfed the building. At the same time, night guardsman. R. Cahoon discovered the fire and ran through town to alert citizens of the disaster. City Marshal C.C. Loveland hurried to the courthouse and rang the alarm bell. A winter wind fanned the flames and efforts to save the mill were futile. Loss in buildings and machinery was calculated at approximately thirty-five thousand dollars. This estimate did not account for the seven thousand pounds of burned wool. All that could be salvaged were three narrow looms, one broad loom and some warp.[9]

Reflecting on this day, Lorenzo Snow recounted: "While viewing the building, as it was rapidly consuming, my mind became agitated with painful thoughts...whether the people could sustain the severe pressure which would bear upon them through this unforeseen calamity, or lose heart and courage in supporting our principles of union."[10] Fortunately, Snow's worries remained unfounded.[11] The directors met the following day and decided to rebuild and reopen the mill in time for the 1878 Independence Day celebrations. A mild winter permitted work on the main building to proceed quickly and as it neared completion in mid March workers laid foundations for an east end addition.

The rebuilt mill was dedicated on July 4, 1878. At 9:00 a.m., Brigham City residents marched to the new woolen factory for a much anticipated tour that included the expanded east end, the new dye house, and other outbuildings. Precautions against future fire included a new iron roof, a rock main level and a brick second level. An editorial appearing in the *Deseret Evening News* hailed the mill as "a monument to the indomitable will...of the people who reared it on the ashes of its predecessor." In an effort to hold up Brigham City's home industry accomplishments as an example worthy of emulation, the editorial preached: "The rapid repair of the loss goes to prove the financial vitality of a people whose material affairs are conducted on the cooperative, mutual interested system."[12]

Unfortunately, this assumption later proved to be inaccurate. Because of the fire and subsequent rebuilding, Brigham City's Co-Op experienced a devastating blow from which it never recovered. Lorenzo Snow's 1879 letter to Franklin D. Richards recounted a series of crushing disasters, which struck the cooperative shortly after the fire. In the letter, Snow explained that in rebuilding the mill, the co-op assumed a great deal of debt. In an effort to liquidate these debts, the co-op contracted with the Utah Northern Railroad to supply the railroad lumber and railroad ties. An expensive sawmill built in Marsh Valley, Idaho, appeared to be the answer to the co-op's financial woes, but the short-lived contract with the Utah

[9] *Deseret Evening News,* December 22, 1877.

[10] Quoted in Arrington, "Cooperative Community in the North," 215. See also, Huchel, *History of Box Elder County,* 97; Deseret *Evening News,* January 18, March 4, 1878.

[11] *Deseret Evening News,* April 28, 1878.

[12] Ibid., July 6, 1878.

Northern Railroad ended in disaster.[13]

According to Eliza R. Snow, federal officials and "unscrupulous apostates" who viewed the Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association as a political and economic threat, worked to squelch any further business ventures.[14] Federal officials raided the camp and arrested approximately forty workmen for illegally cutting government-owned timber. Although the men were later acquitted, the arrests interrupted work at the sawmill. The contract with the railroad could not be kept and the co-op sold the sawmill at a six thousand dollar loss.[15]

Financial difficulties mounted when, according to Lorenzo Snow, "a tax of $10,000 was levied on our scrip, by O. J. Hollister, U.S. Assessor and Collector of Internal Revenue. Though illegal, unjust and highly absurd, the payment could not be avoided; therefore we borrowed the money and paid this assessment."[16] In 1885, seven years after the taxes had been paid, part of the money was returned—too late to be of any help to the cooperative enterprises.

After seriously considering their predicament, Snow wrote of the decision to "curtail our business, close several of our departments, lessen the business of others, and dispose of such property as will assist in discharging our cash obligations."[17] By allowing some of the industries to become privately owned, it is clear that the cooperative hoped to have the businesses remain in the community. In the case of the Brigham City Woolen Mills, in 1878 ownership passed to James Baron, a woolen mill worker and Brigham City Opera House custodian.[18]

James Baron was born on July 10, 1848, in Tottington, England, to Thomas Baron and Hannah Rothwell. He undoubtedly learned the textile trade from his father, a wool dyer, and as a young man went to work in one of the textile mills in England. Baron and a fellow mill worker, Edmund Buckley, were introduced to the Mormon church, which they eventually joined. Baron was baptized on June 16, 1863, and continued to live in England for a time. Buckley was less fortunate. His parents disowned him after his baptism after which Buckley and his family immigrated to Utah.[19]

Several years later Edmund Buckley returned to England to purchase machinery for a woolen mill that he planned to establish in Utah. The two friends met and Baron decided to travel to Utah with Buckley. They arrived by train in Ogden in August 1871 and soon were in Brigham City where the two found work in the Brigham City Woolen Mill. Two years

[13] Letter quoted in Arrington, "Cooperative Community in the North," 214-17.

[14] Eliza R. Snow's statement is quoted in Huchel, "A History of the Brigham City Woolen Factory," 18.

[15] Arrington, "Cooperative Community in the North," 214-15.

[16] Ibid., 216.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., 217; Huchel, "A History of the Brigham City Woolen Factory," 20.

[19] "How the Baron Woolen Mills Had Its Beginning," 1. Reta M. F. Mauchley, "about James Baron, " 1, indicates James Baron's father was also a blanket weaver. Copies available at the Brigham City Library.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Young ladies working at the looms inside the Baron Woolen Mills, c. 1925.

later, on September 10, 1873, Baron married Mary Ann, Buckley's oldest daughter.[20] Edmund Buckley moved to Franklin, Idaho, where he started a woolen mill in 1878—the same year that his son-in-law took charge of the Brigham City mill.

In Hyrum City, officials eagerly wanted a woolen mill in their community. They recognized James Baron's ability and persuaded him to move to Cache Valley in 1892. The Hyrum location offered an abundant supply of wool, a good source for water, and electrical power—which was not yet available in Brigham City. Baron did not live to see the Hyrum mill completed. He died on December 17, 1894. His oldest son Thomas, then eighteen years old, took over operations and acquired ownership of the mill.[21]

When James Baron moved his operation to Hyrum, Brigham City acquired ownership of the property and city officials decided to keep the mill in operation. In the fall of 1893, the mill became a private business. In a letter to the *Deseret News,* David Booth noted that the mill was "owned and operated by sons of the former shareholders of that institution, who have combined and with capital stock have purchased and paid for the buildings and machinery to the value of $22,000.... Shareholders are mechanics, farmers, and laborers, and even widows are interested; therefore it belongs to the people in and around the settlements."[22] This venture continued until the turn of the century when the mill closed and stood empty. The depression of the 1890s may have led to its closure.

Early in the twentieth century, John Anderson and Frank Minson, along with other stockholders, reopened the dormant business. On September 10, 1907, the mill fell victim to another fire. A spark in the machinery manufacturing wool and cotton bats triggered the blaze. The cotton bats

[20] Mauchley, "About James Baron," 1.

[21] Reta M.F. Mauchley, "History of Mary Ann Buckley Baron," 2; copy at the Brigham City Library. Huchel, "A History of the Brigham City Woolen Factory," 20. Thomas Baron was born May 29, 1876.

[22] Quoted in Huchel, "A History of the Brigham City Woolen Factory," 22.

ignited instantly and began to "burn like powder," according to the *Box Elder News.* "The alarm was sounded promptly and the boys responded as readily, but there are no water mains in that vicinity and they had no engine or pump, so [they] were powerless to check the flames which spread readily to all parts of the building."[23] Worse yet, the company carried no fire insurance and the mill was not rebuilt. Only the burned-out skeleton remained on the ground; over the course of the next few years ownership changed hands.

After the death of his father, Thomas Baron continued to operate the Hyrum mill and on November 18, 1896, he married Caroline C. Peterson from Hyrum. Carrie, as she was known, proved an excellent companion for a wool mill owner. Ambitious, with a keen sense for business, she encouraged her husband's farming and mill operations. After nearly twenty years operating the Hyrum mill, Baron grew tired of city officials' unfulfilled promises as well as the long cold winters that restricted operation of the mill to six months of the year. When Brigham City officials offered the burned-out woolen mill for sale, Thomas Baron seized the opportunity and prepared to move their operations to Brigham City.[24]

On February 12, 1915, after enduring an arduous journey from Hyrum to Brigham City by way of Beaver Dam and Collingston in Model T Fords, Thomas Baron and two of his sons, Thomas Jr. and Rulon, and friend John Christensen, arrived in Brigham City. A family history recounts those first difficult few days:

> Upon arrival they were entirely out of funds and...spent the first night sleeping between the machinery and wool sacks in a shed. The next day a vacant house was rented and Rulon set up house-keeping while the other three started to clean out the debris of the old mill, trying to start up with out a penny [of] capital. It seemed a very hopeless task, but the president of the First National Bank. . . made Thomas a small loan and by setting up the machinery in a partially finished mill and operating on a very small budget, it was possible to get by.[25]

Baron found rebuilding the woolen mill and reestablishing the business difficult. But by 1923 the Baron Woolen Mills was fully in business with "one set of cards with garnet, [a] 360 spindle automatic mule, two broad blanket looms, three circular rib-web knitting machines, conor, twister, dye and finisher, and thirteen sewing machines."[26] Eventually the mill employed ten people, most of them family members, with six road agents selling direct to the public in the western states.

Four years later in 1927, the mill boasted two hundred salesmen. In addition to blankets, the mill produced underwear, dresses, sweaters, blazers, and scarves. That same year the mill installed some new equipment, which

[23] *The Box Elder News* September 12, 1907.

[24] "History of the Baron Woolen Mills, 1870-1966," 2-3, photocopy in the Brigham City Library. Lowell [Duke], Rex, and Dale Baron, interview by the author, June 19, 2003. Hereafter Baron interview.

[25] "History of the Baron Woolen Mill," 3.

[26] Ibid.

included an endless belt dryer heated by an eighty horse power boiler and a state of the art binding machine which automatically folded a four inch binding over the ends of each blanket. Baron informed the *News* that this particular machine was one of six "ever made in the whole world" and that there was nothing like it west of Chicago. Baron specially ordered a napping machine from Lawrence, Massachusetts. "This machine is the third type ever built....This machine will give a new softness and luster never before obtainable in woolen blankets," the *Box Elder News* reported.[27] Most importantly, Baron Woolen Mills' mail order business elevated Brigham City's postal designation from third to second class. On March 23, 1928, Baron Woolen Mills ran its first night shift.[28]

While the Barons improved the mills' machinery, the direct selling force drummed up business. Salesmen were usually college students, such as J. Willard Marriott, and schoolteachers were also recruited during the summer months. They operated in assigned territories under the supervision of a sales manager who paid them out of his commission. Thomas Baron described the sales plan and salaries for the salesmen. "I signed up J.E. Nelson as sales manager over all [the] territory at 5%. He [is] to pay all district men their commissions out of his 5%."[29] On May 4, 1929, Baron wrote, "Frank Rose, Carrie and I drove in our Buick to Ida. Falls...Had a meeting in [the] hotel with Lyle Williams and Ed Stevens." Two days later on May 6, "Got Williams and Stevens signed up at 12 p.m....Frank Rose stayed to sign up and organize other men and territory."[30]

With more than two hundred salesmen selling more than a million dollars worth of goods annually, and approximately fifty mill workers using state of the art machinery, the Baron Woolen Mills seemed to be a thriving industry and certainly contributed significantly to the economy of Brigham City and Box Elder County.[31]

On occasion dishonest salesmen cheated both customer and company. Generally, salesmen collected a down payment that they sent to the mill office with the customer's order. Tempted by easy money, a door-to-door salesman occasionally pocketed the down payment and Baron Woolen Mills never received the order. The mill became aware of the problem only after receiving an anxious letter regarding a missing blanket or clothing item. Nevertheless, the salesmen enabled Baron Woolen Mills to build and maintain a viable business during the late 1920s and the early years of the 1930s.[32]

In addition to the work of the salesmen, Baron Woolen Mills often liquidated unsold merchandise by selling it in various temporary retail

[27] *Box Elder News*, March 22, June 16, 1927.
[28] Thomas Baron, *Diary*, March 23, 1928, Copy in possession of Lowell (Duke) Baron, Brigham City.
[29] Ibid., January 30, 1928.
[30] Ibid., May 4. 6, 1929.
[31] "History of Baron Woolen Mills," 4; *Box Elder Journal,* June 16, 1927.
[32] Baron interview.

stores throughout Utah and Idaho. Thomas Baron recorded: "Rulon and H.M. Jensen took two loads mds. [merchandise] to Provo to start a store." Three days later Baron noted "Joe F. Petersen returned mdse. from Malad Store after three weeks averaged over $100 per day."[33]

By July 1929, three months before the stock market crash sent the nation into the Great Depression, Baron observed, "The orders we do get in are far different than 1928. No luxury articles. Smaller orders." Furthermore, on November 4, 1929, just days after "Black Thursday," Baron learned that owners of the Utah Auction House fled Utah to avoid arrest—owing Baron Woolen Mills $350. "We can't collect a dime of it," Baron lamented.[34]

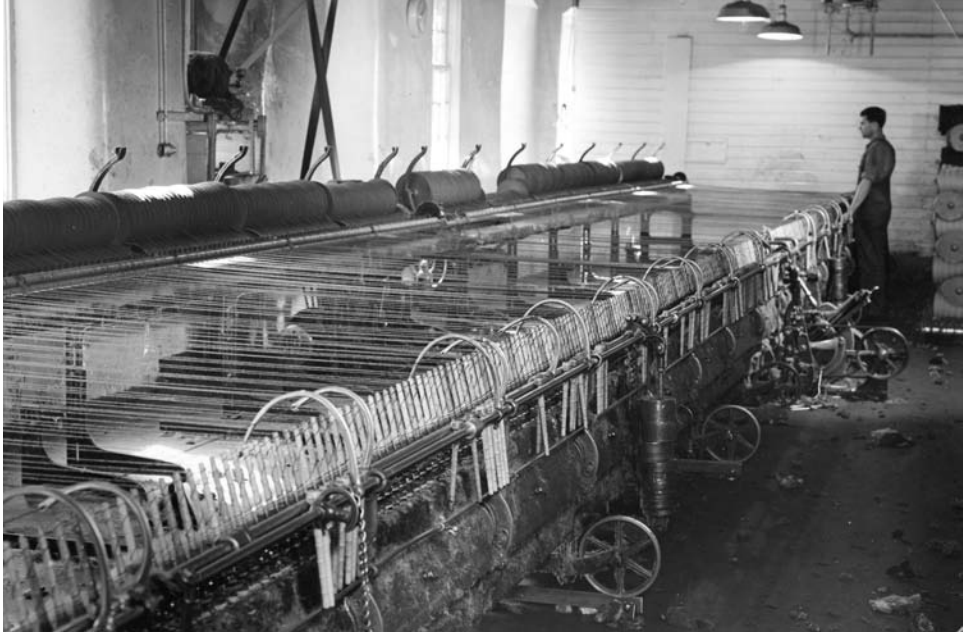
By 1930, Baron Woolen Mills was well acquainted with the shattered economy. In late March, Baron described his efforts to procure needed loans. "I got Bert Reeves to go with me and apply at Columbia First Bank. They turned us down on $20,000." The failure to obtain the loan weighed heavily on Baron. "I didn't sleep last night worrying about the loan. We're broke. I decided if we couldn't make a loan to lay Tom Clark and Roy Fraser off." Finally on April 1, 1930, the First National Bank agreed to make a $20,000 loan.[35]

Financial challenges soon gave way to serious personal concerns. Thomas Baron was diagnosed with a stomach ulcer in October 1930. During the course of treatment, doctors found Baron had stomach cancer and scheduled surgery to remove one-third of his stomach. Understandably, the news came as a great shock to Baron who wrote on November 3, "This information was so sudden as I had never expected anything more than an extra treatment."[36]

Concerned with the severity of the medical treatment, Thomas called his family together to discuss his business affairs and to read his will. Thomas wrote: "All the children heard and seemed satisfied. I gave to each of the six children equal shares interest in the Baron Woolen Mills. The balance of all real and personal property including the insurance about $23,000.00 to my wife Caroline C. Baron."[37] Thomas Baron went in for surgery the morning of November 12. He returned home to endure two and a half more months of intense pain before dying at age fifty-four January 22, 1931. Until his last few days, Thomas continued to write about his mill. On December 29, he triumphantly wrote, "We paid off last $5,000 we owed the bank."[38]

In a funeral service held in the Brigham City LDS Fourth Ward chapel, Brigham City citizens came en masse to pay their last respects to the man the *Box Elder Daily Journal* hailed as doing "more for his home town than

[33] Baron Diary, January 10, 13, 1930.
[34] Ibid, July 13, and November 4, 1929.
[35] Ibid., March 28, 30, April 1, 1930.
[36] Ibid., November 3, 1930. See also entries for October 25, 27, 1930.
[37] Ibid., November 4, 1930.
[38] Ibid., December 29, 1930.



Looms inside the Baron Woolen Mills.

has been given credit for. [He] has maintained a large payroll at the factory and has brought many thousands of dollars to Brigham for the sale of the output from his factory."[39]

Despite the mill's less-than-ideal financial condition, the family continued operations with Baron's three older sons, Thomas Jr., Rulon, and Glen taking charge. In time Thomas Jr. and Rulon purchased their siblings' holdings, although Glen continued working as mill superintendent overseeing production and maintenance until his retirement in 1975.

In December 1936, Rulon bought out Thomas, thus becoming sole owner of the Baron Woolen Mills.[40] Business strategy changed under Rulon. Rather than using salesmen, he shifted to selling his goods through wholesalers and direct mail advertising with 80 percent of all orders coming from satisfied repeat customers.[41] In addition to these changes, Rulon began experimenting with a barter system. Under this strategy the small woolgrower, often a farmer with a few sheep could obtain blankets and other items in exchange for his wool. During the Depression, such an innovation not only helped Baron Woolen Mills but also provided invaluable aid for the small farmer with limited cash resources.[42]

Under Rulon's ownership and management, Baron Woolen Mills built its reputation as a manufacturer of high quality blankets. Republican presidential nominee, Wendell L. Wilkie, President Herbert Hoover's wife, Lou Hoover, and Eleanor Roosevelt all possessed Baron Woolen Mills blankets. A 1940 *News-Journal* article stated, "blankets of special design and markings have been supplied on order for outstanding socialite weddings in New York, Washington D.C., Florida, California, and Hawaii."[43] While most

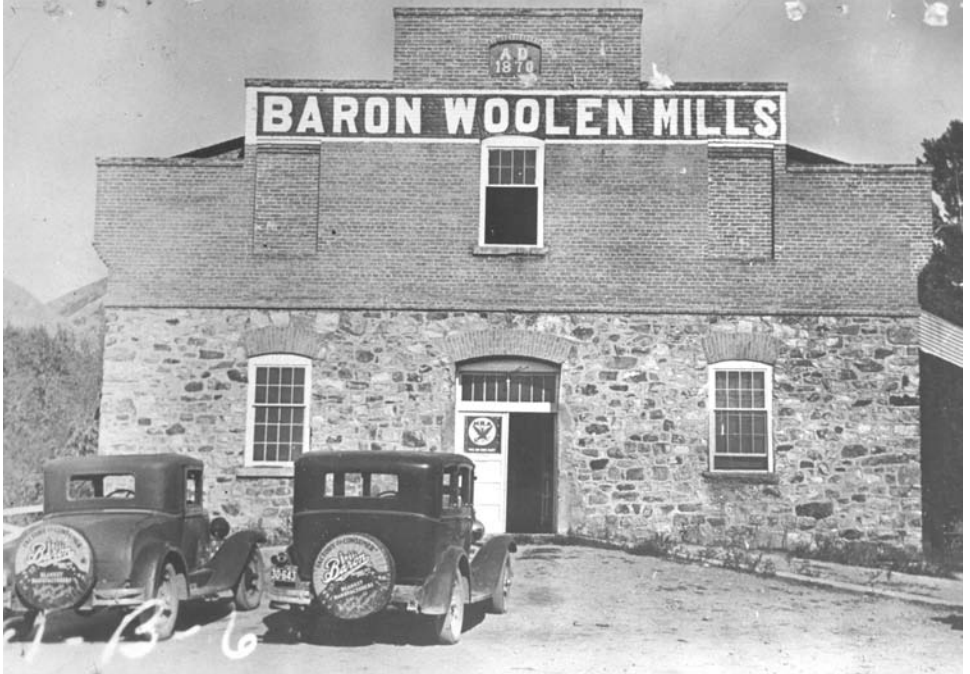
[39] "History of Baron Woolen Mills: 1870-1966," 4; *Box Elder Daily Journal,* January 23, 1931.

[40] "History of the Baron Woolen Mills: 1870-1966," 5; Duke, Dale, and Rex Baron, interviewed by the author, August 14, 2003. Hereafter, Baron interview, August 14, 2003. *Box Elder Journal,* December 23, 1936.

[41] *Box Elder News-Journal,* January 21, 1939.

[42] Baron interview.

[43] *Box Elder News-Journal,* July 31, 1940.



The Baron Woolen Mills during the 1930s. Note the NRA poster in the door window and the advertisements on the spare tires of the automobiles.

businesses struggled for existence during the 1930s, the Baron Woolen Mills was a financial success. By the end of the decade, a ten thousand dollar addition had been completed and orders were in place for twenty thousand dollars worth of new machinery.

In addition to his work with the Woolen Mills, Rulon Baron was active in civic affairs as a member of the Rotary Club, Brigham City councilman, and mayor in the 1940s. He sat on several boards including the Utah Wool Growers Association, Utah Manufacturers Association, the Weber Club, and the Walker Bank advisory board. As these activities and assignments demanded more and more of his time, Rulon relied on his brother Glen and Richard Hansen to oversee the day-to-day operations of the mill. Hansen began his employment at Baron's washing wool after graduating from high school. He soon demonstrated abilities for management and administration and went to work in the office.

In later years, Hansen recalled "I [attribute] the things that I have learned to the training that Rulon has given me during the years. I admired him for his business ability, for his ability to meet people and make friends."[44]

With the coming of World War II, Baron Woolen Mills received a government contract to manufacture blankets for the armed forces. While Rulon's two older sons Lowell (Duke) and Dale entered the service, Richard Hansen remained at the mill, deferred from military service because of the navy contract.[45]

Business at the mill remained strong following World War II even as the company was transitioning from fulfilling its military contracts. Once again a devastating fire struck the woolen mill on September 8, 1949, the day

[44] "In Memory of Rulon Baron,1959," typescript (photocopy), p 3, copy at Brigham City Library. See also *Box Elder News-Journal,* November 9, 1945; Duke Baron, interview by author, June 25, 2003; Baron interview, August 14, 2003.

[45] Dale Baron, interviewed by author, June 30, 2003; Baron interview.

before Brigham City's Peach Days festivities. An overheated carding machine motor sparked, igniting a nearby pile of nap. Flames soon spread throughout much of the mill. Brigham City and the Intermountain Indian School fire departments along with mill workers responded quickly, saving the mill from complete destruction. Rulon Baron praised the firefighters while announcing plans to rebuild. "Had it not been for the efficient and fast work of the Brigham City Fire Department assisted by the Intermountain Indian School Fire Department, the loss would have been much greater with the destruction of the storage room in the rear of the mill and the possible destruction of the front office with all of the records." The *Box Elder News-Journal* reported, "Regular factory employees even before noon were hauling debris, ashes and partially burned spools of wool from the plant, in preparations for the construction of the new building."[46]

Rulon Baron displays a blanket manufactured for Wendell L. Willkie, Republican Presidential Candidate in 1936.

Rebuilding proved a financially daunting task. The loss, covered only by an $8,000 fire insurance policy, was devastating. Although the original damage estimate lay between $75,000 and $100,000, in actuality, the rebuilding cost totaled $150,000. Damage was most severe on the top floor where two large carding machines, valued at over $30,000, were destroyed.[47]

The fire left the mill structurally unsound as the intense heat melted the upper story's steel girders. Before any machinery could be replaced, workers removed walls down to the first floor. The fire rendered completely useless an estimated ten thousand pounds of processed, raw wool, valued at $1.25 a pound. Furthermore, sales peaked in the fall and, with no goods to sell, the mill missed much of the year's anticipated earnings. Without the revenue from sales, there was no way to keep the forty-five mill employees on the payroll until the mill was rebuilt and operations resumed.

By the end of September, the Campion Construction Company of Ogden had been contracted to rebuild the mill. The *Box Elder News-Journal* explained the work was "handled on a cost-plus basis. . .with a provision

[46] *Box Elder News-Journal,* September 9, 21, 1949. For other accounts of the fire, see the *Salt Lake Tribune,* September 9, 1949, and the *Ogden Standard-Examiner,* September 8, 1949.

[47] Baron interview; *Box Elder News-Journal,* September 21, 1949. Rulon Baron noted: "The part of the plant which was destroyed contained the most intricate and expensive machinery we use, and some of it may not be obtainable very soon," in *Salt Lake Tribune,* September 9, 1949.

The Baron Woolen Mills owners and workers prior to Thomas Barton's death in 1931. Caroline and Thomas Barton are standing on the back row left.

that all possible employees on the construction be regular employees of the woolen mill." In commenting on the mill's reconstruction, Rulon stated, "Our major concern at the present is to rebuild as rapidly as possible so that people left unemployed by the fire may return to work."[48]

In November, Duke, Glen Baron, and Richard Hansen made a trip to Massachusetts to locate new carding machines.Fortunately, their efforts met with success. Because many of the northeastern woolen mills were either going out of business or relocating to the South, the men were able to purchase good quality used machinery and have it shipped to Brigham City.[49]

In the process of rebuilding, much needed remodeling was also completed. An entire second floor was added replacing what had before been only a partial second story, and a precautionary sprinkling system was installed to supress future fires as well. The reconstruction of the mill and installation of the new machinery went quickly. As operations resumed at the end of January 1950, it appeared that Baron Woolen Mills had a bright future ahead.

For Rulon Baron, the ordeal of rebuilding and re-equipping the mill, securing employment for his workers, providing a livelihood for his sons, and marital difficulties leading to a divorce from his wife Phyllis Bott Baron in 1950, drained him financially and emotionally. On December 2, 1959,

[48] *Box Elder News-Journal,* September 21, 1949.
[49] *Salt Lake Tribune,* November 14, 1949; Baron interview.

after suffering from a long illness, Rulon Baron passed away at the age of fifty-six.[50] Duke Baron recalled: "When Dad died we didn't have a bank account. We were broke. So, we paid for the funeral and that was about the last penny we had."[51]

In 1952, Rulon Baron and his sons, Duke, Dale, and Rex, formed an official partnership. They purchased their mother's interest in the mill. The three sons inherited their father's interest at the time of his death.[52]

To keep the mill in operation, the three brothers took out a sixty thousand dollar loan from the Box Elder County Bank. In time, after surviving several rough years, the company's finances stabilized as new business strategies were implemented. Operations were conducted on a small scale and diversity in customers was fostered. As Dale Baron explained, "We didn't put our eggs in one basket. We had a couple of companies that wanted to take our complete production, and we said 'no way' because somebody could come in and undercut and we'd be out of business. So, we expanded on all . . . different areas."[53]

To be sure there were major accounts such as Little America, Ralston Purina, and a few large department stores, but sales to those accounts remained less than half of the mills' production.[54]

The new strategies brought success. At the nineteenth annual Utah State Economic Development Conference held in August 1968, the Baron brothers received Utah's annual "Distinguished Service Award" for industrial advancement. According to the *Box Elder Journal,* which proudly chronicled the event, the award went "annually to a firm outside the state's commercially and industrially developed Wasatch Front (Weber, Davis, Salt Lake and Utah Counties)." The award was well deserved. In the first nine years of their management, the brothers had successfully installed five hundred thousand dollars worth of new, updated machinery while furnishing year around employment for twenty-five workers. A plaque presented to the brothers praised Baron Woolen Mills as being "a prime example of the initiative, industry and pioneer spirit which characterizes the competitive, free enterprise system of America."[55]

While the award lauded the mills' advancements in technology and ability to manufacture high quality blankets, it failed to mention Baron's earlier innovative barter system, small store and catalogue business. By the time Duke, Dale, and Rex took over operations, the barter system developed by their father had dwindled. However, the brothers rejuvenated and reorganized Baron Woolen Mills' innovative barter system. Growers brought their

[50] *Box Elder News-Journal,* January, 27, 1950; Baron interview.

[51] Baron interview.

[52] "History of the Baron Woolen Mills: 1870-1966,"5; Baron interview; Duke Baron, interview by author, June 20, 2003.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Baron interview.

[55] *Box Elder Journal,* August 22, 1968.

wool to the mill, where it was weighed and graded. The Barons granted a market value price based on the type of wool, condition, cleanliness, and length of staple. With a receipt in hand indicating the amount of credit at the store, the woolgrower obtained blankets and other clothing items. Credit remained good for one year. Customers could also purchase an item by paying partly with wool and partly with cash. The Barons also sold products at retail price with payments in cash or check.[56]

Because wool buyers bought mostly from large woolgrowers, Baron's system proved very popular with small wool producers who had a difficult time marketing their wool. As the brothers began reviving the barter system, they initially paid all freight expenses for shipping wool to the mill. This practice quickly proved too costly and in the late 1960s, the Barons began sending a truck to pick up wool across Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho. During the most successful years the Barons hauled an average of four hundred thousand to five hundred thousand pounds of wool each summer.[57]

Baron Woolen Mills' spring catalog generally included wool pick up request sheets. After gathering in all the requests and notifying farmers when the Barons would be passing through, the truck set out. Dale Baron recalled, "We did it ourselves for a few years. Then we started hiring these young fellows–college students or old kids. It was work. Drive all day and all night." Once the loaded truck rolled into Baron Woolen Mills, the wool was weighed, graded, and receipts were promptly sent out indicating the amount of credit an individual had at the mill. Trust and honesty were fundamental for the system. According to Rex Baron, "That wool wasn't weighed until they brought it back and yet those farmers trusted us that we'd be honest." Often, if the family was not home when the Baron's truck arrived, they found the front door unlocked with a note indicating where to find the wool. "The trust we had developed through our business—we had no problem…We had great rapport with all our customers," Dale later recalled.[58]

Sometimes, there were problems including flat tires, vague and incomplete addresses, and a few individuals who took advantage of the trust customers placed in Baron Woolen Mills. Dale Baron recalls:

> There was a kind of guy, a door-to-door salesman. He'd sell pots and pans. .. Well I came through Star Valley picking up wool and I pulled into this place and [the wool grower] came out and I said: "You have your wool ready? I have your card here requesting it." And he just stood there with his mouth open and said "Oh my hell. There was a guy here yesterday that said he was from the Baron Woolen Mills and picked up my wool." Now that was something else. We knew who the guy was and

[56] Baron interview; Dale Baron, interview by author, June 19, 2003. Baron Woolen Mills, *1989 Spring/Summer Catalog*. Baron Woolen Mills, *1984 Clothing Catalog,* copies of the catalogues are in the Brigham City Library.

[57] Baron interview; Dale Baron interview.

[58] Baron interview; Baron Woolen Mills, *1989 Spring/Summer Catalog.*

The Baron Woolen Mills after the September 8, 1949, fire.

> everything because we'd had dealings with him before. He went around. He found out where we were going to stop because we'd send out notices to people. Anyhow, that was something. That poor guy. He lost quite a bit of wool. I don't think he ever did get any credit for it.[59]

Credit was redeemed one of two ways: through catalog orders, or by a visit to the Baron Woolen Mills store. Catalogs came out twice a year–the clothing catalog at the end of May and the blanket catalog in early spring. Brigham City photographer Glenn Compton usually took the pictures and local neighborhood children served as models.[60]

For many families, a trip to get outfitted at Barons was a regular family tradition. Some traveled from as far away as Wyoming, Montana, and California. Shopping at the Baron Woolen Mills store was not only popular with out of state folks, but with Brigham City locals as well. Baron Woolen Mill blankets were a popular wedding gift for couples in the Brigham City area. Rex Baron recalled, "There was a time there that I'll bet you every wedding that happened in Brigham City had our blankets."[61]

The Baron brothers carried their strategy of small-scale business in every aspect of running Baron Woolen Mills. For example, when taking inventory Dale Barton recalled, "I'd just walk through the mill with a piece of cardboard and pen...We'd been there all our life. We could just look at stuff and we knew what was needed and what was going on." Although Rex Baron

[59] Ibid.
[60] Dale and Melva Baron, interview by author, June 30, 2003.
[61] Baron Interview

usually took charge of production and maintenance while brothers Duke and Dale handled sales, they had no exclusive assignments. According to Duke Baron, "We didn't have positions. Our job description was partners in business. Sales, the wool buying, marketing." Dale Baron explained the production method:

> We'd get a hold of Rex and he'd say, "What do you want now?" And then we would figure out what we wanted–green blankets or blue blankets, we want four pound blankets, we want five pound blankets. Then he would regulate everything through the mill. But it was kind of up to us to tell him what we needed. If we got a big order in we'd give him the order and then he'd start working it through the mill.[62]

New equipment usually came second hand from bigger woolen mills. In an article appearing in the *National Wool Grower* featuring the Barons, Dale reported, "Rex is out in Oregon looking at some used equipment to replace what we now use. We know Pendleton is replacing some of their equipment and this is an opportunity to upgrade our own."[63] Because of the kind of business Baron Woolen Mills drew, the brothers saw no real need for massive, technologically advanced machinery.

In June 1988, newspaper headlines announced the sale of the Baron Woolen Mills to Sherwood Hirchi, a Logan realtor and developer. The decision to sell the four-generation family business was not made easily. Retirement figured prominently in the brothers' minds. Dale Baron explained, "We'd run it for forty-two years, but we still had a tremendous business. We just didn't know what to do. We were getting burned out. Especially our brother [Rex] managing the mill ... and all the machinery." None of the fifth generation Barons expressed interest in taking over operations and the Barons purposely encouraged their children to consider other avenues for making a living.[64]

Once the decision to sell the profitable mill became known, the Barons began receiving calls from interested parties all over the country. Potential buyers grew excited about owning the mill when they reviewed the financial record, but most had little understanding of the hard work required for success.

The *Box Elder News-Journal* article announcing the probable sale indicated that Hirchi planned a new emphasis for the mill. "It's Hirchi's plan...not only to scour (wash) wool for use by the local mill, but to establish this as a commercial service for other mills as well. He noted there are only three companies with scouring trains (equipment) west of the Mississippi."[65] Hirchi's plan was unsuccessful and in 1993 Bob Sadler acquired the mill and store.

Sadler was unable to continue manufacturing woolen goods and

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ralph Jensen, "Four Generations of Quality Wool Blankets," *National Wool Grower,* September 1986, 19.

[64] *Box Elder News-Journal,* June 29, 1988; Baron interview.

[65] Baron interview; *Box Elder News-Journal*, June 29, 1988.

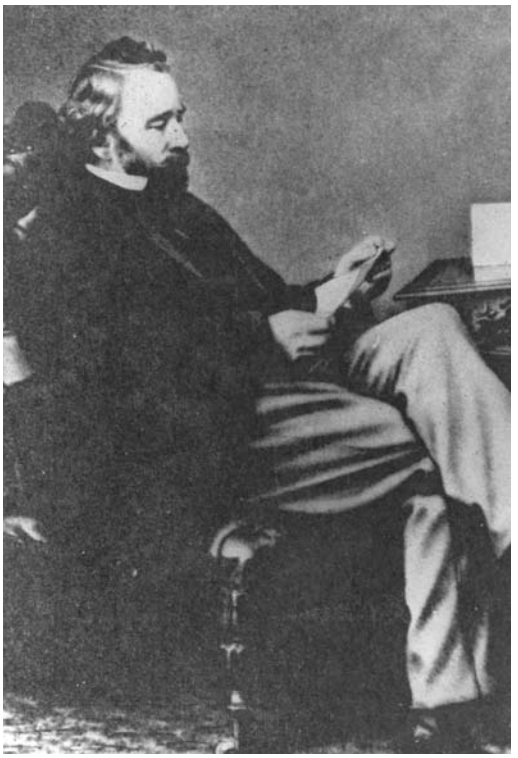
struggled to keep the store open by selling wool blankets made elsewhere. In recent years the store closed and today the mill stands idle, the ghost of another era.

Although the machinery is silent, Baron Woolen Mills retains the honor of being one of Utah's earliest industrial endeavors. Surviving three fires, a devastating nationwide economic depression, a revolution in manufacturing and sales, the Brigham City woolen mill produced goods for nearly one hundred twenty years. Family folklore of summer trips to Brigham City's Baron Woolen Mills undoubtedly lives on and blankets with the Baron Woolen Mills tag are still found in countless homes across the United States. Indeed, Baron Woolen Mills continues to hold true to their motto, "Keeping folks warm since 1870!"[66]

[66] Baron Woolen Mills, *1989 Spring/Summer Catalog*.

The Beginnings of *The Journal of Discourses*: A Confrontation Between George D. Watt and Willard Richards

By RONALD G. WATT



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

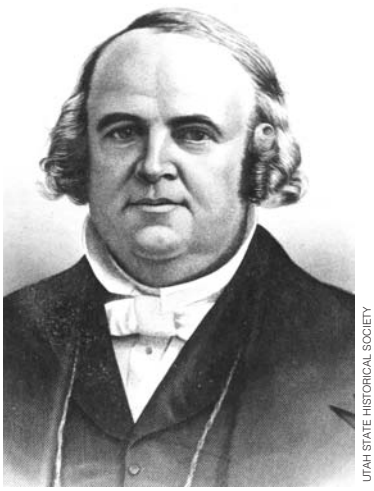
Speeches, sermons, or addresses are some excellent sources for historians who write biographies or who write about groups of people in a place and time. Often in the United States in the nineteenth century one could find summaries of speeches and sermons in newspapers. For historians researching Brigham Young and other early Utah Mormon church leaders, many of their complete sermons and speeches can be found in a multi-volume publication called the *Journal of Discourses.* For example, Mormon church apostle George A. Smith delivered a Sunday sermon in the old bowery in July 1856 wherein he was critical of the corruption rampant among members of Congress he witnessed during a visit to Congress the previous year. "It was the principle and almost the only business of every man there to invent some scheme, or find some means or contrivance to make a draw on the treasury."[1] When one wants to discover how Brigham Young felt about soldiers coming to Utah in 1857, a good source for his public stated views can be read in a talk given in the bowery in Salt Lake City on September 13, 1857, which was then published in the *Journal of Discourses*. Young said, "We have borne enough of their oppression and hellish abuse and we will not bear any more of it....I am not

George D. Watt

Ronald G. Watt is a senior archivist at the LDS Church Historical Department.

[1] Journal of Discourses *Delivered by Brigham Young, His Two Counsellors, The Twelve Apostles and others.* 26 Vol.s. (Liverpool, England: Franklin D. Richards and others, 1853-1886), 5: 60-63.

going to have troops here to protect the priests and a hellish rabble in efforts to drive us from the land we possess."[2]


UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Willard Richards

The first printing of what would become a massive collection of published speeches and sermons of Young and other church authorities was in Liverpool, England. The incubation of the *Journal of Discourses* was brief but turbulent, woven with misunderstanding and confusion between Dr. Willard Richards, a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon church and editor of the *Deseret News* newspaper, and George D. Watt, English convert, recently returned from a proselyting mission to his home land, and a possessor of a unique skill—shorthand—he learned in Great Britain. This paper will discuss the stormy background to the rise of the multi-volume *Journal of Discourses.*

In 1847, Brigham Young and the Mormon pioneers entered Great Salt Lake Valley where Great Salt Lake City was established at the mouth of City Creek Canyon. Here, they planted crops and built a fort for protection against the Indians. When the Indians failed to threaten them, they soon moved on to their lots in their newly created town. Two years later the Howard Egan wagon train brought with it a small Ramage printing press, the first printing press in the Great Basin. A year later on June 15, 1850, the church owned weekly *Deseret News* newspaper, edited by Willard Richards, appeared on Salt Lake City's dusty Main Street. By 1856 the newspaper had over four thousand subscribers; it cost fifteen cents an issue and $5.00 a year. Subscribers paid for it in paper currency printed on the newspaper's press or more frequently in tithing script or any other acceptable commodity.[3]

The *Deseret News* was heir to a long church supported publication program. The *Deseret News*, like its predecessors, published reports of national and even world news, which appeared in other newspapers; it also reported local and LDS church news as well. Thomas Bullock and other church clerks often provided summaries of sermons of Brigham Young and other church leaders. In 1832-1833, the church first published the *Evening and the Morning Star* in Missouri, which contained scriptures, hymns and other news items of the day. *The Times and Seasons* was published in Nauvoo, Illinois, between 1839 and 1846, and it, too, contained local and national news. In 1840, the church in Great Britain began publishing the *Millennial Star,* a bimonthly journal, under the guidance of Mormon church apostle

[2] Ibid. 226-31.

[3] For information on the *Deseret News* see Monte Burr McLaws, *Spokesman for the Kingdom: Early Mormon Journalism and the Deseret News, 1830-1898*, (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), 30-38.

Parley P. Pratt. The *Millennial Star* was an essential publication for Mormon church members in the British Isles, providing them with news from the church in the United States as well as summaries of speeches and sermons given by church president Brigham Young and other church leaders.

Three years before the first *Millennial Star* was published, Englishman Sir Isaac Pitman had developed a method for recording speeches word-for-word. Pitman, born at Trowbridge, Wiltshire, England, on January 4, 1813, began his professional career in 1839 when he established a private school at Wotton-under-Edge. After a number of years of intensive study of the English language Pitman realized that words often had similar phonetics or were pronounced the same but were spelled differently; for example, the "f" sounds in form, elephant, and rough. In 1837, he published a small book based on shorthand by sound entitled *Stenographic Soundhand*, and immediately began teaching his system through lectures. He succeeded in popularizing his shorthand method, it being used exclusively by secretaries and stenographic reporters throughout Britain and the United States. His shorthand symbols allowed a stenographer, or as Pitman called it a phonographer, to take down every word as it fell from the lips of the speaker. Queen Victoria later knighted him for the development of his shorthand method.

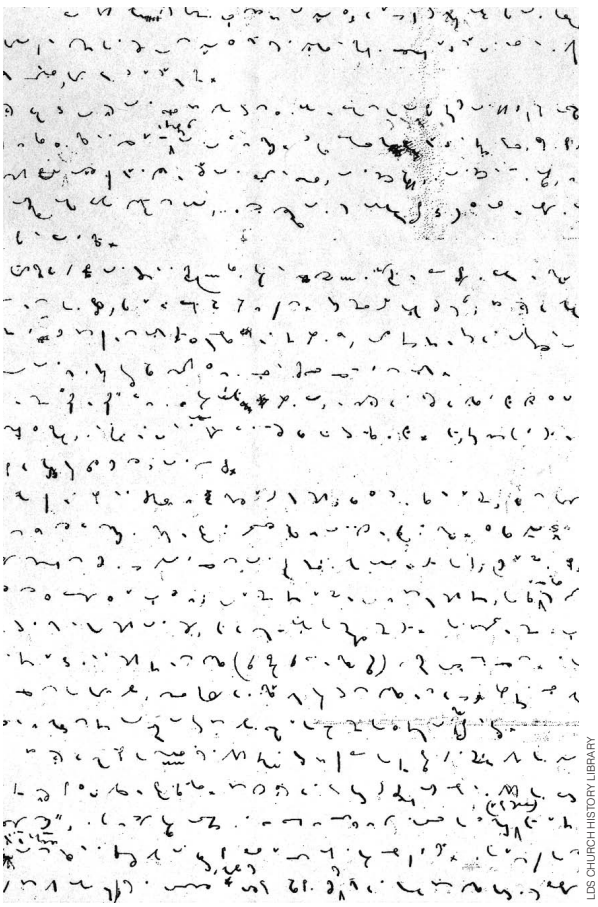
Watt, a contemporary of Isaac Pitman, was born in 1812 and at the age of twenty-five converted to the LDS church in Preston, England. Three years later in 1840, church leaders sent him on a mission to Edinburgh, Scotland, to work with church apostle Orson Pratt. While in Edinburgh, Watt became acquainted with Pitman's shorthand either from attending one of Pitman's lectures then touring the countryside or from Pitman's correspondence classes. Following his mission in 1842, Watt and his family immigrated to Nauvoo, Illinois, where he taught shorthand and also recorded important events including the trial of the accused murderers of Joseph Smith.

He returned to Britain in 1846 on a second mission accompanied by his wife, Mary and young son. In addition to proselytizing, Watt took the opportunity to improve his skills at shorthand. While in Britain, Mary's health became a problem, which would later add to Watt's employment difficulties in Salt Lake City. Unbeknownst to her while she was employed in textile mills prior to her marriage to George, she contracted tuberculosis, and at times the disease would flare up and then would go into remission.

Watt was released from his mission in the winter of 1850-1851 and with his small family left for Utah in February 1851. When Watt arrived in Utah the church and territory now had someone who possessed the knowledge and skill of Pitman's shorthand who could record word-for-word sermons and speeches as they fell from the lips of church authorities.

It would take several months and a heated confrontation with Willard Richards for Watt to be fully compensated for recording sermons using

Pitman's shorthand method. In desperate need of work, Watt found an opportunity in the latter part of December 1851 to report about the Christmas festivities held in the city in the *Deseret News.* Recognizing the usefulness of his skill through Watt's report, Willard Richards, editor of the *Deseret News*, advised him to use his skill for the benefit of the newspaper. Watt began attending Sunday church meetings at the adobe tabernacle located in the southwest corner of the Temple block, which was completed shortly after his arrival to Utah, taking shorthand of the sermons delivered there. Watt's assignment was to record and transcribe the sermons and to prepare them for publication in the *Deseret News*. At the time neither Watt nor Richards discussed how he was to be compensated for his work. This misunderstanding soon erupted into a major breach between the two men.

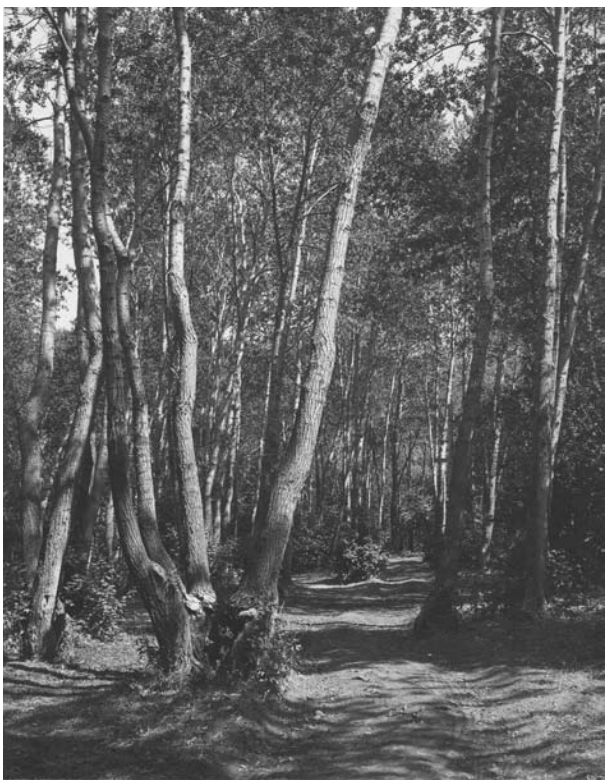


LDS CHURCH HISTORY LIBRARY

An example of George D. Watt's Pitman shorthand which he used to record sermons for publication.

In addition to the uncertainty of how he was to be paid, it was equally unclear to Watt whether he was to be employed by Richards full-time or merely to report only on certain speeches given at the tabernacle. Uppermost of importance for Richards was that Young's speeches be recorded and printed for all church members. Watt's first recorded speeches appeared in the *Deseret News* in April 1852 following the conference of the church but with Watt receiving no compensation for his work.[4] Essentially, Watt was a freelance reporter working full-time recording and preparing sermons and speeches for publication in the *Deseret News* but without being compensated.

[4] It is possible that Watt had taken in shorthand Governor Brigham Young's talk to the legislature, which appeared in the newspaper on January 10, 1852. It is also possible that he could have reported Orson Pratt's Lectures on Faith and Astronomy, which began appearing in the *Deseret News* beginning on March 20, 1852.



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A scene in City Creek Canyon where George D. Watt sought divine help for his problems.

Finally, Watt turned to Brigham Young who authorized Watt to draw some provisions amounting to five hundred dollars from the tithing store with the provision that Watt make full payment on the "loan." Watt was now further in debt with little hope of repaying the "loan" or providing for his family. Adding to Watt's concern was his wife's continued poor health. He felt that monetary help from Richards would help pay for the necessities that Mary needed but Richards treated her illness as an excuse for Watt wanting more money.

Further difficulties between Watt and Richards occurred when Watt approached Brigham Young about editing and printing a pamphlet of some of Young's speeches and Orson Pratt's sermon on plural marriage. This arrangement, Watt believed, would provide him the means to secure the necessities of life for his family. President Young agreed to Watt's proposal but before Watt could prepare Young's speeches, Richards published the speeches in an extra edition of the *Deseret News*, in September 1852 and offered them to emigrating agents in New Orleans and St. Louis.[5]

Richards, as a newspaper man, recognized the importance of the speeches, particularly Pratt's speech concerning polygamy, thus financially earning the newspaper and himself some extra money. It is likely that Young never told Richards of his arrangements with Watt.[6]

[5] Letter, Willard Richards to Horace S. Eldredge and John Brady, September 17, 1852, and Willard Richards to Orson Pratt, September 17, 1852, Willard Richards papers, Church History Library, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereafter LDS Church History Library.

[6] Orson Pratt's sermon announcing polygamy was eventually republished in the first volume of the *Journal of Discourses*. There are no extant copies of the extra that Richards published, nor does historical record provide us with which of Young's sermons Watt planned to publish.

Richards' printing of Pratt's and Young's speeches deprived Watt of any income that he might have received. Richards, as an afterthought, offered Watt through an intermediary twenty-five pamphlets to sell to help Watt with his financial difficulties. Watt felt robbed and believed he could not make any money by selling this publication. In anger, Watt wrote Brigham Young, informing him about Richards' offer but "I refused his magnanimous offer and felt myself insulted; perhaps I did wrong in saying this. If I did I am ready to make all the restitution that is wanted."[7] Having aired his feelings to Young, Watt now tried to talk to Richards, but the strong-minded man would not listen to Watt's reasoning. Richards later remarked that he had noticed in Watt a foreign spirit "Foreign from the spirit which dwells in the bosom of the Eternal Father."[8]

Watt deliberated about what he should do for several days, even going up City Creek Canyon to pray about the matter. He did not want to meet Richards again in a face-to-face confrontation. Richards was too strong a personality, and he wanted Richards to understand his point of view. Feeling more at ease communicating his desires and thoughts through the written word, Watt began an exchange of letters that became very heated between the two of them.

During the exchange of letters with Richards, Watt desperately tried to find a workable solution to his financial problems, and he strongly believed that Richards had wronged him by publishing Young's and Pratt's sermons thus robbing him of his income. For Watt there was little concern that Richards was a member of the First Presidency. Richards on the other hand felt that Watt had insulted him and needed to be disciplined quickly and thoroughly. They both exaggerated their viewpoints in their writings. Afterwards, both probably wished they had never written some of their words, and wished they could call them back. As Richards wrote, "when a man talks, his words may be forgotten but when [he] writes, he writes for eternity, and your letter is laid up for the archives of Eternity."[9]

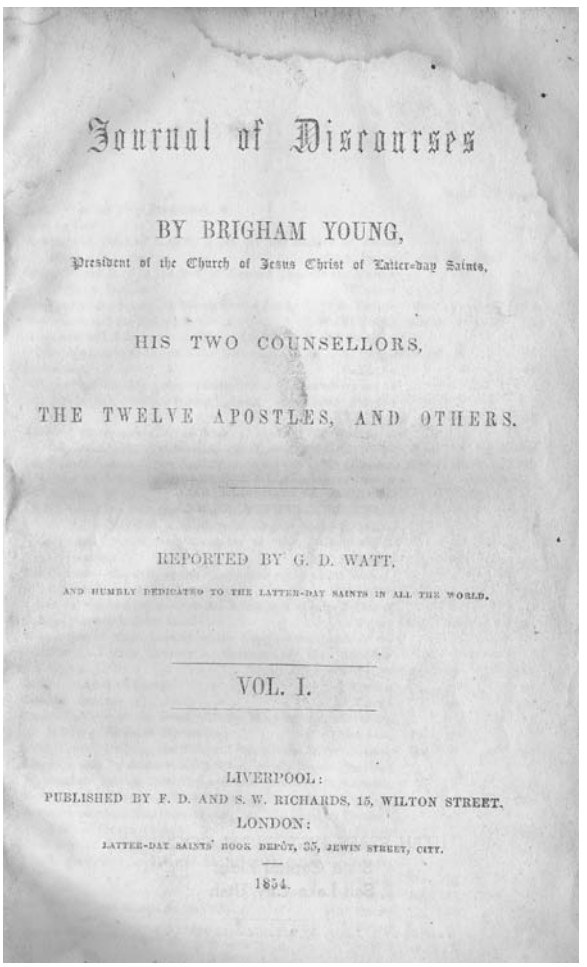
Watt in his correspondence with Richards wanted to be clear, coherent, and passionate but not too passionate about presenting his position. As a reflection of this careful thinking and writing, Watt often prepared several shorthand drafts. In one of his letters he crossed out "allow me to freely open my soul to you without reserve and make known both the bad and the good that is in me" before sending the final draft.[10] Yet Watt wanted Richards to understand that he had an "unchanging integrity" to him, and that there had never been anyone more faithful to him than himself and

[7] Letter, George D. Watt to Brigham Young, n.d., [23 September 1852], shorthand papers of George D. Watt, transcribed by LaJean P. Carruth, August 2000, LDS Church History Library.

[8] Letter, Willard Richards to George D. Watt, September 25, 1852, Willard Richards papers, LDS Church History Library.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Letter, George D. Watt to Willard Richards, September 24,1852, LDS Church History Library. Shorthand version transcribed by LaJean Carruth August 2000.



Journal of Discourses

BY BRIGHAM YOUNG,

President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,

HIS TWO COUNSELLORS,

THE TWELVE APOSTLES, AND OTHERS.

REPORTED BY G. D. WATT,

AND HUMBLY DEDICATED TO THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS IN ALL THE WORLD.

VOL. I.

LIVERPOOL:
PUBLISHED BY F. D. AND S. W. RICHARDS, 15, WILTON STREET.
LONDON:
LATTER-DAY SAINTS' BOOK DEPÔT, 35, JEWIN STREET, CITY.

1854.

Title Page for Volume I of Journal of Discourses published in 1854.

especially of anyone that was "connected by the common ties of friendship to say nothing of the holy relationship that exists between you and me."[11]

Richards earlier had editorialized in the newspaper that man should do all that he can before calling on God's help. Watt also believed that "God helps them that help themselves." He did not mean, however, that a man should steal from his neighbor's herd or woodpile. "No, I understand the saying to mean, 'that every man shall reap the reward due to his labor, whether it be much or little.'" Watt explained that he had a family to support and sustain, and this he would do "by the blessing of the Almighty," and that his wife, was very sick and "I have nothing to give her, but bread and water."[12]

Watt had been in the tabernacle when Pratt and Young had given their sermons and had recorded them in shorthand and transcribed them. Now Richards had published them, and he, Watt, had received nothing from his work. "I cannot help feel that you have not acted to me like a Bro. [Brother] let alone a father." Watt concluded his letter explaining that he had no enmity toward Richards: "I have no enmity in my heart, I love you but I cannot tamely submit to have the fruits of my labor taken from me all together, when it is right by every just law that I should enjoy them."[13]

With that, Watt sent his letter to Richards. Richards was incensed and

[11] Letter, George D. Watt to Willard Richards, September 24,1852, Willard Richards papers, LDS Church History Library. In Nauvoo, Richards and Watt had gone through a religious ceremony where Richards adopted George D. Watt and his wife as his children.

[12] Ibid. The underlining is George's. In his shorthand version he said she was dying. Mary died in 1856 of tuberculosis. The newspaper called it consumption.

[13] Ibid.

chagrined with Watt's position. His spiritual son had accused him of robbery. Richards was especially perturbed that Watt had sent the letter through the post office, where anyone could have read it. He knew he had to take care of the problem quickly. Like Watt, Richards believed he could solve the problem communicating to Watt by letter, informing him that he had not done his duty. Richards responded that five minutes of friendly conversation could have been more beneficial in clearing up the problem than Watt devoting several hours composing the letter, time that should have been spent on something else. Richards responded to Watt that Watt had submitted very few reports of speeches to him for publication and those that he had submitted were when he had to run after him. Further, Watt had not been at most of the important church meetings, and thus he had failed the people in Zion, even though much had been expected of him having lived up to expectations in "a small measure."[14]

Moreover, Richards felt that Watt was on the road to apostasy. Some of Watt's statements, Richards wrote, were written "through the influence of a delusive & false spirit, foreign from the regions of light & intelligence; which has strove to accompany you in some degree for some time past. However you may have been ignorant of it." Concluding his letter to Watt, Richards encouraged him to see him often and "learn what is wanted of you in your calling, by the same Spirit which dictates my course, and you shall prosper; your wants shall be supplied; your name shall be had in honorable remembrance by the saints, and you shall go forth into the presence of the Father in the Eternal Worlds."[15]

Reading Watt's letter one more time before sending his own letter to Watt, Richards became even angrier and added an almost two page postscript. Richards wrote that few men had entered the scene of public service more auspiciously than Watt had, but the reporter had failed. At some of the most important meetings when Watt should have been reporting the speeches, Richards wrote, he could not be found, "and messengers [had] ransacked the city for him in vain." Richards added that Watt had run up a bill of five hundred dollars at the General Tithing Store, and he would now prevent him from going in debt another hundred dollars for which Watt could not pay. "You find fault with me in your letter; and when I offered you a quarter of hundred of Pamphlets, out of my own free will & purse, worth $12.50 and which you might have sold for cash & helped yourself & your 'sick wife' before this, you refused the offer, and yet you complain your 'wife is sick,' and needs comforts, & you have no means to get them; & yet represent that I am no better than purloining your treasures, or defrauding you of your rights."[16]

[14] Letter, Willard Richards to George D. Watt, September 26, 1852, George D. Watt papers, LDS Church History Library.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

Richards took offense at Watt's earlier statement that his course was different from that of President Young's. "My course has been dictated and controled by my President; and when you find fault with my course you find fault with my God; and that ground is very slippery, and if you don't get off it quickly, you will find it hard work to stand." Now fully aired, Richards sent his letter back through the post office–the same means that Watt had sent his.[17]

Watt was not yet willing to discuss this matter openly with the domineering Richards. He waited a few days before replying so he could think it through and answer rationally.

He began his letter by telling Richards that he had chosen to communicate with him by letter because he could do so more effectively in writing than in a face-to-face conversation. Watt, in this letter, revealed something of his state of rational thinking when he expressed that he would not feel alarmed when his writings were brought from "the archives of eternity and examined. I do not write under the influence of an irritated brain but in sole coolness, fully believing that what I write is true."[18]

Richards in his letter had implied that he had helped Watt qualify him for his position at the *Deseret News*. In rebuttal Watt wrote that he was not aware Richards had spent any time in qualifying him for work at the newspaper. Rather, he argued, he had qualified himself "by dint of determined application, suffering, and study. If I have not merit and ability in myself, aided by the holy spirit, to use in the scale of greatness, in the estimation of this church, and in the estimation of God and angels, your influence or the influence of any other person in heaven or on earth, will profit me nothing; and a man must be placed in a very unenviable situation, who would use his influence to install an unfit person (naturally so) in any station of honor or trust."[19]

Against the charge that he was guilty of having a foreign spirit and on the way to apostasy, Watt wrote: "If it is a spirit foreign from that which dwells in the bosom of the eternal Father—if it is a failure of human nature–a while of the devil to seek diligently and honourably to provide for the wants of those who look to me for a subsistence, then I plead guilty to that which you judge me." He wanted to be rewarded fairly for his work. "I want to know what is mine as clearly as I know what is yours, –when I work temporaly, I want to know how I am to be rewarded temporaly, for it is I must confess very little satisfaction to me to work upon the principle of being rewarded in the resurrection, though that may be well enough, if everybody else worked so."[20]

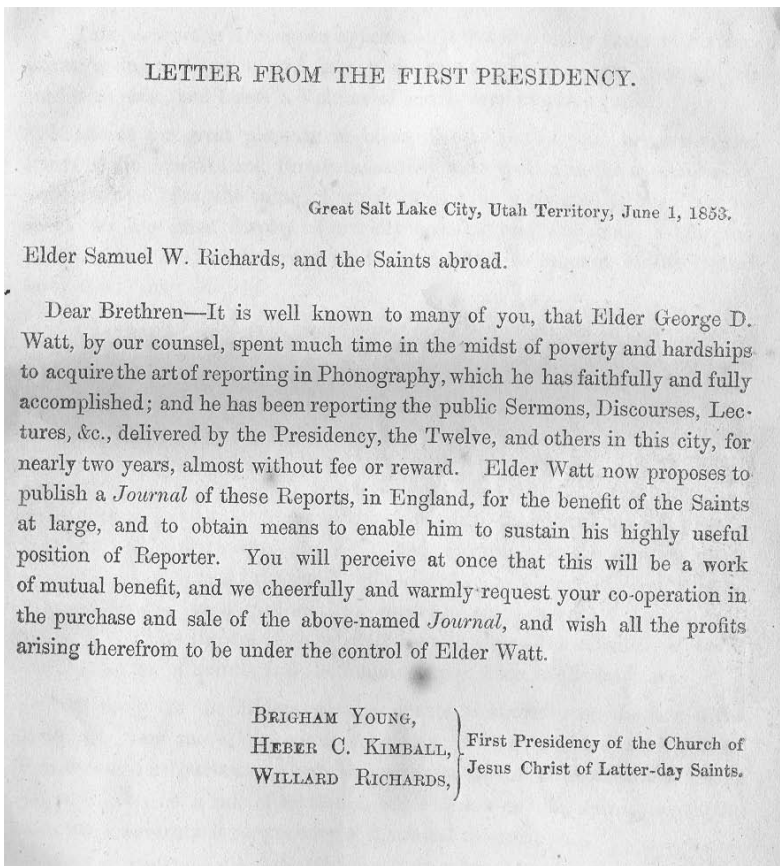
[17] Ibid.

[18] Letter, George D. Watt to Willard Richards, September 29, 1852, Willard Richards papers, LDS Church History Library.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

Regarding the complaint that he had been negligent reporting on several speeches, Watt wrote that he was not aware of any such speeches, which Richards wanted and did not have, except for two speeches. Watt added that he had sat in one place for so long that his hand had "refused to fufil its office." Further, he could think of only one important occasion, when he was absent. "Which [I] was unable to report," At the time, "I was in the City Creek Canyon praying, pouring out my soul before the Lord in heaven, to whom I made known my complaints." Later in the afternoon he was back at his position again fulfilling the wishes of Governor Young. "Do not make me worse than what I am," he pleaded.[21]



LETTER FROM THE FIRST PRESIDENCY.

Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, June 1, 1853.

Elder Samuel W. Richards, and the Saints abroad.

Dear Brethren—It is well known to many of you, that Elder George D. Watt, by our counsel, spent much time in the midst of poverty and hardships to acquire the art of reporting in Phonography, which he has faithfully and fully accomplished; and he has been reporting the public Sermons, Discourses, Lectures, &c., delivered by the Presidency, the Twelve, and others in this city, for nearly two years, almost without fee or reward. Elder Watt now proposes to publish a *Journal* of these Reports, in England, for the benefit of the Saints at large, and to obtain means to enable him to sustain his highly useful position of Reporter. You will perceive at once that this will be a work of mutual benefit, and we cheerfully and warmly request your co-operation in the purchase and sale of the above-named *Journal*, and wish all the profits arising therefrom to be under the control of Elder Watt.

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
HEBER C. KIMBALL,
WILLARD RICHARDS,
First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Letter from Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards published in the first volume of the Journal of Discourses.

At the outset of his reporting sermons and speeches for the newspaper, Watt understood Richards had only advised not commanded him to take the speeches in shorthand. Further, because Richards had not employed him and had not paid him Watt reasoned, he need not account to Richards for his time. "[I] have put hundreds of dollars in your pocket, but you did not employ me to write twelve hours per day, and seven days a week."[22] If the doctor wanted Watt's reports then he needed to purchase them.

In his letter, Richards wrote that Watt had failed at his work, even though no one had come into "public life, under more favorable auspices, than Bro. Watt, when he came to the valley a few months since. The people were looking for and expecting a reporter….Have their expectations been realized?...in truth, I must say rather a small measure." In reply Watt said he was sorry that the people had been so disappointed in their expectations of

[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.

the reporter, "having only been gratified in 'a very small measure,'" and sarcastically added, "thank you kindly for this encouragement, and the great credit you give me throughout your whole communication for what I have done, though I admit it is but little."[23]

Watt was sure that Richards as counsellor to Young and editor of the newspaper was attempting to intimidate him. "I have written my honest mind Bro. Willard, I cannot be intimidated by being told that I have 'sliped down.' I only ask for the enjoyment of my common rights with other men. I am not now aware that freedom of speach (whether verbaly or in writing) is always a shure sign of a man possessing a bad spirit, neither do I write thinking that I can change your mind and thoughts conserning me." In his letter Richards had used an analogy of a team of horses when he urged Watt to talk to him and to stand by him "shoulder to shoulder in the arduous duties we have been called to perform in building up the Kingdom of God?" Watt replied, "I am willing to work 'shoulder to shoulder' with you and feel unworthy of such an honor." He ended his letter with the entreaty: "You can lead me but you cannot intimidate me: while a kind word from your lips vibrates through my soul like the sweetest sounds of harmony. I am calm. My attachment to you is unchanging, and am ready to fulfil all your wishes that you do not cut off the posability of my providing the reasonable comforts of life for my family."[24]

The relationship between the two men was now seriously strained. Richards refused to speak to him. Watt, on the other hand, tried to reach out and mend the frayed friendship by recording the blessing of Richards' newborn son on October 10, which he later gave to Richards. Richards still held the position that Watt had wronged him, and that he was close to apostasy.

During this time of confrontation with Richards, Watt continued to take reports at Sunday church meetings, but refused to give his transcribed notes to Richards for publication in the newspaper. For the next few months, Richards published only a clerk's summary of the speeches and sermons delivered at church meetings at the tabernacle. Curiously, Watt did provide verbatim accounts of the speeches of the October and April general conferences to Richards, but only did so because Brigham Young had hired him to provide those transcriptions to the *Deseret News.*

With this little income it was difficult for Watt to sustain himself and his sickly wife. Watt wrote Brigham Young in May 1853 suggesting a solution to his financial problems as well as making available Young's and others' speeches and sermons. Watt wrote graciously that, "every day of my life I am led to bless you and praise the Lord in my heart for the fatherly kindnesses I have witnessed at your hand." He then suggested that he be allowed to prepare "a few of your sermons which have not yet been in

[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

print with Elder P. P. Pratt's two discourses at the conference on the spirit world and birthright to send to England for publication in the form of a magazine of about 150 or 200 pages to sell." His portion of the proceeds from the sale of the publications would be used to meet his financial obligations and family needs.[25] Watt also suggested that the printing of the sermons be done in England where printing costs were much cheaper.[26]

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Thomas Bullock, one of twelve individuals who recorded speeches published in the Journal of Discourses.

Watt's proposal brought immediate approval from members of the First Presidency, including Richards. Watt set to work transcribing and editing these and other sermons and by the end of the month had completed preparing Young's and Pratt's discourses and delivered them to Young for his review. Thomas Bullock, a clerk in the president's office, would read Young's sermons to him, and Young would correct them. They spent several days carefully reading Watt's transcriptions.[27] On June 1, 1853, the First Presidency officially granted Watt the privilege of preparing and publishing the discourses. In a letter published in the foreword of the first volume of the *Journal of Discourses*, the First Presidency recognized the work of Watt in his preparing the sermons and speeches that followed. "Elder George D. Watt, by our counsel, spent much time in the midst of poverty and hardships to acquire the art of reporting in Phonography which he has faithfully and fully accomplished." Since printing costs were cheaper in England, Watt proposed that the discourses and sermons be printed there. It would come out in two formats: a small pamphlet of sixteen pages with probably four to five speeches per pamphlet which could be bound together later in a volume by the recipient, or as a bound volume.

Since it was considered a chronological arrangement, it would be entitled the *Journal of Discourses.* It was also agreed that in addition to publishing these sermons as selected by him and Young, Watt would take

[25] Letter, George D. Watt to Brigham Young, May 3, 1853, Shorthand draft of letters, transcribed by LaJean P. Carruth, May 2005, LDS Church History Library. Young accepted Watt's proposal and Watt did publish some of Brigham Young's sermons as well as Parley P. Pratt's "Heirship and Priesthood" and "Spiritual Communications."

[26] Thomas Ellerbeck's journal, May 4,1853, LDS Church History Library. See also Letter from the First Presidency to Elder Samuel W. Richards, and the Saints Abroad, June 1,1853, *Journal of Discourses* I: v.

[27] Brigham Young office journal, vol. 8, May 25-26, 1853, p. 23, LDS Church History Library.

care of all costs and in return he would receive all the profits from the venture. Watt would transcribe and publish all future discourses of President Young and other church leaders. The First Presidency encouraged all to purchase the journal for Elder Watt's benefit.[28] Watt now had a permanent income, and a place of employment in the First Presidency's office. More important for the church, the publication, the *Journal of Discourses,* was a watershed, essentially the beginnings of a worldwide publication for the church. Even though the *Journal of Discourses* was a private venture, it was an official church publication.

Watt and Richards were now ready to mend their broken relationship. In August 1853, Watt wrote Richards offering to give him several sermons, which would be of interest to the people of the territory. Richards wrote back, "That I have long been desirous of publishing many sermons that you have, you are well aware, for I have told you so repeatedly, and would send one to press the P.M. if I had it." He again repeated his request that Watt send him copies of President Young's sermons and any other important sermons, which would be valuable for readers of the *Deseret News*, "and which ought to be preserved in the Archives of the Church as matter of history, and you shall in no wise lose your reward."[29] On August 21, 1853, the *Deseret News* printed Orson Pratt's speech entitled "A General Funeral Sermon of all Saints and Sinners, Also of Heaven and the Earth," and Brigham Young's talk delivered at the Twenty-Fourth of July celebration, both reported by George D. Watt. These were the first of many of the church authorities' speeches transcribed by Watt to appear often thereafter in the *Deseret News*. In November the *Deseret News* announced that George D. Watt was available to anybody who wanted correct reports, and "if the brethren will employ him, and sustain him in his employment, time will prove it a blessing to all concerned."[30]

The healing process between the two was now well underway even as Richards' uncontrollable body tremors from palsy worsened in the fall of 1853, confining him to his bed for days at a time.[31] By the end of January 1854, Richards' vision was so poor from his illness that he was unable to distinguish any of the brethren. On March 11 Richards died from this debilitating illness. Watt reported the funeral and burial of his adopted father, friend, and sometime tormentor. He ended his lengthy obituary report commenting that at the grave site following Orson Hyde's and Heber C. Kimball's few remarks the mourners retired, "leaving the remains of one of the best and greatest men that ever trod the earth, to sleep in peace, until he shall awake to immortality and eternal life. May the

[28] "Letter from the First Presidency to Samuel W. Richards," June 1, 1853, *Journal of Discourses*, I, v.

[29] Letter, Willard Richards to George D. Watt, August 6, 1853, George D. Watt Papers, LDS Church History Library.

[30] Journal History, November 24, 1853.

[31] Watt spent much time with Richards rubbing him with a type of liniment oil. See Historian's office journal, September 15, 1853. LDS Church History Library.

witness of his life be our pattern that we may be as illustrious in death."[32]

With the passing of his adopted father, Watt continued to provide the *Deseret News* with transcribed sermons and speeches of church leaders, while devoting his full attention to publishing the *Journal of Discourses.* Watt spent a considerable amount of time recording the many important speeches in shorthand and with the help of President Young, selected the talks and sermons to be published in his new publication. In the first volume of the fifty-three sermons published in the Journal, twenty-six were by Young, followed by Heber C. Kimball and Parley P. Pratt, each had six sermons. Young's sermons account for a sizeable number of sermons published in subsequent volumes of the *Journal of Discourses.*

Over time, Watt became accustomed to the delivery style and cadence of the many speakers who occupied the pulpit at the tabernacle, making it easier to record the various speeches. Talks that were short appeared as "Remarks" in the *Journal Discourses*. Longer talks were either identified as "Discourses" or "Sermons."

The process from recording in shorthand to publication was long. Each transcribed sermon was returned to the speaker for his careful review. Albert Carrington who was Brigham Young's personal secretary assumed the responsibility of carefully copy editing the manuscript pages of the *Journal* before Watt sent them to Liverpool for printing.[33] There Samuel Richards, President of the British Mission in 1855, wrote a short preface for each volume.

As originally planned after printing several of the pamphlets, they were bound together as a volume. Bound copies were sent to the British Museum as well as to Stationer's Hall in London, Britain's copyright office. Originally twenty copies, later twenty-four copies, bound with calf leather and having gilded edges, were sent to church authorities in Utah as gifts.

For the first seven years R. James at 39 Castle Street, London, printed the *Journal of Discourses*. In 1860, with George Q. Cannon as mission president, the British Mission office procured a printing press and undertook to print all the church publications for the European mission including the *Journal of Discourses* and the *Millennial Star*.[34]

Sometime in 1855 John V. Long, an English convert and who, like Watt, had learned the art of Pitman shorthand in England, was hired to record church leaders' speeches and sermons. Long, like Watt, also had difficulties finding permanent work using the skill of Pitman shorthand in Utah. President Young having learned of Long's shorthand skills suggested to Watt that he work as a freelance reporter for the *Deseret News.* Demonstrating his

[32] Journal History, March 12, 1854.

[33] About ten years later Watt sent a personal letter to England by post and also a copy by a missionary. The *Journal of Discourses* could have been handled the same way.

[34] James printing establishment generally printed ten thousand of the semimonthly sixteen page pamphlets. Each pamphlet sold in the United States for two pennies each. In 1860 after George Q. Cannon purchased the printing press, James no longer printed British Mission publications.

skill recording speeches and sermons using the Pitman method, Watt asked Long to record many of the speeches and sermons of church leaders thereby relieving him of the need to be at each church meeting. For the next eleven years Long worked for the *Deseret News,* as well as reporting many of the sermons that were published in the *Journal of Discourses.* In 1866 Long left the employment of the newspaper and the *Journal of Discourses* to become an attorney. Edward L. Hawkins and J. B. Milner also reported a few of the sermons during Watt's involvement with the *Journal of Discourses.*[35]

Out of the confrontation between George D. Watt, possessor of Sir Isaac Pitman's shorthand method and his own personal financial problems, and Willard Richards, strong-willed editor of the church-owned *Deseret News* and a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon church, came the vision to record and publish church authorities' sermons and speeches. Watt remained the general editor of the *Journal of Discourses* until 1860 when the LDS church took over publication and put Watt on the payroll. Watt remained in the employment of the church for another eight years when he left church employment and moved to Kaysville where he died in 1881.

The twenty-six volumes of the *Journal of Discourses* have come to be an important source for sermons and speeches of Brigham Young and others.

[35] Letter, John V. Long to Brigham Young, August 14, 1856; Letter, Brigham Young to John V. Long, August 14,1856, in Brigham Young Letter books, LDS Church History Library.

Leo Haefeli, Utah's Chameleon Journalist

BY VAL HOLLEY

HAEFELI FAMILY

Leo Haefeli, newspaperman, classical scholar, and poet, was a singularly exotic voice in Utah Territory's literary firmament. Extraordinary though his gifts were, he could never quite meld his privileged European education and native skepticism into the mainstream of Utah thought and beliefs. He could as easily write in favor of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) as against it, leading readers to regard him as unpredictable and ultimately fickle. This tension also blocked Haefeli's creation of an *oeuvre* capable of securing his literary reputation for the ages.

Although he left behind an immense written record in newspapers from Logan to Beaver, Haefeli never described the first two decades of his life in Switzerland. He was born at Mümliswil on Christmas Day, 1850. A granddaughter's biographical sketch says he was reared by wealthy paternal grandparents and educated in Catholic seminary. Haefeli was, according to the granddaughter, a remarkable

Leo Haefeli, his wife Emily Zellweger, and their son Leo Jr., c. 1880.

Val Holley is a law librarian in Washington, D.C. He is grateful to the J. Willard Marriott Library's Utah Digital Newspapers Project, without which this article could not have been written. He thanks Jessie Bishop Lewis and Heather Holley for microfilm research.

student, proficient in seven languages, but "rebellious" against the restrictive seminary life and family pressures to become a priest. Finally given an ultimatum by his grandfather to take priestly vows, Haefeli spent his "substantial" monthly allowance on passage to America, without seeing his family again.[1]

Haefeli's descendants do not know the year when he left Switzerland, nor the ship of his emigration. But he was not a Mormon when he left for the United States nor did he sail with Mormon emigrants. In his "Three Thanksgivings," an autobiographical novelette, "Hauzu," an immigrant character much like Haefeli, worked for a German-language newspaper in New York City while bunking in a drafty, chilly lodging house on Greenwich Street. "[Hauzu's] knowledge of English was entirely bookish," Haefeli wrote, "the German newspaper offices were overcrowded with applicants for any and all sorts of even merely drudge work of the cheapest kind, and in short, [Hauzu's] scanty means dwindled away, with them his energy, his spirits and his health..."[2]

"Loneliness was beginning to plague Leo," wrote Haefeli's granddaughter, so he decided to relocate to a thriving community of Swiss immigrants —Midway in Wasatch County, Utah—of which he had somehow heard. The Latter-day Saint membership records for Midway show Haefeli was baptized May 12, 1875, by John Huber, a fellow Swiss immigrant and former president of the LDS Swiss-German mission, whom Haefeli would revere throughout his life. Haefeli became a teacher in the Midway school and within a few months had married his favorite fifteen-year-old pupil, Emily Zellweger.[3]

Haefeli's need to immerse himself in the writing life was organic, primal, and intact when he arrived in Utah. With no Midway forum at hand, he fired off a letter on September 25, 1875, to Salt Lake City's *Deseret News* describing in glowing terms Midway's Swiss dairymen's "old-country-style" cheese manufacturing operation, in timbered dairy buildings "as snug and inviting ... as we used to meet in the shadowy valleys of the Alps." His stylistic facility with the English language was evident as he described the rounds of cheese hauled down from the mountains on carts like "a full mounted battery of death-vomiting cannons of war."[4]

The offer of a position as schoolteacher in Slaterville brought Haefeli, his wife, and baby Leo Jr. to that small Weber County settlement in May 1877. Haefeli's two years in Slaterville coincided with the tensest time in the town's history, and while the difficulties pre-dated his arrival, his literary

[1] Jewel King Larsen, "History of Joseph Leo Haefeli," June 22, 1977, Utah State Historical Society.

[2] Leo Haefeli, "Three Thanksgivings," *Ogden Standard*, November 27, 1890.

[3] Larsen, "History of Joseph Leo Haefeli"; Record of Members, Midway LDS Ward, LDS Church History Library, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereafter cited as LDS Church History Library.

[4] *Deseret News*, October 6, 1875. See Helen Z. Papanikolas, ed., *The Peoples of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 243.

gifts would fan the flames. At least outwardly, he accepted fellowship in the Slaterville LDS Ward (organized within days of his arrival). He was ordained a priest a few months later, and his oldest two children would be named and blessed by their ward teacher. However, in April 1878, Haefeli candidly informed the ward teacher that "he had renounced all religion and fell back on the science (of the world) ... [he] believed that there was such a man as Jesus Christ but did not believe that he was resurrected."[5]

Slaterville was noted at that time for the comparatively high proportion of its population aligned with the non-Mormon Liberal Party, the result of two distinct waves of apostasy from the LDS church that had swept through the community. The first came in 1861 as many settlers joined forces with the schismatic religious leader Joseph Morris. Then, in 1875, Edwin W. Smout, the well-respected acting president of the Slaterville LDS Branch, was passed over when a permanent branch president was installed and immediately ceased activity as a Mormon; many townspeople left the LDS church in solidarity with Smout. Trouble was also brewing in other northern Utah communities over the proper allocation of use of their respective schoolhouses, which had been erected with taxes and labor from all citizens. Because most towns had no LDS meetinghouse, Sundays found the public schoolhouses pressed into service for LDS worship. Plain City, Smithfield, and Hooper all endured rebellions by their non-Mormon populations who demanded equal use of the schoolhouses on Sundays.[6]

While other Utah school districts were dismissing non-Mormon schoolteachers the Slaterville School District's hiring of the unorthodox Haefeli probably came about because all three of its trustees were ex-Mormons and Liberals. He was genial and gregarious, and he told the *Salt Lake Tribune* that he "enjoy[ed] the esteem and support of the Liberals and of a portion of the Mormons who have judgment and discrimination ... Through a part of the winter we had the school crowded, the attendance being upwards of sixty-five scholars from six to twenty-two years of age. This spring the average enrollment fluctuates between thirty and forty, an unusual thing for a small country town of fifty families."[7]

On April 26, 1878, the Liberal citizens of Slaterville banded together in a "Liberal Union," adopting their own "Declaration of Independence" and a set of resolutions. The declaration's sophistication and stylistic similarity to his later published writings point to Haefeli as the catalyst for the Union's formation. Its principal demand was "to claim, obtain, possess and enjoy equal advantages and privileges with the [LDS] Church in the use of the school house for purposes of meetings and Sunday school... an equal use of

[5] Record of Members, Slaterville LDS Ward, LDS Church History Library.

[6] H. Orvil Holley, "The History and Effects of Apostasy on a Small Mormon Community [Slaterville]" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966), 43-52; *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 8, 1875; June 28, 1876; January 18, 1878.

[7] *Salt Lake Tribune*, "Gentile School Teachers," October 26, 1877; May 24, 1878.

the school house being obtained, the [non-LDS] Sunday schools shall enter into activity at once." The Liberal Union's "struggle," concluded the declaration, "is with principles, not with personalities, with superstition, not with its victims, with priestcraft, and not with its deluded followers." Haefeli signed the declaration as the Union's secretary; Edwin W. Smout was chairman. Their nondenominational Sunday school served about two dozen children at its outset and occupied the schoolhouse on alternate Sundays in rotation with the Mormons.[8]

As the next election for school district trustees approached, Haefeli acknowledged, "the schism between the orthodox Saints and the Liberals has been growing wider ever since the Liberal league was organized." On January 15, 1879, by a vote of twenty-seven to twenty-five, a solidly Mormon trio of trustees was elected and took control of Slaterville's schoolhouse. The Liberal voters could not accept the result, and, according to Haefeli, "the freemen of Slaterville have taken steps to start an independent school in a private house [Haefeli's own log cabin], which will be hastily fitted up to receive the children and their teachers ... free from the arrogant interference of the ruling priesthood."[9]

The Liberals' removal to Haefeli's makeshift school, which may have cut his income, presented him with a dilemma. He seems to have realized that, to salvage what could still amount to a bright future as a teacher or literary man in Utah, it might aid his cause to stop railing against "arrogant interference of the ruling priesthood" or other perceived injustices. Already his scholastic reputation had transcended Slaterville's borders. Judging from his subsequent actions, including his rebaptism in August 1879, Haefeli's solution was to speak only in favor of the LDS church. Later in August, at the cornerstone ceremony for a new central school in Ogden, five men were on the dais: LDS Apostle Franklin D. Richards, superintendent of Ogden City schools Louis F. Moench, school trustees Joseph Stanford and David M. Stuart, and Slaterville's Leo Haefeli. In September the Haefeli family moved to Ogden, where Haefeli would become a perennial headliner at Ogden's annual celebrations of the Fourth and Twenty-Fourth of July, reciting patriotic poems he composed for each occasion.[10]

Haefeli would find the key to his campaign of self-reinvention, and the vehicle for being noticed by Ogden's journalistic powers-that-be, in the German philologist Dr. Rudolf Falb's recent studies of indigenous South American Indian languages. On October 1, 1879, the pro-Mormon *Ogden*

[8] *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 7, 24, 1878.

[9] *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 4, 1879; Jerome Wheeler, *History of Slaterville* (private printing, 1978 ed.), 63. The trustees-elect were Henry Holley, James A. Slater, and Henry Bartholomew. They replaced Edwin W. Smout, Thomas Slater, and Bluford Bybee.

[10] Haefeli's August 1879 rebaptism in Slaterville is noted in Record of Members, Ogden 2nd L.D.S. Ward, Ogden Family History Center; *Ogden Junction*, August 30, 1879; July 10, 1880. Apropos Haefeli's curbing his tongue, the *Salt Lake Tribune* of Oct. 2, 1877, cited a backsliding Mormon who, "like many others ... conceives it to be expedient to keep still for the sake of bread and butter."

Junction began a twelve-part series on Falb's expeditions, "translated and adapted specially for our columns by Mr. L. Haefeli, a German scholar of considerable ability." Appearing only eight months after his lament to the *Salt Lake Tribune* over the Liberal Union defeat, the first installment of Haefeli's Falb series could scarcely have been more harmonious to Mormon ears, since he insisted Falb's discernment of similarities between Bolivian Indian dialects and ancient Hebrew demonstrated "additional evidence for the divine authenticity of that sacred volume [the Book of Mormon] they have been venerating for half a century." Doubters were "half-witted shallow-pates." Thumbing his nose at Robert G. Ingersoll, the famous and prolific American atheist, Haefeli said the facts pertaining to sacred scripture could not be "Ingersolled" away.[11]

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

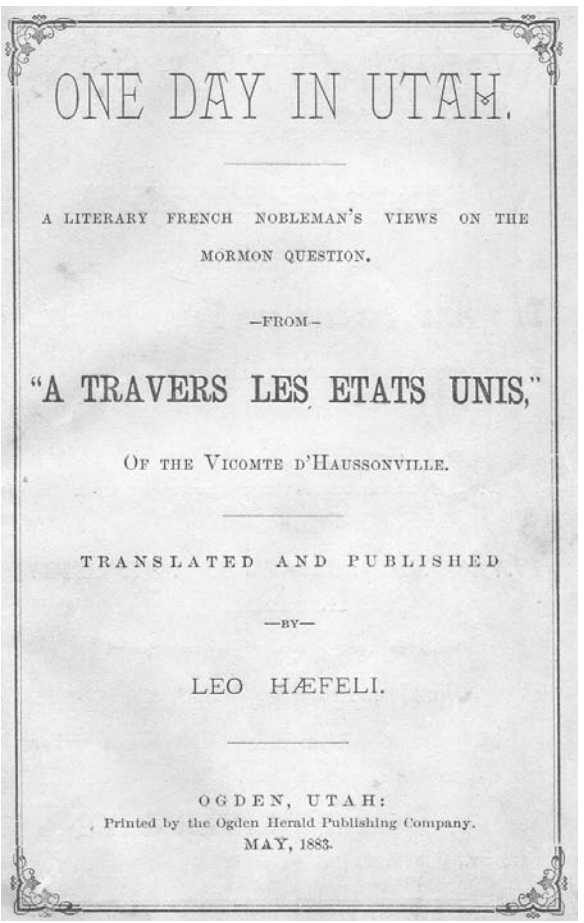
The* Ogden Standard *office in downtown Ogden, c. 1920.

Bolstered by renown from his Falb pieces, impressive scholarly credentials, and apparent commitment to LDS traditions and beliefs, Haefeli was appointed editor of the *Junction* in March 1880. During his tenure at the *Junction* and its successor, the *Ogden Herald*, he scrupulously maintained a pro-Mormon facade. Lecturing at an educational conference, he "referred to the Book of Mormon as the ancient history of this continent and compared it with the conjectures of historians. He thought we should feel as much at liberty to teach it in our schools as to teach the history of the U.S., or relate anecdotes of the Bible." The Mormons in Ogden wholeheartedly embraced him. At funeral services for his infant son, John, late in 1881, the orators on the dais were an impeccable tableau of Mormon prominence and orthodoxy, and the cortege to the Ogden Cemetery was "large."[12]

Editing a small newspaper in those days was no pathway to wealth, so

[11] *Ogden Junction*, October 22 and 1, 1879.

[12] Leo Haefeli and Frank J. Cannon, *Directory of Ogden City and Weber County* (Ogden: Ogden Herald Publishing Company, 1883), 61; *Ogden Herald*, May 3, December 5, 1881.



ONE DAY IN UTAH.

A LITERARY FRENCH NOBLEMAN'S VIEWS ON THE MORMON QUESTION.

—FROM—

"A TRAVERS LES ETATS UNIS,"

OF THE VICOMTE D'HAUSSONVILLE.

TRANSLATED AND PUBLISHED

—BY—

LEO HÆFELI.

OGDEN, UTAH:
Printed by the Ogden Herald Publishing Company.
MAY, 1883.

In 1883 Leo Haefeli translated and published as a pamphlet under the title "One Day in Utah," an excerpt from Vicomte d"Haussonsville's book, Across the United States.

Haefeli tutored to fatten his wallet. "Undismayed by Mark Twain's revelations on the horrors of the German language," noted the *Junction*, "Professor Haefeli is still in the field to teach the language of Lieb Vaterland." He reworked his *Junction* articles on erudite topics such as Don Quixote, Lucrezia Borgia, Torquemada, and Falb's expeditions and sold them to the Utah literary magazine *Tullidge's Quarterly*. The first of his many small books, *Spring Blossoms*, an anthology co-authored with *Junction* colleague Edward H. Anderson, appeared in June 1880. Logan's *Utah Journal* said *Spring Blossoms* was "far surpassing all claimed for it by the publishers ... such as to rank the writers among Utah's best." Next came Haefeli's forty-one-page translation, from the French, of the Utah portion of the Vicomte d'Haussonville's *A travers les Etats Unis*. In November 1881, d'Haussonville visited Ogden and Salt Lake City during a cross-country tour. Haefeli's *One Day in Utah: A Literary French Nobleman's Views on the Mormon Question*, said the *Deseret News*, "is an unusually interesting pamphlet, bearing on the Mormon question in a manner that is quite novel." The little book cost twenty-five cents and its first printing was sold out within one week, "much to the surprise of the translator," reported the Logan paper.[13]

The book for which Haefeli is chiefly remembered today is the landmark 1883 *Directory of Ogden City and Weber County*, an invaluable source

[13] *Ogden Junction*, April 28, July 7, 1880 (quoting Logan's *Utah Journal*); *Ogden Herald*, May 3, July 23, 1883 (quoting Logan's *Utah Journal*).

for all subsequent histories of Ogden. Co-authored with deputy city recorder Frank J. Cannon, it gave detailed overviews of politics, churches, businesses, and newspapers during Ogden's first three decades. Even the *New York Sun* called it "full of useful information." Within a month of its publication Haefeli had sold his interest in it to Cannon.[14]

Haefeli put his stamp on the *Junction* and then the *Herald* through alliteration and word play, a trademark that invited considerable ribbing. "The local of the *Ogden Herald* alliterates, abbreviates, and makes bad puns," teased the *Deseret News*. "Shall he be hung, shot, or beheaded?" Another editor joked that "the alliterative fiend of the *Ogden Herald* ... ought to be sat down upon. His headings are enough to give a person of temperate habits an attack of lockjaw ... I am unwilling to endanger the safety of [my] few remaining teeth ... by trying any more to read aloud ... those double-barreled, swivel-ended captions...." This surely referred to Haefeli's captions on dispatches from the recent trial of Charles Guiteau, the assassin of President James A. Garfield, such as "[U.S. Attorney] Davidge Demolishes the Decrepit Dodges of the Defense" or "Guiteau Gives Himself Greatly Away as Guilty."[15]

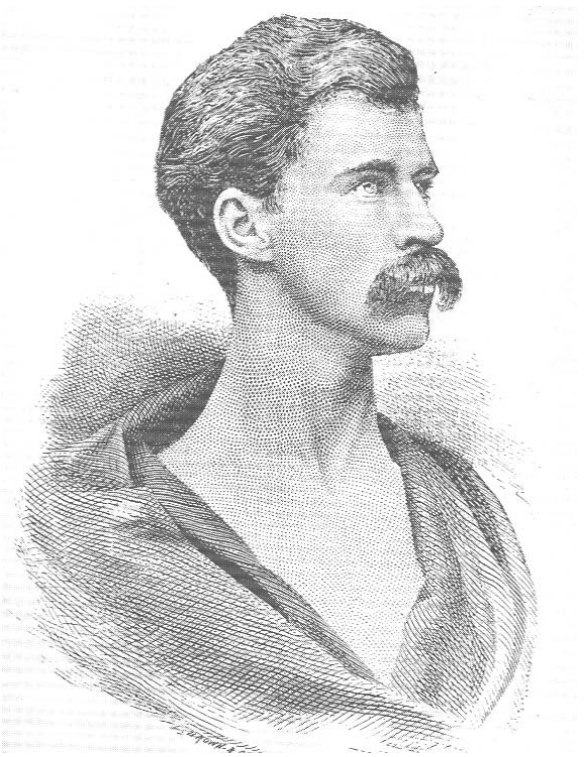
On occasion, Haefeli's penchant for word play could "create quite a little flurry about town," as the *Herald's* rival, the *Ogden Pilot*, noted. A *Herald* article of March 26, 1884, identified an attorney as "Haydude." The correct name was Heywood, which Haefeli certainly knew from its prominent owner's frequent mentions in the *Herald*. Scarcely had the office opened for business the following morning before a highly vexed Abbot R. Heywood burst in, ascertained that Haefeli was the prankster, and struck him in the face. Haefeli swore out a complaint of assault and battery. The *Pilot* parodied Haefeli's recitation of the facts in police court: "My nose did pleed for a long time and vas all filt up mit klots, and I tell you, Chudge, it don't veel very good yet...dat is de whole peezness." Haefeli displayed his blood-stained handkerchief. "We should think [the stains] might be [Haefeli's]," opined the *Pilot*, "for they were a mixture of blood and gin, and very thin at that, indicating free gin." Heywood was fined fifteen dollars.[16]

The *Pilot's* lampooning of Haefeli was no worse than his skewering of it, typified by his earlier allegation that "Dirty scavenger work comes natural[ly] to... the *Ogden Pilot*...virtue is ruthlessly besmirched by the villainous venom of its suspicious slurs." Cross-town bickering between rival newspapers was *de rigueur* in that era and usually harmless. (Haefeli merely laughed off the mockery of his Swiss accent, quipping subsequently that a

[14] *Ogden Herald*, November 6, 1883 (quoting *New York Sun*); October 9, 1883. Parts of the *Directory* were based on Haefeli's "A Stroll Through Ogden" in *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 1 (1881): 475-84. The *Directory* is transcribed at www.usgennet.org/usa/ut/county/weber/books/1883directory/index1.htm.

[15] *Ogden Herald*, August 29, 1881 (quoting *Deseret News*); January 18, 1882; January 7, 1882.

[16] *Salt Lake Tribune*, "Tapping His Proboscis" (quoting *Ogden Pilot*), March 29, 1884. Heywood was later Mayor of Ogden, 1916-1917.



Charles W. Hemenway, from the frontispiece of a book of poetry he wrote at the age of nineteen.

group of men on a fishing trip were pursuing "piscatorial peezness.") But the enduring enmity between the non-Mormon and pro-Mormon papers of Ogden was about to escalate into a first-rate journalistic war, and Haefeli's abrupt departure from the *Herald* set the stage for it.[17]

In March 1885, E. A. Littlefield, U.S. Postmaster for Ogden, unveiled the *Ogden Daily News*, not so much a new voice as a reincarnation of his failed *Pilot*. Littlefield's prospectus trumpeted, "We have secured the services of Professor Leo Haefeli, a gentleman of fine literary ability, and well known as a newspaper writer, to do the editorial work of the *Ogden Daily News*. It is unnecessary to assure the public that this department of the paper will be interesting and attractive." Possibly Littlefield had lured Haefeli with better pay. The *Herald* merely observed, "He [resigns] entirely for reasons of his own...his best wishes are still with the *Herald*, in the interest of which he has been assiduously working ever since it began to draw the breath of life ...he hopes to remain [the employees'] friend in personal esteem." The *Salt Lake Tribune* pointed out that Haefeli would merely be climbing a different staircase in the same building. "We trust," said the *Tribune*, "that Haefeli, as editor of the *[Daily] News*, will be entirely different from Haefeli as editor of the *Herald*." The *Tribune* was prescient. With his jump to the *Daily News* Haefeli tacitly declared null and void the self-reinvention he had so painstakingly effected four years before when he charmed his way into the *Junction* editorship. Throughout his remaining years in Ogden his writings would espouse the non-Mormon, Liberal Party viewpoint.[18]

Filling Haefeli's old *Herald* job was Charles W. Hemenway, editor of

[17] *Ogden Herald*, September 20, 1883; June 25, 1884.

[18] *Ogden Herald*, October 22, 1885 (quoting *Ogden Daily News*); February 28, 1885; *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 1, 1885.

Provo's *Daily Enquirer* for a mere month before taking the reins at Ogden. Born in Iowa, he pursued an itinerant reporting career in San Francisco, Honolulu, Salem, and Boise before landing in Utah County, where he wooed a Mormon girl whom he later married. The bellicose Hemenway seemed to have been born itching for a fight. Although he would have fomented trouble no matter where he worked, his advent in Ogden created the most bizarre configuration of contenders in the annals of Utah journalism. As the non-Mormon editor of the pro-Mormon *Herald*, he would be locked in dizzying verbal combat with Haefeli, Mormon editor of the anti-Mormon *Daily News*. Allegations of skullduggery, fraudulence, hypocrisy, duplicity, and even bad breath were hurled between opposing fortresses for fourteen months until Hemenway was jailed for an unrelated crime.[19]

Hemenway's maiden editorial promised, "assiduously [to] seek the greatest good for the greatest number," but his means to that end were invariably pugilistic. His first jabs were at the *Salt Lake Tribune* and federal officials. But then Haefeli's *Daily News* editorial against saloons' inappropriate sales of alcohol caught Hemenway's eye, piquing him to sneer, "[I]t seems strange that a whisky-guzzling, paltry scribbler should thus go back on his kindred vermin which he has defended so persistently in the past." Henceforth Hemenway would seize upon Haefeli as the perfect piñata.[20]

Two weeks later, Haefeli played right into the hands of his pugnacious nemesis by writing in defense of General Nathan Kimball, a Hoosier Civil War hero who came to Utah in 1874 as U.S. Surveyor of the Territory. Hemenway had condemned Kimball's conduct as a grand jury foreman, prompting Haefeli to rail against,

> …an extremely scurrilous and dastardly villainous editorial in the *Ogden Herald* ... in which a Greek stinkpot of filth was flung at the sturdy old veteran who fought and bled for the salvation of this country and the preservation of the Union while the miserable scribbler of the infamous [editorial] was wriggling in his swaddling clothes ... The editorial effusion in question was the very worst and most wicked libel and scandal of that long (and too long tolerated) series of perfidious pasquils which have daily disgraced the columns of a braying donkey and the slimy footprints of a reeking reptile.[21]

Hemenway trumped Haefeli by reprinting the latter's own broadside, written only five months before while still at the *Herald*, lambasting Kimball's speech at a Liberal Party convention as "the spavined prancing of the old Indiana war horse." Haefeli had ridiculed Kimball as "one of our leading mandible manipulators, indolence industry indulgers, and general General in generalities." Now Hemenway dubbed Haefeli "an editorial imbecile" for flip-flopping to Kimball's defense.[22]

[19] Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "In and Out of Mormonism: Charles W. Hemenway, Journalist," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 61 (Spring 1993): 153.

[20] *Ogden Herald*, March 23, May 20, 1885. Haefeli's editorial on sales of alcohol has not survived.

[21] *Ogden Herald*, June 4, 1885 (quoting *Ogden Daily News*).

[22] Ibid.

The following week, Hemenway caught Haefeli red-handed in a "black perfidy," an embarrassment for which Haefeli had left himself wide open. Friedrich W. Schoenfeld, president of the LDS Swiss-German mission, had written to friends in Utah warning that the anonymous author of anti-Mormon articles in a Swiss Sunday supplement was Haefeli. The articles asserted "that Joseph Smith's family were bad folks; that Sidney Rigdon was the writer of the Book of Mormon, and that it was made from a manuscript of Solomon Spaulding ..." Hemenway branded Haefeli a "turncoat," an epithet he would apply almost daily for the next year, and wrote, "while [Haefeli] was editing the *Ogden Herald* and pretending to be a Mormon himself, he was at the same time engaged in writing articles to the European press denunciatory of the religion which he professed here, hypocritically for mercenary purposes."[23]

A lull in the feud occurred when Haefeli announced the end of his turbulent nine-month tenure at the *Daily News*. Because no issue of the *Daily News* survives, the resignation's cause is unknown, but Haefeli probably committed a significant gaffe in November 1885. Under the headline, "Casting Him Off," Hemenway snarled, "How low has the little turncoat fallen, that he should be treated so coldly by those who flattered and aided him ... No Mormon has anything to expect from the most deadly enemies of his people by turning traitor and becoming a sucker after anti-Mormon approval. This, poor little overthrown Haefeli has learned by sad experience."[24]

Haefeli's own statement in the December 16, 1885, *Daily News* merely said, "Engagements of a wider and even more than national extent [make] it necessary for me to devote all my time to those pursuits ..." A more ominous-sounding notice under Haefeli's signature ran subsequently in the *Herald*: "Having settled my affairs, and severed my connection with the *Ogden Daily News*, I desire all having claims against me to present them to me individually. Everybody will be satisfied at an early date."[25]

Extending the olive branch to Hemenway in a private letter sent on January 1, 1886, Haefeli reflected,

> We have called each other bad names before we knew each other—that was journalism. We have found out each other's talents—that is justice. We will excuse in each other what we can accuse the other of—that is humanity. We will forget—that is manlike. We will forgive—that is God-like... Were I religious—which my cerebral conformation prevents—I'd say, "God bless you." As it is I can only, but will heartily say: "Be with thyself."[26]

But in a blow below the belt, Hemenway printed Haefeli's letter in the *Herald*, prompting cries of foul from other Utah newspapers. The *Salt Lake*

[23] *Ogden Herald*, June 12, 1885.
[24] *Ogden Herald*, November 9, 1885.
[25] *Ogden Herald*, January 8, 1886 (quoting *Ogden Daily News*); December 18, 1885.
[26] *Ogden Herald*, January 8, 1886.
[27] *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 10, 1886; *Ogden Herald*, April 1, 1886. With Hemenway's probable incarcer-

Tribune said Hemenway "gave the public good proof that he is not a man who can be trusted ..." Attempting to justify his action, Hemenway claimed he believed Haefeli "was carried away with the notion that his letter would pave the way to his reinstatement upon the staff of the *Herald*."[27]

The feud resumed at full tilt after Haefeli returned to the *Daily News* without explanation on January 7, 1886. In February, *Daily News* publisher Littlefield declined to print Haefeli's article on a Liberal convention honoring Founding Father Thomas Paine, but someone took the snubbed screed to the *Herald*, where Hemenway published it with the disingenuous excuse that his columns "are always open for all news reports." Still smarting from the recent exposure of his private letter, Haefeli bitterly decried Hemenway's "underhand[ed], stab-in-the-back assassin tricks" and "pure, unprofessional ungentlemanly, unmanly, and unworthy cussedness." Further, he claimed his piece "would have cost the heads of the whole editorial staff of the *Herald*, had they published it originally." He denounced the unauthorized courier as "a tool of the priesthood, whose spies have watched their opportunity."[28]

One skirmish of epic scurrility began with Haefeli's visit, at the suggestion of a quarantine physician, to the squalid home of a stable cleaner for the Ogden Street Car Company. His subsequent exposé accused the company of subjecting the man's family to "opium fumes, dirty stench, villainous effluvia, [and] nasty exudations." In response, Hemenway printed a letter ostensibly from the stable cleaner's wife, retorting that during Haefeli's visit, "the worst smell in the whole locality was from his breath ... I did not know how badly spoiled [whisky] could be until I caught a whiff ..." The "wife" (who had no previous acquaintance with Haefeli or his history) added gratuitously that "if we should ever join [the LDS church] I guess we would stick to it and not turn traitor as contemptible Mr. Haefeli has done."[29]

On February 7, 1886, the Ogden LDS Third Ward excommunicated Haefeli for apostasy. Although notices of excommunications were published routinely in Utah newspapers in that era, including the *Herald*, Hemenway remained uncharacteristically silent. But six months earlier Hemenway had called Haefeli,

> …a creature who assumed to be a Mormon but a brief time since, who pretended to be neutral, non-partisan and non-sectarian but yesterday, and yet who is today a rabid, lying anti-Mormon, though by tomorrow he may again beg to be baptized into the Mormon Church for the third or fourth time, merely with a view of getting his bread and butter....[30]

No record of prior excommunication exists in Haefeli's LDS wards in

ation looming, the *Herald* editorship would again be vacant.

[28] *Ogden Herald*, January 8, February 2, 4, 1886 (quoting *Ogden Daily News*).

[29] *Ogden Herald*, March 22, 1886 (quoting *Ogden Daily News*); March 24, 25, 1886.

[30] *Ogden Herald*, August 27, 1885.

Ogden, Slaterville, or Midway to corroborate Hemenway's insinuation.[31]

Not until Hemenway was jailed for criminal libel of federal officials in July 1886 did the feud cease. After the smoke cleared, Haefeli, despite having taken a lion's share of lumps, retained Ogden's respect. In essence, while Hemenway was too cantankerous to make friends, Haefeli was too affable and conciliatory to make enemies. "He still retained his elegant manners learned in Europe, and to his children he seemed above ordinary men," wrote Haefeli's granddaughter. Even at the height of the feud, Ogden called on him to compose a poem for the city's observance of Ulysses S. Grant's death. In the coming years the *Herald* and its successor, the *Standard*, lauded Haefeli's talents frequently and published commentary and short stories from him.[32]

As for Hemenway, the court's admonishment in his criminal libel case applied equally well to his editorial conduct: "You have pursued a course ... of a character assassin, in which you have screened yourself behind the columns of a newspaper and uttered things which you would not have uttered on the public street ..." Later, as editor of the *Utah Valley Gazette*, Hemenway launched an Ogden-style feud with editor John C. Graham of the *Provo Enquirer*, prompting the *Standard* to guffaw at "Hemenway once more posing as a member of the Mormon Church and pronouncing holy anathemas upon a competing editor down at Provo." Graham called Hemenway "a hypocrite to the core, his methods are perfectly unscrupulous...the *Ogden Herald*...mistook the indiscretions he perpetrated for ingenuousness..."[33]

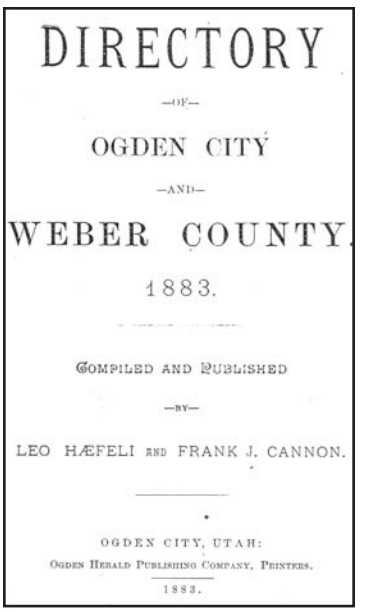
Haefeli's *Daily News* editorship ended when that paper liquidated in mid-1887; now with three children to feed, he would stagger from one ill-fated liberal newspaper venture to another. These included the *Ogden Optic* (so obscure that even J. Cecil Alter's herculean compilation *Early Utah Journalism* overlooked it), *Ogden Argus*, and *Utah Daily Union*. In 1888, Haefeli went to Salt Lake City to write for Edward W. Tullidge's new *Western Galaxy* magazine, but that, too, failed after less than a year. To a friend, Haefeli confided that leaving the *Herald* for the *Daily News* had been "the great error of his life."[34]

Standard editor Frank J. Cannon, normally friendly with Haefeli, exploited the latter's abiding liberal sensibilities to play one of Ogden's most memorable journalistic pranks. After Haefeli criticized an upcoming LDS Seventies conference as a political gathering "to concoct another scheme to beat the ungodly Liberal party at the polls," Cannon reported that the conference's location would be moved from Ogden to Harrisville. Haefeli asserted the sudden change was just another LDS gambit "to cover up their

[31] Record of Members, Ogden Third LDS Ward, Ogden Family History Center.
[32] Larsen, "History of Joseph Leo Haefeli"; *Ogden Herald*, August 10, 1885.
[33] *Ogden Herald*, July 29, 1886; *Provo Enquirer*, August 2, 1889 (quoting *Ogden Standard*); July 23, 1889
[34] *Provo Enquirer*, March 23, 1888; *Ogden Herald*, January 11, 1886.

union of Church and State crookedness." Crowing triumphantly, Cannon confessed the move to Harrisville was the *Standard's* hoax, "just to catch" Haefeli, whose retorts had been "the apotheosis of silliness."[35]

In hopes of extra income Haefeli returned to book writing with his three-volume *As You Like It*, an anthology of his most popular newspaper columns interspersed with new essays, short stories, and poems. He spent the summer of 1889 rusticating at his Midway friend John Huber's ranch while compiling volumes one and two; the following summer's work on volume three was done at the Ogden Valley cabin of his old Slaterville Liberal Union friend Benjamin Chadwick. The Utah press dished up its usual encomiums for *As You Like It*, but as the *Standard* would later note, Haefeli's "lines did not fall in pleasant places" and he "fought a severe struggle with poverty as his literary efforts failed to remunerate him to the extent that he expected."[36]


DIRECTORY

—OF—

OGDEN CITY

—AND—

WEBER COUNTY.

1883.

COMPILED AND PUBLISHED

—BY—

LEO HÆFELI AND FRANK J. CANNON.

OGDEN CITY, UTAH:

OGDEN HERALD PUBLISHING COMPANY, PRINTERS.

1883.

The title page to Directory of Ogden City and Weber County compiled and published by Leo Haefeli and Frank J. Cannon in 1883.

Discouragement with tepid sales and failed newspapers led Haefeli to move his family back to Midway in mid-1890 where he took up his old school teaching job. But the classroom could not satisfy his need to write, so he assumed the weekly Midway column for the *Wasatch Wave*, and composed a dozen poems and short stories over the next two years for the *Contributor*, a monthly journal published for young LDS members. He also began a somewhat puzzling barrage of lengthy epistles to newspapers across Utah, which all knew him and were glad to print his reminiscences and news. It was as if he had set afloat bottles containing messages of distress. Perhaps he hoped to keep his name in public view in case some publisher might suddenly need an editor.

In his latest (and final) incarnation in Midway, among his beloved Swiss expatriates, Haefeli reverted once more to his pro-Mormon public face. The transition had already been underway when *As You Like It* was in production; he asked the press to stress that it was "strictly literary...there are no offensive allusions to local differences either of politics or religion." Haefeli's weekly Midway dispatches recounted with approbation the numerous LDS meetings and activities that pervaded the town's life.

[35] *Ogden Standard*, December 18-21, 1888 (quoting *Utah Daily Union*).
[36] *Wasatch Wave*, July 6, 1889; *Ogden Standard*, July 23, 1890; June 1, 1892.

However, he apparently never sought reinstatement after his 1886 excommunication; the LDS Midway Ward records say laconically that he "was not a member of the Church at the time" of his death.[37]

In the last rather sad month of Haefeli's life he worked in Salt Lake City as a reporter for the German-language *Utah Freie Presse* while boarding at the Germania House on State Street. Though he was only forty-one years old, he was not only losing his sight but also suffering severe kidney problems. Two *Freie Presse* colleagues testified that he seemed "nervous," both physically and mentally. On the morning of May 29, 1892, Haefeli was found dead on his bed at the Germania, with a small vial containing traces of laudanum outside the room's open window. He was known to use the opiate to relieve the pain in his kidneys. The newspapermen testified that Haefeli told them he planned to return to Midway the next day to move his family to Salt Lake City, giving the coroner a basis for a ruling of accidental death.[38]

Newspapers throughout the territory carried respectful tributes. Haefeli was "never at rest unless working," noted the *Standard*. "In fact he took such a delight in his literary labors that rest was never thought of by him." The *Deseret News* called Haefeli "a bright and original thinker," but could not resist pointing out the "failings which hindered his progress materially ... If he had been made of sterner stuff he would probably have been more successful in life."[39]

That Haefeli and Utah were not a match made in heaven is obvious. A literary career is a struggle anywhere, but Haefeli's case was complicated by a "cerebral conformation" at odds with the dominant worldview in the territory he chose as his American home. As a novice newspaper editor, he tried to ignore the conflict's portent, but soon he was leading a double literary life, writing anti-Mormon articles on the side for Swiss publications. If at this juncture he could still gloss over his misfit status, as the 1880s wore on and his writings failed to find a sustaining audience, it would become depressingly clear. Deterrents to his relocating to greener literary pastures—lack of resources for a move, no known offers of employment, his wife's strong ties to her Utah kin—may have appeared insurmountable. Was his early death really accidental? Although the coroner so concluded, the bleak circumstances of Haefeli's last days and his conscious ingestion of laudanum furnish reasonable doubt.[40]

[37] *Ogden Standard*, August 17, 1889; Record of Members, Midway LDS Ward, LDS Church History Library.

[38] *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 30, 1892; Coroner's Inquest, May 30, 1892, Series 3851, Reel 1, Utah State Archives.

[39] *Ogden Standard*, June 1, 1892; *Deseret News*, June 11, 1892.

[40] Haefeli's story, "Died by the Wayside," in the October 1892 *Contributor*, was accompanied by the following editor's note: "This little sketch is probably the last one ever written by Leo Haefeli, and the circumstance of its delivery to the Editor is interesting. One day last summer [i.e., May] Mr. Haefeli came in the office and handing over the [manuscript] said: 'I promised you a little something as a companion story to "The Cobbler's New Year" [published a year earlier], and here it is – a little Christmas gift.' 'Yes,' he was answered, 'but this is pretty early for Christmas.' 'Well, I wanted to be sure and *get it here in time*.' A week later Mr. Haefeli died."

However, the sad aspects of Haefeli's life ought not to obscure the significant contributions he made to his adopted home. He exulted in higher learning and shared his knowledge unflaggingly. As an educator, he familiarized himself with techniques of leading American and European authorities (one of few in Utah to do so), benefiting his pupils. As a journalist, he wrote copiously on literary and historical topics to supplement his readers' immersion in the humanities.

As an editor, he caused the Ogden newspapers to carry more European news than their Utah counterparts; he also used his position to boost Ogden tirelessly. As a poet, his infectious patriotism for America leavened countless public celebrations throughout Utah.

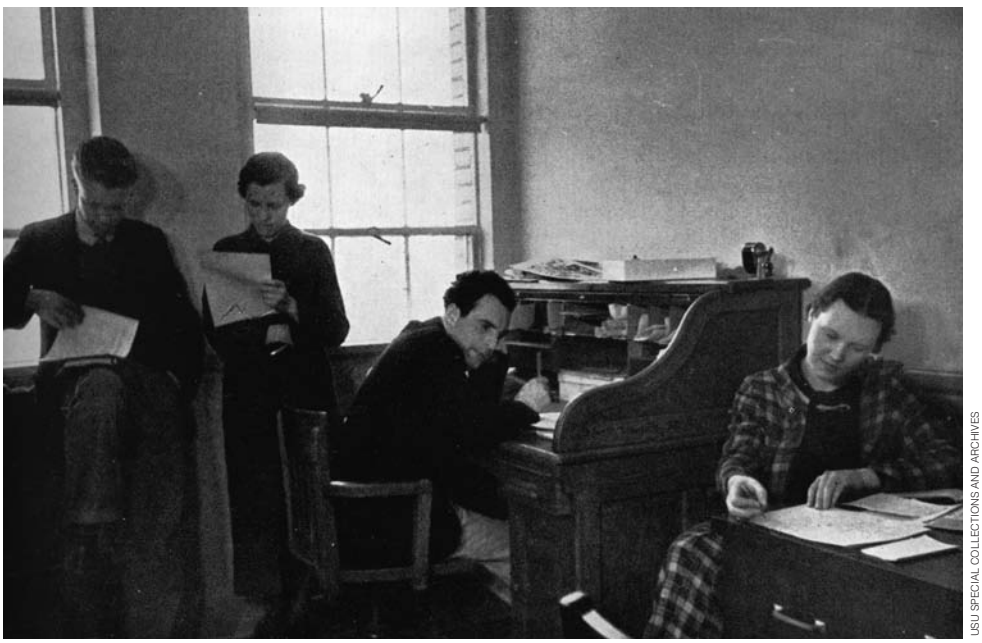
Haefeli's literary legacy included dozens of sonnets composed in honor of children, close friends, statesmen, or pastoral Utah scenes. One sonnet, written to mark the birth of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, whom Haefeli called "the world's greatest poet," praises ideals for which Haefeli may have wished to be remembered.

'Twas on this day, seven-score years ago,
That there was born of this resplendent time
The greatest moulder of melodious rhyme,
Who to a blind world did a bright world show.

His "Iphigenia" and his "Faust" bestow
Upon his age eternal glow sublime;
Or scent the world as incense of sweet thyme,
Of marigold and all the flow'rs that blow.

'Twas he who in his days octogenarian,
Felt deep and warm the fond impress of love,
And realized the multitude of man.
Far was from his great soul all thought sectarian;
His thought resides below, around, above.
His poesy comprises all times' span.[41]

[41] Leo Haefeli, "*As You Like It*," Vol. 1 (Ogden: Union Printing and Publishing Co., 1889), 106.



USU SPECIAL COLLECTIONS AND ARCHIVES

"Leftward March": Student Liberalism at the Utah State Agricultural College

BY ROBERT PARSON

The Great Depression and the years leading up to World War II forever changed American society. The debilitating effects of the Depression "produced a profound shaking-up of American Society," wrote Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.[1] Economic instability, an evolving national politic, and the growing threat of another world war, all combined to catapult the United States from what it was into what it became. No one was entirely immune. The transformation affected all regions of the country politically and all segments of the population. Utah voters long wedded to conservative ideals, even repudiated the extended Republican incumbencies of Senator Reed Smoot and Congressman Don B. Colton, and joined in the 1932 national Democratic landslide.[2]

This photograph of the staff of the Student Life appeared in the USAC 1936 Buzzer. Editor-in-chief Grant Redford is seated at the desk. Editorial staff member Edward Barrett is seated by the window.

The 1932 elections brought Franklin D.

Robert Parson is the university archivist for Utah State University. He would like to acknowledge the advice and commentary of John Walters, Documents Librarian at Utah State University.

[1] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt: The Politics of Upheaval*, (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1960), 96.

[2] Wayne Stout, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: The author, 1971), 3:84-87.

Roosevelt to the presidency, and his New Deal to national prominence. But even as New Dealers experimented to try and halt the downward economic spiral, the Depression deepened. Gradually, the emergence of more radical alternatives to Roosevelt's New Deal gained legitimacy. By appealing to constituencies long ignored by the "older ruling classes," politicians on both the left and the right of the political spectrum succeeded in further radicalizing the mainstream of American politics.[3]

This radicalism eventually spilled over onto this nation's university and college campuses, although most college students had been disassociated from the economic catastrophe. "The dominant student attitude toward the economy," stated Robert Cohen, "had an elitist cast.... Undergraduates tended to assume that they were the future leaders of society..." and therefore assured of a prosperous future. In fact, straw polls taken among college students nationally prior to the 1932 elections, revealed a surprisingly high percentage of them still preferring the traditional anti-statism of Herbert Hoover to the reform policies of FDR.[4]

The mood of undergraduate college students changed abruptly in the few months between FDR's election and his ascension to the presidency. The Depression spread rapidly and soon penetrated the flimsy bulwark of class distinction previously discernable on campuses. *The New York Times* reported: "the chief effect of the Depression had been to modulate the carefree joy of campus life...."[5]

The change from "flashy roadsters" and "snappy dressers," which had characterized college campuses during the 1920s, was punctuated at the Utah State Agricultural College (USAC) in Logan in the fall of 1932, when Gordon Van Buren, a senior from Ogden, rolled his father's sheep camp wagon onto campus and parked it in back of the new library. "We hail Gordon's solution [to] the depression," applauded the campus newspaper *Student Life*. "All this goes to show that if a man is clever enough he can have...an education..."[6] During the next three years another twenty-seven students emulated Van Buren's extraordinary display of resolve by moving portable trailers onto this site, christening it "Windbreak," in recognition of the stiff canyon winds which blew across campus each morning. Having outgrown this location by 1935, the students relocated their burgeoning community to vacant property acquired along Seventh East Street between Eighth and Ninth North. By fall 1936, forty-five students had un-hitched their houses in "Trailertown." In December, Mrs. Blain Rowan

[3] Such diverse groups as Scandinavian farmers in Minnesota, represented by Governor Floyd Olson; Jews and Italians in New York City, represented by Mayor Fiorello La Guardia; and the poor and dispossessed in Louisiana, represented by Senator Huey Long. See, Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt: The Politics of Upheaval*, 97.

[4] Robert Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young: Student Radicals and America's First Mass Student Movement, 1929-1941* (New York: Oxford Press, 1993), 11.

[5] Quoted in Ibid., 17.

[6] Student Life, (Logan) October 6, 1932.

of Ririe, Idaho, gave birth to a daughter, the community's official "first citizen."[7]

The 1930s brought other profound changes to the USAC campus. What began in 1890 in the unfinished south wing of Old Main had by 1938 grown to include most of the buildings presently adorning the Quad at the center of campus. In addition to the new library, which the college erected in 1930 at the Quad's south end, federal New Deal funds made possible the construction of the gothic-styled Commons/Home Economics Building (1935) on the Quad's southeast corner, and Lund Hall (1938), a women's dormitory located southeast of the library.

Transforming the college even more dramatically than New Deal projects was the growing student body, which more than doubled to 3,843 students between 1929 and 1938. Not only did the student body increase, according to *Student Life*, but, similar to its transformation on other college campuses, also manifested "a more sober understanding of the opportunities and the responsibilities which a college education offers."[8]

This resulted in the decade of the 1930s emerging as one of USAC's most successful periods. Part of this success must be attributed to a dedicated faculty. "This corps of loyal and devoted instructors," wrote Professor Joel E. Ricks in 1938, "sought... to give the students the mental stimulus and moral example that...would encourage them to face life unafraid."[9] All members of the faculty took voluntary pay cuts and accepted additional teaching loads to accommodate increased enrollments. Additionally, every full-time employee of the college pledged 3 percent of his salary towards a student employment fund. "This noble gesture," wrote the editors of *Student Life*, is "one of the finest movements undertaken by a group of instructors...[and] is paving the way for many an Aggie student to complete his education.…"[10]

Under the tutelage of a devoted faculty, student academic performance flourished. In 1936, G. Fred Somers became the first of three successive Rhodes Scholars selected from USAC. In 1937, George Piranian, who had emigrated from Switzerland while still in high school, joined Somers in England at Oxford University. William McEwan became the third consecutive USAC student to be honored as a Rhodes scholar in 1938. This unprecedented string of recipients, two in botany and one in chemistry, firmly established the college's academic reputation in the agricultural sciences.

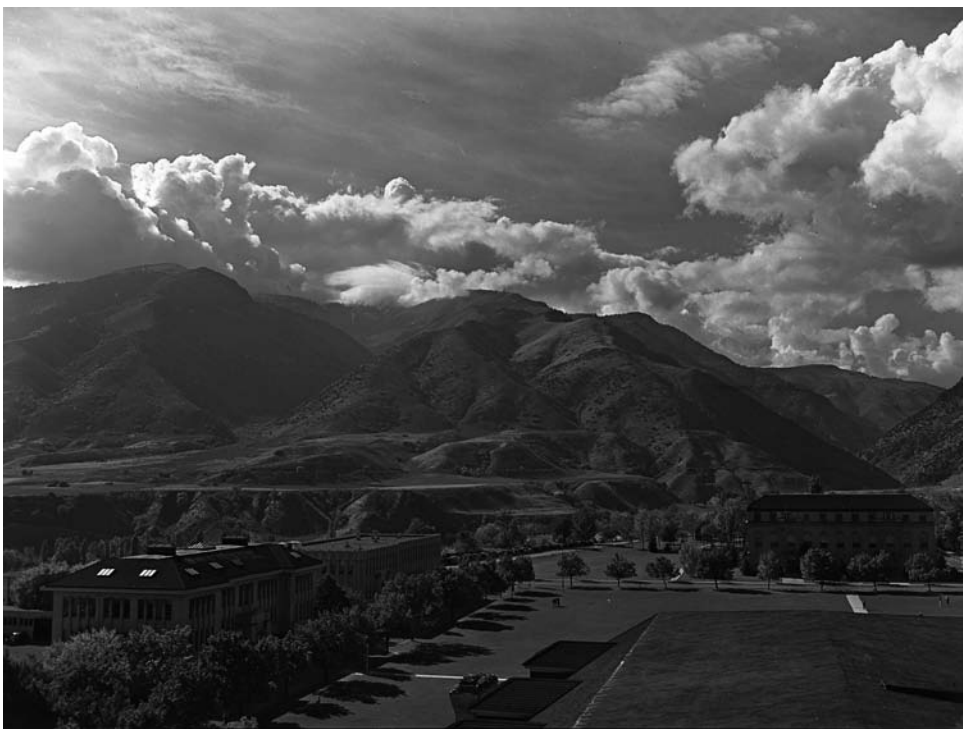
Even as the applied sciences formed the underpinning of the college,

[7] Papers Relating to Studentville at Utah State Agricultural College, Record group 10.2, Box 7, folder 8, University History Collection, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

[8] *Student Life*, October 1, 1931.

[9] Joel E. Ricks, *The Utah State Agricultural College: A History of Fifty Years, 1888-1938* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Co., 1938), 119.

[10] *Student Life*, October 1, 1931.



REUBEN REYNOLDS COLLECTION, USU SPECIAL COLLECTIONS AND ARCHIVES

This photograph of the USAC campus in the 1930s was taken from Old Main looking east toward the library.

students organized the Scribbler's Club in 1926, and began publishing the magazine *Scribble* "to encourage and advance the art of writing and provide means of expression for literary talent...."[11] In the 1930s, a particularly gifted group of writers included Austin Fife, Veneta L. Nielsen, May Swenson, Ray B. West, Jr., and Grant H. Redford graced the pages of *Scribble*.

Born at Lincoln, Bonneville County, in southeastern Idaho, Austin Fife spent three years studying at USAC, after returning from an LDS mission to France. In 1932, he received a fellowship from Stanford University, where he completed his undergraduate and masters degrees. After earning additional degrees at Harvard, Fife returned to Stanford for his doctorate in 1939 and wed his sweetheart Alta Stevens of Bountiful, Utah, who had accompanied him from USAC to Palo Alto in 1932. Together, the two embarked on a half-century journey gathering and documenting the song, verse, and material culture of the Mormon West. The Fifes returned to Logan in 1960, where Austin headed the Language Department at Utah State University.[12]

[11] *Scribble*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Fall 1926), masthead. Beginning in 1926, *Scribble* was a quarterly publication, which persisted through 1960. Copies available at Special Collections and Archives, Merrill/Cazier Library, Utah State University.

[12] Register to the Papers of Austin E. and Alta S. Fife, 1, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill/Cazier Library, Utah State University.

USU SPECIAL COLLECTIONS AND ARCHIVES

Austin Fife and Alta Fife, center and right, examine an acetate disc recorder with folklorist Hector Lee in 1950.

Veneta L. Nielsen grew up in Wellsville, south of Logan, and enrolled at USAC in 1934. She graduated six years later. During World War II she taught English and composition to military personnel in training at the college, and as a result of her performance the college awarded her tenure. For the next thirty-five years she worked tirelessly at the institution, as well as within the community, to promote literature, poetry, and the art of creative writing. She authored several collections of poems, which received critical acclaim from friends and contemporaries.[13]

May Swenson encouraged Nielsen to write and publish for the general public. In a letter to a mutual friend and writer, Grant Redford, May Swenson wrote:

> Recently Veneta N. sent me a monograph of her poems...called UNDER SOUND, and published by the USU English Dept. She has a number of splendid thoroughly first rate poems in it, that are very individual, and I wish she would come out from under her tender skin and get them published for the general public. If you have the time, write her and ask for a copy...and then help me convince her that she should submit them to good magazines....[14]

[13] *Herald Journal* (Logan), October 27, 1998.

[14] Letter, May Swenson to Grant Redford, June 23, 1959, in the Papers of Grant H. Redford, (Mss) 245, Box 17, folder 7, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill/Cazier Library, Utah State University. Hereafter referred to as Redford, SCA.

May Swenson became the most famous of the 1930s student *literati* at USAC. Swenson's poem, *Discord*, which appeared in the fall 1932 issue of *Scribble*, exemplifies how her poetry drew inspiration from the natural world.

There
where the water walks
suavely thru the reeds
Where frail cloud-urchens ride low
their misty steeds
There
where a school of Birch
rear an earnest whiteness
And a Blackbird pattern whirring
leans into the brightness
There
on the happy grass
dark-etched he came
A shrill hurt like a scar was
There
for lo! He was lame

May moved to New York City shortly after 1934. She endured tough economic times by working as a "writer's helper," and by working as an interviewer for the Federal Writer's Project. May emerged as a dominant poetic voice following World War II. In the four decades of her writing career Swenson published eleven books and received nearly every major award for her poetry. While the natural world continued to distinguish Swenson's work from the time of her first submission to *Scribble*, she is also widely acclaimed for her "profound explorations of issues of gender and sexuality."[15]

As Swenson went on to achieve great fame, Ray B. West, Jr., as a college teacher exerted great influence. As with Swenson, whose father Daniel headed the Woodworking Department, West's father, Ray, Sr., was Dean of the School of Engineering. Ray, Jr., graduated from USAC in 1933 and later received his doctorate from the University of Iowa. He taught English at several institutions, including USAC, before returning to Iowa, then to San Francisco State University where he established its creative writing program. He authored many short stories and poems and, co-founded the literary magazine *Western Review* with his colleague and friend Grant H. Redford.[16]

[15] Paul Crumbley and Patricia M. Gantt, *Body My House: May Swenson's Work and Life*, (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2006), 3.

[16] Register to Ray B. West Papers, p. 1, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill/Cazier Library, Utah State University.

Born in Seattle, Washington, Grant Redford spent his formative years in Logan where he received his diploma from USAC in 1937. Even before receiving his diploma, Redford began his teaching career at the Branch Agricultural College (BAC) in Cedar City (now Southern Utah University) in 1936. He spent a year at the University of Iowa, where he received a Master of Arts degree in 1940. Redford returned to BAC where he was head of the Language Department for three years. In 1943 he joined the faculty at the University of Washington teaching literature and creative writing and where he spent the rest of his teaching and writing career. He also nurtured the minds of young artists who attended the Port Townsend Summer School of the Arts.[17]

This small group of USAC students formed life-long friendships. They embraced a philosophy that simultaneously celebrated and opposed their shared Mormon culture. All eventually became disaffected from their Mormon faith.

Nationally, as well as locally, the 1930s produced a social climate that encouraged diversity, and challenged the more traditional culture of previous decades. Many students became critical of American institutions during the 1930s. Some embraced the new political ideas that emerged from FDR's New Deal policies; others resisted the prevailing shift towards Roosevelt and the Democrats in 1932. Such was student Ted Maughan, who expressed disdain for both FDR and Herbert Hoover. "I have looked in vain for a candidate that squarely faces the problems of today," wrote Maughan in an open forum to *Student Life*. "Instead they straddle the real problems and throw up the usual political 'smoke screen' about what the other side has done or has not done... It is a truism," he intoned, "that the result of the election this month will be an emotional reaction rather than a reasoned choice. May the best liar win."[18]

Disappointment with the political establishment prompted some students to explore other, even more radical options. In his 1932 *Scribble* essay "Leftward March," student Lynn Kloepfer championed the presidential candidate Socialist Norman Thomas. What is needed, wrote Kloepfer, "is Socialist advocated ownership of utilities, railroads, factories—popular control of all our means of production."[19] Kloepfer's preference stemmed from the ineffectiveness of both national parties to deal with the Depression.

> It isn't enough for the donkey to bray that Hoover got us into this mess, just as it isn't right for Republicans to accuse Cleveland and Van Buren for our former depressions. It's not one of them, it's a combination of both - their whole political system with its laissez-faire and rugged American individualism...We talk of progress, yet we carry on with unchanging ideas handed down from the primer of Columbus. We talk of an

[17] Mary P. Johnson, "Professor Grant Redford," in *Grant Redford, Tyranny of Shadows* (Seattle: L and H Printing Co., 1967).

[18] *Student Life*, November 3, 1932.

[19] Lynn Kloepfer, "Leftward March," *Scribble*, 8 (Fall 1932): 5.

advanced civilization, our modern science, our new inventions, yet we go to Rome for our politics.[20]

Like Kloepfer, USAC's student body came mostly from Mormon communities in the Intermountain West. This largely homogeneous group, however, found alternative politics no less intriguing than did their counterparts in other regions of the country. Some Mormon communities, in fact, found a rich tradition of socialism in their church. While the leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints during the 1930s embraced the predominant conservatism of the 1920s, some members found the historic Mormon values of community ownership and cooperation perfectly compatible with socialism.

For some Mormons, the Great Depression served to restore the significance of Joseph Smith, Jr.'s, call for a United Order, a concept steeped in socialist ideology.[21] Among those hoping to resurrect Smith's ambitious social and economic experiment was USAC faculty member and rural sociologist Joseph A. Geddes, who lectured widely on the perceived efficacy of a United Order in combating the economic depression of the 1920s and 1930s. The "United Order takes direct issue with present day capitalism..." he emphatically wrote in 1935.[22] Geddes held the decidedly unorthodox opinion that capitalism with its emphasis on profit would produce only mediocrity within the Mormon community, while the economic equality assured under the United Order would attract the most able and superior minds. Superior minds, working cooperatively, he concluded, would produce superior communities.[23] Geddes envisioned such a cooperatively arranged community as "the boat in which the United Order rides to accomplish its objective dealing with 'love thy neighbor as thyself.'"[24]

[20] Ibid.

[21] The United Order, or the Law of Consecration and Stewardship, derived from an idea revealed to Joseph Smith in 1832. Smith directed church members to consecrate their property and wealth to the church and in turn be provided a stewardship based upon the concept of equality, "every man according to his wants and needs...seeking the interest of his neighbor...." The church attempted to implement this grand utopian experiment twice during its early history, first in Kirtland, Ohio, and Jackson County, Missouri, and second in territorial Utah during the 1870s. Although this policy failed in both instances, the idea of a United Order never lost its luster among faithful Latter-day Saints. See, *Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 82, 15-24.

[22] Joseph A. Geddes, *Senior Manual 1935-36, The Community High Road to Better Things* (Salt Lake City: General Board of the Mutual Improvement Association of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), 32. A sociologist who studied the effects of economic depression and out-migration on rural, Utah communities, Geddes championed the concept of the cooperation, both on and off campus. His 1935-1936 Mutual Improvement Association manual, which he prepared for the LDS church, was later withdrawn and censored by church authorities, who objected to his open advocacy for re-implementing the United Order. Geddes maintained his affinity for this historical Mormon concept throughout his life, and was instrumental in founding the Utah Cooperative Association during the 1930s. See, Robert Parson, "Along the Community High Road: Joseph A. Geddes and the United Order in the Twentieth Century," unpublished manuscript in possession of author.

[23] Geddes, *Senior Manual*, 32.

[24] Papers of Newell K. Hart in Caine Manuscript Collection (Mss) 3, Box 4, folder 16, Department of Special Collections and Archives, Merrill/Cazier Library, Utah State University.

In 1931, Benjamin B. Stringham seeking to establish an economic system, through barter, trade and the issuance of script, similar to that which operated in territorial Utah, formed the Natural Development Association (NDA) in Salt Lake City. Stringham, a devout LDS church member of the Pioneer Stake, recruited a large, and an influential group of followers to the organization. Owen Woodruff, nephew of Church President Heber J. Grant, firmly supported Stringham's efforts to alleviate the economic hardships of the Depression, and even approached his uncle on behalf of the organization.[25] A year later, however, church leaders denounced Stringham's NDA as a "revolutionary" movement "socialistic in character," and admonished "members of the church...not [to] identify themselves with it. The organization sought to reestablish the United Order, (or) a system akin thereto," declared the church's First Presidency," a matter which... would be given attention when the Lord directed His servants so to act."[26]

The First Presidency's rebuke of the NDA failed to diminish interest in the United Order. Another group with similar motives that also organized in 1931 was the Peoples Practical Government Corporation (PPGC). Like the NDA, it favored a system of barter, trade and cooperation around Christianity's great organizing principle: loving your neighbor as yourself. Through such a system the PPGC promised to "establish and maintain an ample surplus of life's necessities."[27]

The "golden rule" thus elevated as a political and economic principle, some Mormons grew friendly toward socialism. The socialist creed appealed to other Christian churches as well during the 1930s, particularly those emphasizing the same "golden rule" philosophy. Socialist presidential candidate Norman Thomas, championed in Lynn Kloepfer's *Scribble* article, was himself an ordained Presbyterian minister. A handful of gifted USAC students welcomed these provocative alternative models of arranging society.

Prominent among them was Ray B. West, Jr., who wrote that he was particularly predisposed to revel in "the rise of social consciousness... not only Roosevelt and the new deal, but the sub-culture that depended from it like the spur on the horseman's heel...."[28] West early on sloughed off the conservative elements of his Mormon heritage. "I had been rebel enough in my own youth," he later confided, "rebelling first against my family, then against my religion, then against most of the politicians of the world...."[29]

[25] Randal M. Rathjen, "Evolution and Development of the Mormon Welfare Farms" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1969), 16-17.

[26] Ibid., 17.

[27] Papers of Joseph A. Geddes, Manuscript Collection (Mss) 75, Box 2, folder 1, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University. .

[28] Ibid.

[29] Papers of Ray B. West, Jr., Manuscript Collection (Mss) 76, Box 1, folder 1, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University. Hereafter referred to as West, SCA.

West exhibited his rebelliousness even while serving an LDS mission to France, where he discovered the writings of James Joyce. Although Joyce's *Ulysses* was banned in the United States until 1933, West returned home with a copy of this contraband in hand.[30] In the early 1930s, he entertained other members of the Scribbler's Club by reading aloud passages of the work at a meeting hosted at the home of Austin Fife.[31]

As editor of *Scribble* in 1932, West solicited articles on politics. "Not that I perceived the policy of the magazine as political," he later wrote, "but in that third year of the Depression I saw literary and political problems inextricably linked."[32] West endeavored to balance the fall issue of *Scribble* with contributions covering the political spectrum. He convinced Lynn Kloepfer to represent the socialist point of view. Regrettably, he later revealed, I "could discover no one to outline the aims of Communism, which was my own preference at the time."[33]

In his unpublished autobiography, "My Share of the Twentieth Century," West described his early attachments to communism, while living in Colorado. "With some of the money [I] earned from…outside stage appearances, [I] subscribed to two small, inexpensive magazines. One was called *Contempo*...The other came from Missouri and was titled *The Anvil*. Along with the first issue of this magazine came a letter from its founder and editor, Jack Conroy, asking.... about the political situation in Colorado." Conroy, a writer and celebrated working-class hero of the 1930s, opined that the "only hope he could see for the country was to adopt a socialistic, perhaps even communistic, form of government." West sent Conroy a copy of his poem championing the Bonus Marchers, war veterans who had marched on Washington, D.C., in 1932. Conroy thought West could improve the piece by making it more sharply political, bringing greater attention to the plight of the marchers, while denouncing President Hoover's draconian military solution in harsher terms.

West bristled at the suggestion: "I did not...intend it as propaganda," he later wrote, "but as a comment on the times and how they affected the human spirit." At the same time, however, he confessed to feeling "that he, as a person, was not doing all he could to encourage, to assist...the efforts that others...were making to eliminate the suffering brought about by the Depression."[34]

It was during this period of self-discovery that West sought the advice of a known socialist bookseller, asking him how he might bring to bear his writing skills on behalf of the working class. The bookseller simply handed him an address. "[It] was in the railroad yards, at the far end of a vacant warehouse," West recalled, "where there was a small office and a young girl

[30] Ibid.
[31] R.R. Knudson, *May Swenson: A Poets Life In Photos* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 32-33.
[32] West, Box 64, folder 10, p. 330, SCA.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., 224.

LITERARY ESTATE OF MAY SWENSON

May Swenson. This photograph is from the book* May Swenson: A Poet's Life in Photos by R.R. *Knudson and Suzzanne Bigelow published by Utah State University Press in 1996.

sitting at a desk. It turned out to be not the headquarters of the Socialist Party, but of the communists." West asked "if there wasn't something he could do to aid the cause of reform, imagining they might be interested in utilizing [my] writing skills." After studying him closely for a moment, the young woman told him, "there was a group going out that night to paint slogans on factory walls, and that she imagined they would welcome his aid." Sloganeering on factory walls was not what West had in mind, and he later confessed that this episode disillusioned him.[35]

Following this quixotic attempt to serve as an instrument for reform, West returned to Logan and the USAC campus where he devoted himself to academic pursuits. As editor of *Scribble*, he envisioned the possibility of a new literary magazine featuring "western" authors. "Recognizing the talent of my fellow students," he recalled, "I imagined the wealth of raw talent that must have existed on other, similar campuses in the West."[36] West, with the help of Grant Redford, launched the *Intermountain Review* in 1937. A year later it became the *Rocky Mountain Review* and in 1940 the *Western Review*.

The same year that the *Intermountain Review* was launched West joined Redford on the faculty at the Branch Agricultural College (BAC). They moved the editorial offices of the *Review* to Cedar City, and together promoted the relatively new genre of western American literature. Some of the most significant western writers, including Vardis Fisher, Wallace Stegner, and May Swenson, found early voice in this publication.

Like West and Austin Fife, Grant Redford also served a mission for the LDS church during the late 1920s. And like West and Fife, Redford abandoned the church owing to its conservative social policies. Redford was recusant by nature. His 1933 piece entitled "Sinful Sex," which appeared in *Scribble*, took exception to prudish notions about human sexuality. "Why should the most important thing in Life," Redford asks at the beginning of his essay, "the very means of its perpetuation, be shrouded in subdued silences, discrete glances, and smutty stories? What is there so disgraceful about having a body?"[37] Redford's article was a rejoinder to student outrage over USAC Professor Frank Arnold's scholarly piece on pre-marital

[35] Ibid., 323-24
[36] Ibid., 330.
[37] Grant Redford, "Sinful Sex," *Scribble*, 8 (Spring 1933): 8.

sex. Interestingly, Arnold's piece urged students to abstain from pre-marital sex; yet the editors of *Student Life* still objected to any discussion of human sexuality.[38] "If sex is sinful, debased, unmentionable," concluded Redford, "then so also is life in its every phase...."[39] Redford's position often alienated him from his more traditional collegians.

In a previous issue of *Scribble*, he explored other provocative subjects in a short story about an itinerant ranch hand named William Henry. Henry's inquisitive mind alienated him from his co-workers. In the midst of small talk at the end of the day, Henry found himself isolated from his fellow ranch hands because of his probing and often heretical questions. "I wonder why God keeps the stars covered up with the sun during the day, and lets them waste their shining all that time," he asked? "Good Hell!" one of the others exclaimed as they all stood up and slowly wandered back to the bunkhouse, glancing back over their shoulders at William Henry.[40]

On another occasion Redford wrote, William Henry asked the Mormon Bishop: "Why he thought the 'Mormons' were the chosen people. William Henry knew why the Church thought so—he had worked for Mormons before—but he wanted to know what the Bishop... thought about it. This habit of asking questions of people," Redford discerned, " made them feel uncomfortable...."[41]

Clearly, Redford and his coterie pursued a line of intellectual inquiry that led to areas where most USAC students feared to tread. Like William Henry, Redford's group acquiesced to nothing, and delighted in challenging the sacred cows of the day. They were particularly inclined to join in the growing national debate over militarism and war.

A majority of their peers were similarly averse to militarization. Public opinion surveys, during the 1930s, revealed that a high percentage of college students opposed war, "and showed a decided bent toward Pacifism." Most college students considered world peace an achievable goal, and a majority even favored the idea of the United States disarming.[42] Wars, editorialized the student paper, "are caused by un-natural conditions as pathogenic in character as are organisms which cause tuberculosis or smallpox."[43] By 1935, a majority of Americans, both on and off campus, were convinced that the United States had entered World War I not to make-the-world-safe-for-democracy as President Woodrow Wilson had argued, but to "save the skins of American Bankers..."[44]

USAC student Sherman P. Lloyd in his 1933 *Scribble* essay contended

[38] *Student Life*, March 23, 30, 1933. Professor of languages Frank Arnold published his article, entitled "Our Dangerous Sex Freedom," in the April 1933 issue of the journal *Physical Culture*.

[39] Redford, "Sinful Sex," 8.

[40] Grant Redford, "William Henry," *Scribble*, 7 (April 1932): 5-6.

[41] Ibid., 6.

[42] *Student Life*, January 31, 1935.

[43] Ibid., April 18, 1935.

[44] Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young*, 92.

that Americans must come to perceive themselves as "citizens of the world if peace is to be sustained." He noted how the "ultimate outcome lies directly with the peoples of the world, and more especially with the youth.... Our Statesman, our old men are approaching certain chaos in their belated attempts at tranquility."[45] Lloyd, who later served as a Utah congressman in the 1960s and 1970s, conceded the inevitability of war without U.S. participation in a faltering League of Nations. He eschewed the predominant isolationist viewpoint of most college students, particularly those who espoused the socialist view. Yet, he shared Redford's concern that just as militarists had successfully convinced the U.S. to enter World War I through the use of propaganda, so too were they endeavoring to shape domestic policy during the 1930s. Americans, Lloyd contended, needed to be warned about the treacherous "advance of war propaganda…that hypocritical glory which converts young blood to adventure...the splendid ceremonial of war, the colors, drums and trumpets —the plumes, the medals and the shining emblems, the glitter and parade and the traditional music...."Only through education could reason "replace force as the ultimate, international arbiter," he wrote, "and reason can only be truthfully attained when peace is glorified—as war now is."[46]

Redford used the pages of *Student Life* to denounce war propaganda. In his column "Fact and Fancy" he assailed propaganda as "insidious, malicious, lying, [and] life-rotting. Why," he asked his readers, "must we be so blind as to let the vile economic and political militarists slip these patriotic-coated pills into our unsuspecting mouths?"[47]

In a subsequent edition, Edward Barrett, freshman editor of *Student Life*, repudiated Redford's anti-militarism with the parody "Racked and Rancid." It is only with "a bigger and better-equipped army [with] more battleships and airplanes that the U.S.A. can maintain peace," Barrett claimed. "Armaments are necessary to preserve peace, maintain security and deter aggression." (It was Barrett's position that came to dominate American foreign policy following World War II.) Although he was "certain that all will agree with this policy, especially second-year Private Redford whom we have recently noticed parading the halls and grounds in one of the military department's beloved monkey suits," few did in the 1930s.[48] Redford's and all male students participation in military drill was compulsory.

Although radical student organizations such as the National Student League (NSL) contested the constitutionality of these mandatory programs, the Supreme Court upheld the right of land grant colleges and universities to compel military training in 1934.[49] Despite this legal reversal, the NSL

[45] Sherman P. Lloyd, "The Next War," *Scribble*, 8 (Spring 1933): 6.

[46] *Student Life*, April 18, 1935, 4.

[47] Ibid., February 20, 1935.

[48] Ibid., April 10, 1935.

[49] Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young*, 61. See specifically, Hamilton v. Regents of the University of California, 293 U.S. 245 (1934).

continued to campaign against militarism. In 1933, the organization adopted the Oxford Pledge from British students who vowed to never again "fight for its King and country." Between 1933 and 1936, thousands of college students signed the Americanized version.[50] Nationally, one-third of polled college students claimed to support this categorical refusal to fight, while an additional one third claimed they would fight only if theUnited States were invaded.

USU SPECIAL COLLECTIONS AND ARCHIVES

A Caricature of Grant Redford from the 1936 Buzzer.

At 11:00 a.m. on April 12, 1934, more than 25,000 college students abandoned their classrooms to support a NSL sponsored anti-war demonstration. Timed to coincide with the seventeenth anniversary of America's entry into World War I, the event garnered considerable press coverage, particularly in New York City, the epicenter of student radicalism. From there, news of the event spread rapidly through the grapevine of student unrest, as the NSL anticipated and planned for an even larger and more inclusive protest the following spring.

At USAC Grant Redford urged readers of *Student Life* to join the national protest along with other "thinking people of the nation. The more united the people of this nation stand now," Redford exhorted, "the less scattered and mutilated they will be in the future."[51] Rather than occurring in concert with the April 12 national walkout, students agreed to delay the "rally" for one week, which rendered the event at USAC more subdued than those held on campuses in the east and in California. Still, as students packed the Old Main chapel at 11:00 a.m. on April 16, Redford contended that the USAC student body was participating "in sentiment" with the national protest. The anti-war assembly featured comments by Redford and fellow student Hermoine Tracy, as well as faculty members Milton R. Merrill and W.L. Wanlass.

Merrill and Wanlass both witnessed the horrors of the earlier world war, and feared that an orchestrated campaign of propaganda was driving the U.S. toward another. "Those of us that lived through the world war and lived to see the aftermath of that war," stated Wanlass, "must be thoroughly convinced that it is not only futile as a method or a chance to settle the great problems, but the reverse of that; and in time it has the effect of creating new and more aggravating problems."[52]

[50] Ibid., 80.

[51] *Student Life*, April 4, 1935.

[52] Papers of E.G. Peterson, Record group 3.1/6-2, Box 101, folder 9, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University. Hereafter referred to as Peterson, SCA.

Merrill expressed astonishment that the "assembly and others that were held generally throughout the country...should be considered in any sense radical." He made the interesting point that "the conservatives" should be the ones most opposed to war, because war "is the most dangerous thing for those...who occupy the positions of authority...The people in power ordinarily are most likely to be injured severely in case of war...."[53]

Hermoine Tracy provided a woman's perspective of war. "Here is the first thing that must be done by our sex," she began.

> Women must realize their special responsibility for peace. Men have been taught that physical courage is man's chief virtue. Every man hates to be called a coward, and when a man pleads that physical conflict is no longer an effective institution in our time, someone is sure to call him a coward. If we fail, it will be because we lack moral courage. Women no longer have the excuse that they are compelled to accept passively the acts of government. If women could and would realize their responsibility, really understand war in its agony, it is incredible that they would listen with complacence to statesman and generals who praise them for their vicarious heroism in sending their sons, not only to induce, but to inflict that agony.[54]

Indeed, Redford found himself baited with the charge of cowardice, as Tracy predicted.

"Yesterday," Redford opened his address by referring to, "a certain man on this campus called me and my kind...yellow, and told me that we were trying to destroy manhood in the youth of the nation today." Well, he continued, "If to hate greed and hate injustice...and hate starvation...in a land of plenty is yellow," Redford pointed to those assembled, then "so are you—[at least] every intelligent one of you," he emphasized.[55]

This was not the first time Redford had been verbally accosted. In March, his *Student Life* column addressed the topic of friendship and noted how a supposed friend had been casting aspersions about Redford's political affiliations.[56] Redford attempted to answer these rumors during the assembly. "I have been asked a number of questions," he remarked. "First, for the benefit of a few, I am not subsidized by the Communist party...no one on this campus is being subsidized by anyone or anything, except by their own intelligent reasoning." I suspect, Redford joked, that "I wouldn't mind the subsidy, frankly—I would take you all out and buy you some packages of gum and bars and the military boys some beer," he said, turning his attention to the front three rows, which had been appropriated by members of the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC).[57]

Redford answered his antagonists with a quote from St. Paul: "'To prove all things and hold fast to that which is good.' Whatever is good in the ROTC ought to be maintained," he stressed, "and the bad ought to be

[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] *Student Life*, March 21, 1935, 2.
[57] Peterson, Box 101, folder 9, SCA.

annihilated. Or, so much as the ROTC on the campus creates the militaristic attitude, I am against it."[58] As for the intent of the cadets prominently seated in the front rows, *Student Life* reported that "had anything been said to cast reflection on the loyalty of the school to the United States [or if] any anarchistic suggestions [were] made concerning the ousting of ROTC these minute men intended to have their say."[59]

USU SPECIAL COLLECTIONS AND ARCHIVES

Veneta L. Nielsen, professor of English at USAC.

Redford concluded his remarks by invoking the Golden Rule. He urged his fellow students to interpret their lives "in terms of social usefulness...[and] to live as nearly as possible to that which Jesus said: 'Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.'"[60]

Student Life described the anti-war rally as a huge success, although the campus remained divided. While student Leo Hawkes felt that the "school [was] fortunate to have a man [such as Redford] with his moral courage," Lieutenant John E. Pitzer of the ROTC program said that he was "glad [to be] leaving little Russia."[61]

Sherman Lloyd heralded Redford's "gesture...as a portrayal of the intense interest with which students are grasping at the straws in the advance of war propaganda," and as he had consistently claimed: "The welfare of all nations is superior to the interests of any single national group."[62]

Veneta Nielsen added "her pound of words to the scale of reason," according to Redford. In her poem *Protest*, which appeared in the following edition of *Student Life*, she penned:

Like children who in early morning
Have rubbed our names upon a frosted window pane
And in the sunlight seen the steam rise
And the cursive writing vanish - then again
At twilight reappear, but meanwhile
Have forgotten all the words - we have innate
In us a proneness to forget the tragic letters
We traced upon the thinly polished bitterness
Of our indecent, godless hate.

[58] Ibid.
[59] *Student Life*, April 18, 1935, 4.
[60] Peterson, Box 101, folder 9, SCA. .
[61] *Student Life*, April 18, 1935, 4. Pitzer's reference to USAC being "little Russia" is clearly aimed at his perception that Redford was a communist.
[62] Ibid.

Yet must we fight? Christ, breathe thy flawless breath
Against this marred world window and reveal
How once, so short a time ago, we self-betrayed,
Outraged the race, and Thee, and, God knows, even
death.[63]

A second anti-war rally in 1936 drew an estimated five hundred thousand students, nearly half the entire undergraduate population of the United States.[64] Students at the USAC did not participate, however, owing largely to the absence of Grant Redford. Salt Lake City newspapers reported that without his leadership "USAC today permitted the time set for the holding of anti-war demonstrations to go by entirely unnoticed."[65]

Where was Redford during this landmark event? The college had appointed him to the faculty at the BAC in Cedar City, allowing him to complete his degree in absentia in 1937. It is unclear whether Redford's appointment was an act of administrative subterfuge, designed to diffuse student unrest, or whether the institution simply acknowledged and rewarded a budding scholar.

The war that erupted in Europe in 1939 and in December 1941 engulfed the United States disillusioned many American students who had expended considerable energy opposing it. The 1930s were in part, however, a decade of colossal disenchantment, especially for those idealists who sincerely believed in the force of golden rule principles to rehabilitate human behavior.[66]

In the summer of 1941, on the eve of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, Grant Redford expressed his discontent of war in the *Rocky Mountain Review*. "How can any of us observe the internecine slaughter going on in the world and continue to refer to our time as one of progress," he asked? "What good...does it do us to save men with marvelous medical skill if our purpose in saving them is to kill them with sickening efficiency?" Human relationships, Redford stressed, should be the measure of progress, not "claims of scientific accomplishments." We must be "incapable of measuring progress" in these terms, Redford lamented, or else why would we "continue to prate our progress while we tolerate, and even glory in, the unprogressive, and revoltingly stupid practice of wholesale slaughter?"[67]

This group of students who attended USAC in the 1930s left a legacy extending beyond Cache Valley and northern Utah. Veneta Nielsen and Austin Fife both retired from teaching at Utah State University in the

[63] Ibid.

[64] Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young*, 94-95.

[65] Redford, Box 25, SCA..

[66] As already noted, Ray B. West, Jr.'s, romantic notions of the radical left were undermined when he offered to work as a publicists on behalf of Colorado's working class, but received merely an invitation to participate in vandalism. See, West, Box 64, folder 10, p. 330, SCA..

[67] "Progress vs. Slaughter," *Rocky Mountain Review*, 5 (Spring-Summer, 1941): 2.

1970s. Nielsen passed away peacefully in 1998.[68] Austin, together with his wife Alta, devoted much of their life to the study of Mormon culture. Austin Fife succumbed to Parkinson's disease in 1986.[69] The Fife Folklore Program and associated rooms in the Merrill-Cazier Library at Utah State University are named in their honor.

May Swenson became one of the most celebrated poets of her time, winning the Bollingen Prize for poetry in 1984, and receiving the coveted MacArthur Fellowship just two years before her death at Ocean View, Delaware, in 1989.[70] She is buried in Logan.

USU SPECIAL COLLECTIONS AND ARCHIVES

Ray B. West, Jr., in 1933.

Ray B. West, Jr., after retiring from San Francisco State University, returned to his native Utah, where he continued to write and research. He died at Santaquin in 1990.[71]

This small circle of students, and the campus generally, grieved together in February 1935 over the death of one of their own, Bill Hess. Hess, a talented student actor and stage director, took his own life in a desolate area of Wyoming, east of Evanston. While the campus mourned, Grant Redford penned an open letter to honor his friend in *Student Life*. "Dear Bill," Redford began, "You will notice that I have neither dated nor addressed this letter. The end of the journey you have taken has no address, nor...time. But little things like that are really such small matters, aren't they? And little things never bothered you much did they? It was always the big things." Redford went on to tell Hess how much they all missed his expertise, and how the play *You Never Can Tell* suffered from his absence. Everyone was saying: "'That damn Bill aughta been here to show us how to do this stuff.' You knew lots of the answers when you were here. You know all the answers now. 'Hell,'" Redford stated wistfully, "it must be great to know all the answers."[72] Thirty years later Redford, too, would take his own life.

Marion Nielsen (who along with his sister Virginia attended USAC and were both members of the Scribbler's Club in the 1930s) once wrote to Redford about the difficulty of walking "the liberal tightrope without

[68] *Herald Journal*, October 27, 1998.

[69] Register to the Papers of Austin E. and Alta S. Fife, p.1, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University.

[70] Register to May Swenson Papers, p. 1, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University.

[71] Register to Ray B. West, Jr., Papers, p.1, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University.

[72] *Student Life*, February 14, 1935.

falling into the tyranny of the Right or the tyranny of the Left."[73] Finding an acceptable equilibrium became a perilous balancing act for these students.

Achieving a political balance proved difficult nationally, as well. While American society demonstrated great resiliency during the Depression of the 1930s, the calamity also exposed an inequality, and accentuated the disparity between those who had and those who had not. The amalgam of ideas, which emerged to counteract this disparity, moved eventually onto the nation's campuses, where students launched the first mass student movement in 1932.

In their disdain for war, support of the poor and working class and espousal of a "golden rule" philosophy, student radicals in the 1930s marched decidedly leftward in hopes of mitigating the disastrous effects of the Depression, and to quell the propaganda they felt was propelling the nation towards war. Student activism, however, was not limited to the metropolitan areas of the east and west coasts, but also involved a handful of gifted students at the Utah State Agricultural College, who responded to the economic and social instability of the 1930s in much the same manner as did their national counterparts.

[73] Letter, Marion Nielsen to Grant Redford, March 7, 1950, Box 17, folder 1, Redford, SCA.

A Rascal by Nature, A Christian by Yearning: A Mormon Autobiography. By Levi S. Peterson. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2006. ix + 465 pp. Photographs, index. Cloth, $29.95.)

LEVI PETERSON, A PREEMINENT WRITER of Mormon fiction and prize-winning biographer of Juanita Brooks, has now told his own story in a richly layered autobiography that does not yield easily to the demands of a short review. Though the narrative occasionally moves forward and backward, it generally follows a straight chronological line from Peterson's birth and bucolic youth in Snowflake, Arizona, through his mission to France and undergraduate education at Brigham Young University, to his graduate studies at Berkeley and the University of Utah, to his pedagogical and administrative career at Weber State University, and finally to his retirement and move to Providence Point, Washington, where he and his wife, Althea, rejoice in the companionship of their daughter, Karrin, and her husband, Mark, and their much loved grandsons, Lars and Hans.

Within this chronological structure, Peterson tells many stories, each independent but all interrelated. I take great pleasure in the account of his young life in Snowflake because, having grown up in a small, rural, thoroughly LDS community in southern Idaho, I recognize in Peterson's story much of my own. Historians and sociologists interested in the social life of mid-twentieth century, rural Mormon communities will find much to value in Peterson's narrative of everyday life in his hometown.

It was in Snowflake that Peterson developed a lifelong fascination with wilderness, or with what he often called "the wild." He had originally planned to write a book on wilderness but eventually had to abandon the project as he realized that, despite his preference for the natural world over the domesticated, he was primarily a social animal. His passion for wilderness gave way to a concern for society, and his wilderness book became his autobiography. Nonetheless, some of the work's most emotionally charged passages are Peterson's powerful descriptions of wilderness scenes. Consider the following:

> A bright moon stood high in the sky. I heard a distant sound, which quickly magnified into the quacking of ducks. Suddenly I saw two ducks pass between me and the moon, rocketing on with plaintive voices toward an invisible haven on the nearby creek. My emotions were vivid and complex. I was suspended in delight, rich anticipation, and the ineffable mystery of being alive. I was at one with the staccato flight of the ducks, the glowing moon, and the frosty October shadows around me (97).

Eschewing a purely romantic attachment to wilderness, Peterson came to understand that the natural world has both benign and lethal sides. It was the "horror of a strictly natural world" that led in part to his estrangement from the LDS church and to his longstanding terror and despair as he saw himself no longer as a child of a loving God but as a subject of uncaring nature. This estrange-

ment was abetted by an "empirical bent" that demanded evidence for the existence of God and by his mother's severe view of the church as a place of rewards and punishments and the repression of natural urges. Whatever negative effects she may have had on him, however, Lydia Peterson's civilizing influence on her wayward son was considerable. He wrote: "She communicated an unconditional love for me during my formative years, infusing me with a propensity to affirm and take pleasure in human beings rather than to injure or begrudge them" (52).

Psychoanalytical critics may have a field day with Peterson's obsessive relationship with his mother, recounted in detail through much of the book. He engaged in some of that criticism himself, concluding that his recurrent "pathology" arose in large measure from his having grown up and left his mother (his father had died when Peterson was young) and from his never being able, without terror, to assume the role of a competent adult. Readers for whom reading Peterson's accounts of his anguish and suffering is a wrenching experience will breathe a sigh of relief when he is at last able to leave his demons behind and live a relatively happy and productive life.

At the outset of the autobiography Peterson states that his relationship with his large family will be a principal focus of the book. For me, becoming acquainted with this tight-knit and loving family is, by itself, adequate reason for reading the book. In spite of Peterson's religious differences with this generally solid Mormon group of brothers and sisters, cousins, nieces and nephews, they genuinely love and help him and he them. Especially moving is the picture Peterson has drawn of his attachment to his full brothers (both his parents had been married before), Charles, Roald, and Leon. Roald's death in a truck accident toward the end of the book brought tears to my eyes and made me feel as though I had lost my own brother. That Peterson is capable of invoking such strong emotions in his readers is due to his skill as a creative writer and his commanding control of concrete detail and imagery that brings scenes and people vividly to life.

Strangely, Peterson does not list his fiction writing as one of the themes he will develop as he tells his story. Yet for readers and aspiring writers of Mormon fiction his discussion of his writing, of his mastering technique, of his revising and revising, and of his incorporating suggestions from trusted friends as he pushes *The Backslider*, *Aspen Marooney*, and his short story collections *Canyons of Grace* and *Night Soil* toward their final form may well be the most important part of his narrative. How often can we enter the workshop of a talented writer and watch him develop and polish his craft? Not often. But Peterson takes us there and teaches us how his efforts have satisfied his "impulse to write with a tough realism about Mormons in sin and turmoil" (270).

Of all forms of historical writing, autobiography comes closest to fiction. All of us remember the past in terms meaningful to us in the present. Few of us can fully capture the reality of the past, even when guided by the kinds of letters and journals available to Peterson. What has he captured in his autobiography? It is

certainly the most honest rendition of a life I have ever read–too honest some will say. But it is more than that. In discussing Juanita Brooks, Peterson says: "As for the facts elucidating her fame, they added drama and suspense to my narrative, much like the central conflict of an absorbing novel" (319). And so it is with Peterson's own story. The facts elucidating his fame come close to the drama and suspense of a novel, a novel whose principal virtue is the revelation of character, his own. And who is this character? A rascal by nature, a Christian by yearning. The characters who people his fiction, says Peterson, are derelicts, social failures, backsliders. Yet behind the rough exteriors of these characters lie often good hearts. And so it is with Levi Peterson–with one difference. In his fancy he may have been a rascal, committing a thousand and one sins, but in actual life he has lived a virtuous life, true at all times to his beloved Althea. Even the fornication he once confessed to his Snowflake bishop he never really committed. Behind whatever face he has presented to the world lies a noble, kind, caring human heart, the kind of heart his mother would be proud of. His disbelief in the deity of his youth keeps him from full activity in his church, but he continues to home teach, encourages other Mormons to stay active in the church, and continues his efforts to be a "civilizing" influence among his fellow members. "I consider myself a religious person" (437), he says. His religion lies not just in his cherished wilderness but also in his reverence for sacred and intense human relationships. He may be a Christian in yearning but, in my judgment, he is also a Christian in deed. His artistic account of his own life enriches our own.

WILLIAM A. WILSON
Brigham Young University

Danish Apostle: The Diaries of Anthon H. Lund, 1890-1921. Edited by John P. Hatch. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006. 822 pp. Cloth, $100.00.)

DIARIES ATTRACT OUR INTEREST on the basis of the articulateness of the writer and his or her social roles. Although the humdrum of daily living has its importance for exhuming the social history of the past, it is usually the *placement* of the person that invites the attention of readers outside of the family. Was he or she in a position to observe significant persons and events?

A Danish convert to Mormonism, Anthon H. Lund became a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in October 1889. He became president of the Manti temple, president of the European Mission, Church Historian, president of Utah Genealogical Society, president of the Salt Lake Temple, and from 1901 to his death in 1921 counselor in the First Presidency.

In business, Lund was president of Utah National Bank, Nevada Land and Stock Company, Amalgamated Sugar Company, Consolidated Salt Company, and

Utah Savings and Trust Company. He was vice president of Utah Sulfur Company and Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI). He served on the board of directors of Knitting Works Company, Knight Sugar Company, Inland Crystal Salt Company, Saltair Beach Company, Utah Light and Railway Company, and Hotel Utah. Such participation of Church general authorities in business enterprises continued until January 1996, when President Gordon B. Hinckley announced they would no longer be authorized to sit on boards of directors of companies.

In education, Lund was superintendent of Church Education, president of Snow Academy, board member and president of LDS University, and member of the University of Utah Board of Regents. To appreciate Lund's importance, readers may wish to peruse, in addition to Hatch's useful introductory essay, Jennifer L. Lund, "Out of the Swan's Nest: The Ministry of Anthon H. Lund, Scandinavian Apostle," *Journal of Mormon History* 29 (Fall 2003): 77-105.

With all his responsibilities, Lund naturally attended many meetings. How detailed are the entries about these meetings? Often we long for more, some indication of the give-and-take. Yet he fully describes the Twelve Apostles' meetings on April 16-20, 1893, March 30-31, 1897, January 9-10, 1900, January 8-10, 1901, April 3-4,1901, July 10-11, 1901, and October 1, 1901. For these and other meetings Lund's diary becomes an unofficial minute book, preserving much information. For certain events his is the sole record available.

The complete diaries, housed in the LDS Church Archives, are not published here. "Most entries detailing Anthon's private and family life," the editor explains, "have not been included; with a handful of exceptions, entries recorded while traveling as a missionary or on business were excluded for the sake of space" (xxxvii).

The diary entries here published recall concerns of the time. Richard T. Ely, noted economist, calls (September 16, 1902). President Theodore Roosevelt visits Utah (May 29, 1903). An explosion rocks the Hotel Utah (April 18, 1910). Evan Stephens is released as director of the Tabernacle Choir (July 20, 24, 1916). B. H. Roberts declines the opportunity to serve as Utah's official state historian (February 5, 1919). "It is very important," Lund writes, "that we get one of our Church to occupy that place" (729).

In June 1913, we follow Lund into meetings of the Capitol Commission discussing the choice of stone and the heating system for the magnificent new building. A meeting of church leaders takes up the cost of supporting missionaries. "The expenses of the missions were discussed. It was thought they should be more equalized" (July 3, 1913).

From time to time, morals infractions are mentioned, including one involving Lund's brother-in-law. This is the kind of subject matter that, in the view of some, requires diaries to be regarded as private or at least that, when published, the names be shielded on grounds that the writer probably had no desire to broadcast

sensitive information to the world, and children and grandchildren are grieved by now "going public" Disciplinary actions of church councils have been likened to the files of doctors and lawyers whose professional code forbids divulging privileged personal information of patients or clients. Editor Hatch publishes the specifics as Lund recorded them, letting the chips fall where they may.

At a few points I found myself wondering about the selectivity of the footnote references. On Oliver Cowdery as a "rodsman" in Vermont (131), the editor refers the reader to the work of Michael Quinn but not to the focused study by Larry E. Morris. When the Book of Abraham facsimiles are mentioned (497), footnote mention should be made, it seems to me, of studies by Egyptologists John Gee and Michael Rhodes, who understand the language and the textual issues better than anyone writing at the beginning of the twentieth century.

But such nitpicking should not obscure the overall achievement. Because of Anthon H. Lund's participation as an important decision-maker, his record is of more than usual interest. Editor John Hatch and the publisher have done a workmanlike job in making these diaries available. The work will be mined by historians for many years to come.

DAVIS BITTON
Salt Lake City, Utah

Polygamy on the Pedernales: Lyman Wight's Mormon Villages in Antebellum Texas, 1845 to 1858. By Melvin C. Johnson. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2006. 231 pp. Cloth, $39.95; paper $21.95)

MELVIN C. JOHNSON, a professor of history and English at Angelina College in Lufkin, Texas,has produced a meticulously-researched study detailing the life of Lyman Wight–an important nineteenth century Latter-day Saint schismatic leader. Wight, an early convert to Mormonism, was a close friend and confidant of Mormon founder, Joseph Smith. As a militant defender of the faith, Wight participated in the 1834 Zion's Camp expedition and was a major leader of the paramilitary Danites–roles earning him the nickname, "Wild Ram of the Mountains." Commanding in physical appearance, Wight stood "over six feet tall, about 200 pounds,... [was] very handsome; wore a beard that he kept in perfect condition...and groomed himself well..."(64). Wight was part of the church's ruling elite, appointed to the Council of the Twelve, the Anointed Quorum, and Council of Fifty. Following Joseph Smith's death, Wight emerged as an important schismatic leader, opposing the leadership claims of Brigham Young and the Twelve. Although Wight's Texas-based Mormon group never numbered more than three hundred, he and followers left a significant legacy, a point carefully made throughout Johnson's narrative.

Among the strengths of *Polygamy on the Pedernales*, is the author's success in placing Lyman Wight within the larger context of time and place. Enlightening is the author's careful consideration of Wight's interaction with Joseph Smith, as the increasingly-besieged Mormon leader "looked outside the borders of the United States for both refuge and empire"(22). Texas figured prominently in Smith's plans as they evolved by the Spring of 1844 with the Mormon leader promoting "three alternatives" involving the region: (1) annexation of Texas (then an independent nation) to the United States; (2) a Mormon request for federal authority "to raise a volunteer army to guard the Texas and Oregon frontiers," and (3) a possible mass Mormon migration to Texas–this with Wight's encouragement. In pursuit of the latter goal, Smith granted Wight permission to lead a pilot group of Latter-day Saints to Texas. At the same time, Smith entered into negotiations with Texas Republic President Sam Houston for the purchase of lands in that nation's sparsely populated southern and western regions. Johnson's discussion of the Mormon-Texas option builds on the earlier, important work of Michael Scott Van Wagenen, *The Texas Republic and the Mormon Kingdom of God* published by Texas A&M Press in 2002.

Following Joseph Smith's sudden death in June 1844, the Mormon-Texas option was abandoned, setting the stage for Wight's disaffection from Brigham Young. Johnson carefully documents Wight's evolution from estrangement to outright schism from the church. Much to Wight's dismay, Young chose the Great Basin as the Latter-day Saints' new gathering place. Wight, however, feeling compelled by Smith's earlier intentions, pushed ahead with his "commitment to carry out his mission to Texas" an obsession that "would drive Wight for the rest of his life" (31). In March 1845, Wight led a group of one hundred fifty Mormons south from Wisconsin, arriving in Texas the following November. Despite such actions, contrary to Young's plans, the Mormon leader took no action to stop Wight's Texas migration or discipline its strong-willed leader. In fact, Wight remained a member of the church in good standing–even retaining his position on the Council of the Twelve for over three years. But in December 1848 Wight was finally excommunicated, this coming as the result of a pamphlet he wrote and published under the title, *An Address.* In it, Wight rejected the authority of Brigham Young, convinced that Young had usurped the presidency of the church. Wight believed that the office of LDS Church President should remain within the family of Joseph Smith, Jr., initially supporting the leadership claims of William Smith–the younger brother of the slain Mormon prophet, and then those of Joseph Smith III.

Meanwhile, Wight maintained tight control over his own Mormon following. He constantly relocated his closely-knit group, moving it to four different settlements along the west-central Texas frontier during the period 1845-1858. Johnson's careful discussion of this process forms the core of his study. Closely examined are the practices and doctrines promoted within Wight's community of

believers, specifically, his active promotion of polygamy (with Wight himself taking on four wives), establishment of economic "common-stock cooperatives," and Wight's implementation of a distinctive temple endowment, allowing a greater role for women–this despite the fact that his own general "attitudes toward women were patriarchal and patronizing" (47).

Also enlightening is Johnson's discussion of Wight's relations with local non-Mormon settlers, which were generally positive and mutually supportive. Wight's involvement in local politics caused tensions between the Mormons and their German-American neighbors while inGillespie County. But on the whole, Wight fared better than his mentor, Joseph Smith, Jr., whose earlier troubles in Illinois, culminated in the latter's assassination and expulsion of the saints. Moreover, Wight avoided the fate of fellow schismatic James J. Strang, whose conflict with local non-Mormons on Beaver Island in Lake Michigan led to his own assassination in 1856.

Johnson's narrative carefully traces Wight's changing relationship with the Indians located in various areas in which he settled along the Texas frontier. Initially, Mormon-Indian relations were generally congenial. His Gillespie county colony at Zodiac, "suffered far less from Comanche troubles than other settlements in the Hill Country" (85). However, Mormon-Indian relations worsened as Wight moved his followers into ever more remote regions further to the west, with native Americans raiding Mormon settlements with increasing frequency. By 1858, "Comanche and Apache raids had crippled Lyman Wight and Co." (189).

Other problems hastened the decline and ultimate demise of Wight's Mormon colony. Wight encountered increasing difficulties in making his settlement economically viable. Also, Wight's personal habits adversely affected his capacity as an effective leader. These included a weakness for alcohol and later addiction to opium—both contributing to his declining health and hastening his death in 1858. But as Johnson sagaciously suggests, the most important reason for the collapse of Wight's colony was his fateful decision to migrate to Texas in the first place—a region already occupied by a large non-Mormon population. In making this point Johnson states: "Although Joseph Smith, Jr. had been certainly considering moving the church [to Texas] Brigham Young came to realize that this would have been a great mistake, perhaps a fatal one, for the church. He knew that he could not create a Mormon nation in Texas" (205).

In general, *Polygamy on the Pedernales* is a carefully written, well-documented study. There are, however, several problems that detract from its overall effectiveness. Lacking are adequate maps detailing the various places Wight moved his followers. There is a map of the general Texas region where Wight established his settlements at the beginning of the text. But additional maps of the different locations where Wight settled, first in Wisconsin and then in Texas would have provided a keener sense of time and place. Also lacking is sufficient discussion of Wight's complex, changing attitudes relative to race and black slavery as they

evolved–a notable shortcoming given that Texas as a slaveholding region was generating national controversy during the 1840s–the precise time Wight was active there. A more serious problem is the book's narrative style—in places disjointed and frequently difficult to follow. The text tends to jump backward and forward in time, this, in part, the result of the author's general topical approach. The narrative often bogs down in excessive detail. Also problematic, is the frequent presentation of situations and/or events only peripherally related to the larger topic under consideration. Such shortcomings notwithstanding, Melvin Johnson's *Polygamy on the Pedernales* is an important study, and, indeed, "model work," that will, hopefully, stimulate a similarly careful examination of other Mormon schismatic leaders.

NEWELL G. BRINGHURST
Visalia, California

Scottish Shepherd: The Life and Times of John Murray Murdoch, Utah Pioneer

By Kenneth W. Merrell. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2006. xvi + 230 pp. Cloth. $27.95.)

SCOTTISH SHEPHERD is a delightful family history by John Murray Murdoch's great-great grandson, Kenneth W. Merrell. This book adds to Frederick S. Buchanan's excellent work on Scotland and Utah. Merrell explains that Murdoch was a mid-level Mormon leader so his life gives details missed in studying only general church leaders. Murdoch came with the first group funded by the Perpetual Emigration Fund and participated in the Utah War. He settled in Wasatch County where he was an elected county official, served the Mormon ward in supportive positions, developed the sheep industry, married a plural wife, and raised a large family.

Merrell creates an interesting context for Murdoch's life. First he overviews Scottish history and explains how the Murdochs fit in. Merrell researched the rest of the book topic the same way. He first gives background from secondary sources and then uses family stories to show Murdoch's experiences. The book is more than a biography; it is a case study of all Murdoch's activities. Merrell artfully weaves these stories together. Except for some excessive flowery language, the book is a pleasure to read.

Sometimes Merrell gives too much context and not enough Murdoch. He uses secondary sources and then assumes Murdoch's life was the same. Are there other sources? The Utah State Historical Society has the William Foreman's diary (whom Merrell describes as Murdoch's friend) and the Wasatch Agricultural and Manufacturing Society minutes. The LDS Church Archives has the minutes for the Wasatch Stake and Heber Ward, some of the most complete minutes available. The *Wasatch Wave* has local news and not just obituaries.

One example best illustrates this point. Merrell briefly mentions the Protestant churches that set up schools in Heber City. He explains the story in only a few sentences, failing to use the extensive research available. The only reason Merrell mentions the topic though was because Murdoch commented in an 1884 priesthood meeting that Mormons should not attend these schools. His source is my history of Wasatch County (159). If Merrell had used the minutes, he may have found similar comments scattered throughout. The same is true of other missed primary sources.

Scottish Shepherd will be enjoyed by the many descendents of John Murray Murdoch and by Mormons of Scottish ancestry who want to understand more about Scots in Utah. It is a fun read for those interested in historical biography. But this reviewer would like to see much more about John Murray Murdoch.

JESSIE L. EMBRY
Brigham Young University

God and Country: Politics in Utah. Edited by Jeffrey E. Sells. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005. xvi + 356 pp. Cloth, $34.95.)

THE AUTHORS OF THE SEVENTEEN ESSAYS in this book argue that society in Utah is fairly well segregated into Mormons and non-Mormons. It has been that way since 1847 when the Mormon pioneers arrived. The Mormons were almost 100 percent of the population initially but soon people of other persuasions arrived—miners, soldiers, railroad workers, merchants, even Protestant missionaries and Catholic priests. Many allied with each other to challenge the Mormon dominance. The non-Mormons organized a political party and a newspaper and built ties with the federal authorities and eastern investors. They established churches and schools.

Today the Mormon/non-Mormon split is clearly evident in Utah. Diversity has increased and the Mormon majority has declined to below 70 percent, but non-Mormons are quick to point out that the Utah Legislature is 90 percent Mormon, the county commissions, city councils, mayors, judges are mostly Mormon as well.

So what is life like in Utah for those of other persuasions? This book is a compelling examination of that question. All thoughtful Utahns should read this responsible and reflective account by participants in the Utah scene, most of who are not Mormons. Fortunately, there is a wide variety in this group; they are qualified and temperate.

Most Latter-day Saints living in Utah have, at one time or another wondered what it must be like to live as a non-Mormon in a state with the largest establishment of one religion of any state in the United States. This book gives many answers of how a religious minority views the impact of the LDS church in their

lives. John J. Flynn's comment that his family has never been invited into a Mormon home is one small but sobering example of the cultural divide.

Essayist Reverend France A. Davis, a well-known African American Baptist leader, provides the most moderate opinion: "Whenever one group outnumbers and dominates others, the smaller group is likely to feel unfairly put upon, whether the larger group intends to make them feel that way or not"(311). In contrast, Michael Quinn sees LDS conformity as dangerous: "From the late 1960s onward, LDS headquarters re-established political obedience so that Mormons now act like army ants when given instructions about political matters"(131).

In between these two ends of the spectrum are many thoughtful essays. Journalist Rod Decker details stories in a balanced manner such as Reed Smoot's Federal Bunch and their refusal to support the drive to end Prohibition. He describes the LDS church involvement in the ERA battle as well as other political topics like pari-mutuel betting, liquor by the drink, gay marriage, and guns in churches. Thomas R. Goldsmith suggested: "I can't think of any religion which, given the power to control secular affairs, hasn't exploited it to its own advantage"(175). He cites the example of his own Unitarians in Colonial America and then shows examples of the LDS impact in Utah. John J. Flynn, a University of Utah law professor, argues that confrontation between the two camps declined in the 1950s and 1960s but that recently Utah is more theocratic with the primacy of the Republican Party and its LDS preponderance.

Many examples of the clash are detailed such as the Sunday closing debate: the moving of community celebrations of the Fourth of July to a Saturday or Monday. The MX missile track controversy is an example of the church hierarchy intervening in politics, which many liberals heralded. Ed Firmages' essay, on the other hand, examines the conflict of attitude towards homosexuality. L. Jackson Newell states boldly that Utah is a theocracy, but then adds, "The Church is surprisingly responsible in wielding its influence" (231-32). This thoughtful essay is the high point of the book.

Stephen C. Clark's essay, "The Only Show in Town" gives an ACLU view of the Main Street Plaza controversy in downtown Salt Lake City. It is also a balanced account. John Gallivan's essay dealing with the history of the *Salt Lake Tribune* details the Mormon/non-Mormon confrontation from pioneer times to the present. The cooperation of the church-owned *Deseret News* and the *Salt Lake Tribune* during the last two decades in creating the Newspaper Agency Corporation is portrayed, however the legal battle for control of the *Tribune* and the move of the *Deseret News* to morning circulation has led to renewed clashes between the newspapers.

Well-known scholar Jan Shipps discusses the dangers of a religious establishment, illustrating the danger historically using Constantine and Christianity as well as national churches and the Protestant Reformation as examples. She describes the clash between Mormons and the federal government in the 1850s and then moves on to more current issues such as the ERA debate and the Main

Street Plaza. Former Democratic Governor Calvin Rampton's refreshing essay is quite unique because he was in the center of reality as the government for three terms. In his essay he urges Utah citizens to make up their own minds but he also writes that the LDS hierarchy hardly ever lobbied him for a decision. He says that LDS leaders try to avoid injecting themselves in politics. He points out that Mormons have a strong work ethic, are pro-industry and anti-union, all of which leads most of them into the Republican Party.

A poignant essay by Maqbool Ahmed describes the motives of Islamic people in Utah to follow their dietary, clothing, and religious practices that seem strange to most Christians. The article includes a lesson on Islamic doctrines that is most enlightening. A parallel essay is by Frederick L. Wenger who describes the Jewish experience in Utah. He point out that Jews thrive best as a minority and concludes, "Judaism has found and will find ready acceptance in Utah" (323-24).

Jeffery Sells and Signature Books are to be congratulated on this balanced book about a vital issue in Utah.

DOUGLAS D. ALDER
Dixie State College

From the Ground Up: The History of Mining in Utah. Edited by Colleen Whitley.

(Logan: Utah State University Press, 2006. xiv + 506 pp. Cloth, $34.95.)

UTAH'S RICH MINING HISTORY has long been overshadowed by the mining bonanzas in neighboring Colorado and Nevada. This neglect began to change about twenty-five years ago, when books about individual mining districts in Utah started to appear. In the 1980s, for example, Utah's coal mining and precious metals mining were covered in Philip F. Notarianni's *Carbon County: Eastern Utah's Industrialized Island,* and *Faith, Hope and Prosperity: The Tintic Mining District*. With the publication of *From the Ground Up*, however, Utah now has a comprehensive, statewide mining history.

From the Ground Up features sixteen essays divided into three parts. Part one addresses Utah's geology and mining background. Part two discusses particular mineral industries (e.g. uranium), and Part Three covers the state's well-known mining regions (e.g. Park City). Editor Colleen Whitley deserves praise for organizing the book so effectively. *From the Ground Up* is easy to read either from cover to cover as a general history, or selectively as an encyclopedic source on particular subjects. I envision it becoming the single source on Utah's mining history for many years to come.

After brief prefaces by Philip Notarianni and Colleen Whitley, geologist William T. Parry covers "Geology and Utah's Mineral Treasures." Parry shows how plate tectonics and other geological forces shaped the landscape and, most importantly, left a legacy of mineralization in varied locales. These later became the

resources whose development Thomas Alexander discusses in "Generating Wealth from the Earth, 1847-2000." Alexander focuses on the hydrocarbons (especially oil and coal) and metals (notably gold, silver, copper, lead, and zinc) that have dominated the state's production. In the essay "General Patrick Edward Connor, Father of Utah Mining," Brigham D. Madsen emphasizes that Gentile (non-Mormon) mining ventures in Utah Territory were established in conjunction with the United States military. General Connor hoped that mining would change the balance of power, "striking a blow at the monolithic Mormon establishment" (67). In "The Stories They Tell," journalist Carma Wadley plumbs the literature and oral history to reveal the all-too-human side of mining in Utah. Being "a superstitious lot," miners had a rich folklore and mythology, including stories of ghosts and "Tommy Knockers."

Part Two begins with "Saline Minerals" by J. Wallace Gwynn, which covers the mining of salt from the Great Salt Lake (where the Mormons established the first modern mining in Utah in 1847) as well as in central Utah and at other scattered locations. In "Coal Industry," historian Allan Kent Powell astutely observes that coal mining began in southern Utah in 1851, expanded to Carbon County by 1894, and accounted for a substantial portion of Utah's immigrant miners and union organizations. The "Uranium Boom," by Raye Ringholz covers Utah's production of a radioactive metal that first emerged as a possible cure for cancer, then became a pillar in both nuclear power and nuclear weapons -- the latter moving Utah to center stage in Cold War era production. In "Beryllium Mining," Debra Wagner briefly addresses the first mining of this strategic metal in 1959 and subsequent open-pit mining operations.

Part Three begins with Janet Seegmiller's informative essay on aptly-named "Iron County," which contains "… the richest and most accessible iron-ore bodies in the western United States," as well as considerable coal (197). Iron County was the location of the Latter-day Saints' earliest large scale mining operations that ultimately led to major production by large corporations—Columbia Steel Company and later, United States Steel. In the entire West, "Bingham Canyon" is one of the most important, and famous, of the mining areas. In a fine chapter on its long and varied operations, Bruce Whitehead and Robert Rampton conclude that, "The Bingham Canyon mine has been the financial resource that has fed more families, educated more people, and contributed more jobs than any other non-governmental business in Utah" (248). In the chapter on "Silver Reef and Southwestern Utah's Shifting Frontier," W. Paul Reeve interprets mining along southern Utah's border with Nevada, reminding readers that mining frontiers are as cultural as they are technological.

Some of Utah's most important mining towns later became ski resorts. As Laurence James and James Fell, Jr., observe in their introductory chapter "Alta, the Cottonwoods, and American Fork," mining tends to be a cyclical activity, and six phases characterize the area's long mining history and subsequent development as recreation area. Mention skiing and "Park City" also comes to mind, but this

chapter by Hal Compton and David Hampshire naturally focuses on that district's much longer mining history. In "Tintic Mining District," Notarianni succinctly describes this famous silver mining area that centers on Eureka. He concludes that "… mining and dumps [have] brought Tintic's history full circle" as leaching and historic recordation became the major activities associated with the district's superfund status (358). In "San Francisco Mining District," Martha Sonntag Bradley-Evans discusses the fascinating history of the silver and lead mining area at Frisco, which is known today for its crumbling buildings and beehive kilns. John Barton's informative essay centers on the "Uinta Basin," which originally witnessed considerable prospecting for metals but finally came into its own during the hydrocarbons/energy boom of the twentieth century.

From the Ground Up is nicely illustrated with historical photos and maps. It concludes with a twenty-six page "Glossary of Geologic and Mining Terms" that will prove especially helpful to readers who might otherwise be baffled by technical terms—from "adit" to "zone of oxidation"—that miners commonly use. Throughout, *From the Ground Up* discusses mining in relation to the occupants of Utah—Native Americans and immigrants, Mormons and Gentiles, individuals and corporations, and insiders and outsiders. It is highly recommended for anyone interested in Utah history generally, and economic and social history in particular.

RICHARD V. FRANCAVIGLIA
The University of Texas at Arlington

A Time for Peace: Fort Lewis, Colorado, 1878-1891. By Duane Smith.

(Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2006. xi + 212 pp. Cloth. $34.95.)

DESPITE ITS SECONDARY STATUS among United States posts in the west, Fort Lewis filled critical roles in the health and development of southwestern Colorado. Mining, ranching, farming, and lumbering precipitated rapid growth of this remote region during the 1870s and for the next several decades. The resulting influx of settlers, prospectors, coal miners, ranch hands, farmers, and a booming urban population called for protection from the resident Utes and Navajos with whom they contested for control of the region's land and resources. While westerners harbored deep suspicions of the federal government, they never proved reluctant to demand its resources, in this case U.S. troops and a fort. The perceived threat Utes and Navajos posed to rail lines, miners, farmers, and ranchers compelled the army to investigate any citizens' claims of indigenous-engineered violence, theft, or menacing gestures. Locals expected the army only to protect their rights and privileges. Still, the army officers always acted impartially, attempted to impose fairness in disputes and pursued to the fullest charges of violence.

Fort Lewis developed a close symbiotic relationship with nearby Durango. The mere building of the fort created a boom for the fledgling community. The fort

also provided jobs for local skilled workers and opportunities for enterprising locals to provide local transportation and to supply the fort's needs. It also acted as a market for locally produced goods. Durango's services and commercial operations met the consumer demands of Fort Lewis' soldiers and, for those with families, for their wives and children. The arrival of the railroad and the substantial growth in mining, ranching and farming soon outpaced the fort's capacity to sustain Durango's growth. Yet, the fort remained important to many locals until its last years when men and resources dwindled to insignificance.

The fort and the community also developed shared social and sporting activities. Invitations to dances drew officers and Durango residents together for social occasions and to celebrate holidays. The installation's band also provided entertainment for Durango families. Such interaction extended to the latest sports craze in the 1880s, baseball. Teams from Fort Lewis and Durango regularly battled each other for diamond supremacy. Gun clubs and shooting matches also brought the men from Fort Lewis and Durango together. On a far less attractive side, locals set up what was called the "hog ranch" where soldiers could find liquor and women, such institutions appeared whenever the army set up a post. These persisted despite the best efforts of the officers to foil such illicit commercial operations.

Smith's insightful analysis extends to the dynamic of fort life. Notably he studied the periodic presence of the Ninth Cavalry and its troopers, all African Americans. They provoked no incidents, served admirably and endured treatment as second-class citizens, normal for the racially grounded United States and its military. Smith also carefully places the fort and its men in larger settings for the reader. In studying the men who served in Fort Lewis, Smith compares their social and occupational backgrounds with the ill-fated men who served under George Custer at Little Big Horn. Both came from lowly occupations, both had a substantial number of Irish Catholic immigrants and both witnessed high rates of desertion. Enlisted men rarely won appreciation from the public, a fact underscored by their marginal status.

A reader comes away from this work with a new appreciation for army installations such as Fort Lewis. Seemingly lost from the historic record, its presence remained essential for the region's long-term future. No famous battles marked Fort Lewis' presence in southwestern Colorado and no figure merged onto the national stage. Yet to overlook Fort Lewis would be to miss a vital component of the region, as Smith abundantly demonstrates.

EDWARD J. DAVIES
University of Utah

Devil's Gate: Owning the Land, Owning the Story. By Tom Rea.

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. xii + 307 pp. Cloth, $26.95.)

"THE MIDDLE OF NOWHERE" is the title of Tom Rea's Introduction in *Devil's Gate: Owning the Land, Owning the Story*, which probably describes accurately for many people the geographical area that is the subject of his book. Rea, though, is quick to clarify that "In a human sense, nowhere had been somewhere all along." Thus begins this interesting book discussing all the people in the last two centuries who were somehow connected to this small, dry, and isolated area in central Wyoming. It is a complete history of the Sweetwater River valley, a remote place that includes Devil's Gate, Independence Rock, and a stretch of the Oregon Trail.

Some of America's well known western explorers are included in this history, such as the great Pathfinder John C. Fremont, photographer W. H. Jackson, and Oregon Trail traveler and writer Francis Parkman. Less well known, yet important to this story, were the men who ran trading posts and built bridges on the North Platte, enabling humans to migrate across the continent at this spot, and important surveyors defining the land for the government. This history also includes the ranchers who settled there, some successfully, others not. Rea presents a new version of the infamous hangings of Ella "Cattle Kate" Watson and Jim Averell, which took place not far from Devil's Gate. The Sun family, who had large land holdings for over a century, obviously has their history told.

Critical to the geographic area near Devil's Gate was the Oregon Trail, which was used extensively by pioneer Mormons on their way to Salt Lake City. It was at Devil's Gate that one handcart company of emigrant Mormons suffered many deaths when stranded there during a snowstorm in November 1856. The exact location of where the doomed group tried to wait out the fierce early winter storm is still in dispute, but modern Mormons have dedicated Martin's Cove as the memorial site.

Rea argues that those who control the land also control the history. It is an interesting thesis, and he backs it with compelling arguments. The Watson-Averell hangings, for example, have been previously presented in Wyoming history with less sympathy for the victims than is afforded by Rea who outlines the potential interests of those owning the land in the crime.

Rea's most recent example of those controlling the land also controlling the story is that of the Mormon church and Martin's Cove. Rea carefully chronicles the church's purchase of the Sun family land and the extensive political work the church undertook to control its property at Martin's Cove. Rea also reports on his visit to the visitor center built by the Mormon church at Martin's Cove where he found the Mormon story heavily documented, but little or no discussion of the numerous other events that happened in the same area.

Rea's final words in the book read, "Nothing can change the past, but how the

past gets told, and who gets to tell it, will continue to change there and everywhere in the West—according to who controls the land" (255).

Rea, a free-lance writer and journalist living in Casper, Wyoming, has given us a great read about a unique place in Wyoming and western history. Thanks to his meticulous research, he gives the reader excellent background information throughout the book, enhancing ones understanding of this remote area and its significant place in history. He has also given us a compelling argument to think about, as well as giving us reason to ponder how in the future we will remember our past.

ANN CHAMBERS NOBLE
Cora, Wyoming

BOOK NOTICES

Preparing the Next Generation of Oral Historians: An Anthology of Oral History Education. By Barry A. Lanman and Laura M. Wendling. (Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2006. 483 pp. Cloth $90.00; paper, $36.95.)

Editors and writers Barry A. Lanman and Laura M. Wendling offer an analysis of and prescription for the continued use of oral history as an educational tool through contributed essays and case studies. Oral history and its applications from the elementary school classroom to the graduate-level lecture hall or seminar discussion are touched upon herein.

This comprehensive, 438 page pedagogical tool provides a valuable resource for educators, administrators, and historians alike who seek to strengthen the role of oral or narrative history inside the classroom and out. Many chapters are followed by *Thought Questions*; discussion topics intended to further dialogue on the preceding topic.

Beer in the Beehive: A History of Brewing in Utah. By Del Vance. (Salt Lake City: Dream Garden Press, 2006. 315 pp. Paper, $32.95.)

The author of this study of beer in Utah is the co-founder of the Uinta Brewing Company. His interest in beer and history led him to write this

book filled with interesting facts, hilarious witticisms, and historical photographs. His book begins with the origins of beer, which date back to about 4,000 B.C., and then discusses the early processes and modernized brewing techniques. The book then shifts to an extensive history of beer in Utah from the early days of the territory to the present. Vance's book includes interesting facts such as Salt Lake City's ZCMI used to sell wine and beer and that Orrin Porter Rockwell owned the Hot Springs Brewery Hotel in Bluffdale.

The book is an interesting and pleasurable read. Perhaps unorthodox, it provides the reader with a part of Utah's history not widely known. Vance guides the reader from one brewery to the next with well-documented information and old pictures of buildings—many of which are still evident in Utah's cityscapes. Anyone interested in beer or the influence it had on Utah's economy will find the book informative and entertaining.

American Fork City: The Growing Years. By Betty G. Spencer. (Salt Lake City: Book Printers of Utah, 2006. xv + 370 pp. Cloth, $39.95.)

Betty G. Spencer is a journalist, editor, author, poet, photographer, and publicist, who spent more than thirty years researching and writing the history of her hometown. The richly illustrated volume covers the recent history of American Fork beginning with a chapter entitled, "How American Fork Survived the Great Depression," and continuing with the World War II years to the present. Specific chapters cover politics, public safety, religion, recreation, culture, communication, transportation, agriculture, business and commerce, and American Fork Canyon.

Legacy of the Tetons: Homesteading in Jackson Hole, Revised Second Edition. By Candy Vyvey Moulton. (Cheyenne: LaFrontera Publishing, 2007. 185 pp. Paper, $18.95.)

First published in 1994, this history of homesteading in Jackson Hole, Wyoming, focuses on what is known as "Mormon Row," an area east of the Teton Mountains in Jackson Hole settled by a dozen or so Mormon families beginning in 1896. The stories of life on this western Wyoming frontier before the creation of Grand Teton National Park are illustrated with an interesting collection of historic and contemporary photographs.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY FELLOWS

THOMAS G. ALEXANDER
JAMES B. ALLEN
LEONARD J. ARRINGTON (1917-1999)
MAUREEN URSENBACH BEECHER
FAWN M. BRODIE (1915-1981)
JUANITA BROOKS (1898-1989)
OLIVE W. BURT (1894-1981)
EUGENE E. CAMPBELL (1915-1986)
C. GREGORY CRAMPTON (1911-1995)
EVERETT L. COOLEY (1917-2006)
S. GEORGE ELLSWORTH (1916-1997)
AUSTIN E. FIFE (1909-1986)
PETER L. GOSS
LEROY R. HAFEN (1893-1985)
JESSE D. JENNINGS (1909-1997)
A. KARL LARSON (1899-1983)
GUSTIVE O. LARSON (1897-1983)
BRIGHAM D. MADSEN
DEAN L. MAY (1938-2003)
DAVID E. MILLER (1909-1978)
DALE L. MORGAN (1914-1971)
WILLIAM MULDER
FLOYD A. O'NEIL
HELEN Z. PAPANIKOLAS (1917-2004)
CHARLES S. PETERSON
RICHARD W. SADLER
WALLACE E. STEGNER (1909-1993)
WILLIAM A. WILSON

HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS

DAVID BIGLER
VEE CARLISLE
JAY M. HAYMOND
FLORENCE S. JACOBSEN
WILLIAM P. MACKINNON
LAMAR PETERSEN
RICHARD C. ROBERTS
MELVIN T. SMITH
MARTHA R. STEWART