

UTAH

HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

"MORMON" WOMEN'S PROTEST. AN APPEAL

FOR
FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND EQUAL RIGHTS.

*The Ladies of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day
Saints protest against the tyranny and indecency
of Federal Officials in Utah, and
against their own disgra-
cismment without
cause.*



Matters of Politics

SKOUSEN for GOVERNOR

Preamble.

*Grateful to Almighty God for life and liberty,
we, the people of Utah, in order to secure and perpetuate
the principles of free government, do ordain and establish
this*

Constitution.

Article 1.

Declaration of Rights.

Section 1. All men have the inherent and inali-



UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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THE COVER *Politics in Utah* abounds with controversial issues that have often inflamed local citizens, produced unusual alliances, and focused national attention on the state's leadership and its colorful history. Woman suffrage, feuding conservatives, wars and rumors of wars shaped the past and add dimension to the present. In this issue, p. 315, is a photograph of Utah's dynamic, controversial J. Bracken Lee.

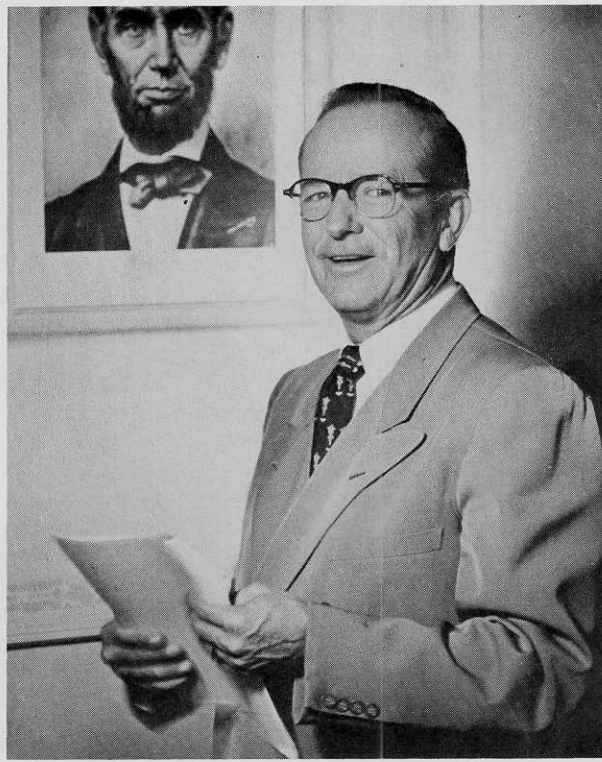
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In this issue

Much has been written of territorial politics in Utah, and understandably so. It was an exciting, free-wheeling brand of politics where the leading issues were generally well defined, the partisans easily identified, and the debates open and often spectacular. With the advent of the 1890s, however, certain changes in this pattern were suddenly visible as Utahns became increasingly secular and committed to working within the nationally established two-party system. This transition to a new posture of restraint appears to have been made with remarkable fluidity. But legacies are not easily overturned, and the question of change versus continuity in the Utah political tradition remains an intriguing one. Two of the articles featured in this issue touch directly on that question. The analysis of the 1895 debate on woman suffrage clearly suggests a new orientation struggling to emerge from an old order. The piece on the Lee-Skousen feud of our modern era, on the other hand, recalls to mind the stridency, church involvement, and extended public dialogue of territorial days.

Periodically, political questions in Utah have been colored, if not preempted, by crises elsewhere. As with Americans everywhere, Utahns of a generation ago were forced to consider events halfway around the world and take a stand on the matter of Japanese militarism. A study of the attitudes of Senators King and Thomas is offered here as an important first step in bringing perspective and enlightenment to this neglected subject. The final selection, a letter from Philip St. George Cooke, reveals that debate on secession and Civil War reached into the remote corners of Utah. To the thoughtful reader it is also a testimony to the pervasiveness of politics and a sobering reminder of the dreadful consequences which attend a breakdown in the political process.



Mayor Lee faces press and public following his abrupt firing of Chief Skousen. Salt Lake Tribune photograph.

Political Feud in Salt Lake City: J. Bracken Lee and the Firing of W. Cleon Skousen

BY DENNIS L. LYTHGOE

ON MARCH 21, 1960, Mayor J. Bracken Lee fired Salt Lake City Police Chief W. Cleon Skousen. Although Lee actually had only one vote among five, he received the reluctant support of two other members of the city commission, making the vote 3-2 in favor of dismissal.¹ The community reeled under the impact of this thunderbolt. Not since Lee refused to pay his federal income tax in 1955 had he received so much notoriety. As *Time* magazine observed, he became "beyond doubt the most unpopular man in town," illustrated by the burning cross placed on his lawn with the inscription, "Lee, you are a fool."²

Newspaper vehemence in some ways rivaled that of the nineteenth century and was certainly extraordinary for mid-twentieth century journalism. The credibility of public officials was placed in serious question, as the people tried to discern whether the mayor or the chief spoke the truth. Letters and phone calls of protest to the media reached record proportions. Sincere concern was voiced by the public and the media that police protection would suffer. Members of the Mormon church, many of whom had enthusiastically supported non-Mormon Lee's conservative brand of politics, found themselves torn between him and one of their own; Skousen was a Mormon *and* a conservative. Moreover, there was clear evidence that some General Authorities of the church had taken sides in the dispute. The always thin line between church and state in Utah was evident even in Salt Lake City politics, although not necessarily in the way expected. For it was Lee, rather than Skousen, who seemed to emerge with the church's blessing.

On a smaller stage, the episode was reminiscent of President Truman's dismissal of General MacArthur during the Korean War. In retrospect, historians have been much kinder to Truman than MacArthur, although Truman initially suffered heavy criticism. Lee demonstrated even greater political viability than Truman, for he was reelected to two additional four-year terms as mayor, culminating twelve years of service. In fact, when asked in a newspaper interview in 1971 to name the most interesting times of his political career, he resolutely topped the list with the "firing of Cleon Skousen."³

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¹*Deseret News*, March 22, 1960.

²"Nettled Nickel Nipper," *Time* (April 4, 1960), 14.

³*Deseret News*, December 22, 1971.



Chief Skousen confers with new assistant chiefs: Golden Haight, N. Golden Jensen, and L. R. Greeson. Salt Lake City Police Department photograph.

Skousen was appointed police chief in 1956 by Mayor Adiel F. Stewart, who sought an administrator outside the department, in accordance with suggestions of a survey report made the previous year. The report by a New York firm had discovered "low morale, inefficiency, lack of man-

power, inadequate technical equipment and loss of public confidence" in the Salt Lake City Police Department. Stewart went to Washington to ask the advice of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Hoover recommended Skousen because of his sixteen years as an FBI agent with extensive experience training police officers.⁴ Skousen was fascinated by the challenge, even though he did not wish to leave Brigham Young University where he served as director of public services and assistant professor of speech. When Stewart went so far as to persuade Mormon church president David O. McKay to approve the appointment by granting a leave of absence from BYU, Skousen accepted.⁵ He was paid a higher salary than the previous chief and allowed to bring in his own assistant chiefs.⁶ He appointed Golden Jensen, undersheriff of Riverside, California; L.R. Greeson, former chief of Santa Barbara, California, and Reno, Nevada; and Golden Haight, who

⁴1957 *Annual Report of Salt Lake City Police Department*, 9; see also *Deseret News*, June 9, 1956.

⁵In a private interview with the author, August 8, 1972, Salt Lake City, Utah, Skousen suggested that President McKay's attitude was an important factor in his acceptance of the position. He also said that he had no aspirations to be a chief and could have returned to the FBI anytime he wished. Stewart had assured him that there would be no political interference, and he kept that agreement. Skousen claims that prior to the firing in Salt Lake he was offered the chief's position in Seattle and was among the top three finalists in the search for a chief in Chicago, even though he had not sought either job. The *Chicago Daily News* called to tell him. However, he said he was not interested in being chief anywhere but Salt Lake, because he believed it *should* be better than elsewhere. He was referring to its religious history and character.

⁶Skousen was paid \$10,000 annually, instead of the \$7,500 paid Odes Record. See *Deseret News*, March 22, 1960. The salary issue may have had more than a passing connection with the Lee-Skousen feud, since Lee made only \$9,000 annually. See *Report of Salt Lake City Corporation, Budget for the Year 1960*, p. 17, Lee Papers, Western Americana, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

had headed the Youth Bureau in the Salt Lake City Police Department.⁷

By the end of 1957, Skousen claimed to have completely modernized the department in training, policies, equipment and procedures,⁸ and *Time* suggested that he ran a "model police force for 3½ years."⁹ It was clear that Mayor Stewart had held him in high esteem. He wrote "a little love letter" to Skousen in 1959 to tell him "how much DeEtte and I love you and how we appreciate all the wonderful things you have done and are doing." In a vocabulary more common to a church leader than a mayor, Stewart wished him "blessings of health, happiness and peace" in return for "unselfish service," and closed with "may the Lord bless and sustain you always."¹⁰

Yet Skousen had not proved to be beyond controversy. In 1958 the *Salt Lake Tribune*, in a story by Harold Schindler, removed a veil of secrecy surrounding a year-long investigation by city and county officials into a narcotics and counterfeit ring working in the Utah State Prison. The investigation was unique, for it had been kept secret from the Board of Corrections; but Skousen, Salt Lake County Attorney Frank E. Moss, Gov. George D. Clyde, and prison officials were all aware of it. When asked for a report, Skousen refused comment because "the *Tribune* is going to print a story they have been asked not to print." Skousen and prison officials argued that secrecy was necessary in order for them to successfully complete the investigation. But the *Tribune* quite correctly believed that there was a limit to how long a secret investigation could be justified and suggested that publication of the story might have helped stop the activity.¹¹

Skousen asserted that he was only hours away from making an arrest and that the publication of the story had allowed eighteen

⁷1957 *Police Report*.

⁸*Ibid.* Among the 87 changes listed on pp. 16-17 were the following: An all-year motorcycle squad; radar speed control squads; one-man patrol cars adopted to double coverage of city; polygraph adopted departmentwide; youth bureau restructured; curfew law actively enforced; juvenile counseling service; possession of beer by minors illegal; self-policing program; fringe gambling eliminated; liquor control tightened; prisoner-release program adopted; rehabilitation program for alcoholics adopted; year-round police training program; monthly firearms training programs; communications services improved; merit rating system; policies on press relations worked out with both newspapers; department rearmed with more effective equipment; active participation in the International Association of Chiefs of Police; etc.

⁹"Nettled Nickel Nipper."

¹⁰Stewart to Skousen, December 31, 1959, in Skousen's possession.

¹¹*Salt Lake Tribune*, October 17, 1958.

felons to get away with a significant amount of narcotics. Accordingly, Skousen ruled that the *Tribune* would no longer have access to police records. In response the *Tribune* castigated Skousen in one of the more pungent editorials in its history, suggesting that he was lax in allowing a police report on the problem to be indiscriminately circulated. The *Tribune* accused Skousen of "bungling" and called him a "great man for bear stories."

He has conducted the office of police chief in a pettifogging manner and has repeatedly issued marvelous, fictional accounts of impending invasions by international crime rings, gambling syndicates, nefarious gangsters and the like.¹²

In a counterattack, the *Deseret News* implied that the *Tribune* and other "anti-Skousen" forces preferred a more loosely run city. Heaping lavish praise on Skousen, the *News* insisted that he had produced tighter law enforcement and had virtually eliminated prostitution, narcotics traffic, and "backroom crap games." Admitting that Skousen had made mistakes (he had "not yet achieved perfection in this world"), the editors nevertheless concluded that he had prevented an "open city."

The measure of a public official is his over-all record of accomplishment. We urge every citizen to compare the state of efficiency, training, coordination, dedication and honesty of the police department today with the chaotic condition that existed when Mr. Skousen took over the department.¹³

In 1959, when Lee was elected mayor of Salt Lake City, few observers suspected any conflict between him and the chief. Both were political conservatives, and Lee had expressed admiration for Skousen's controversial treatise, *The Naked Communist*. Skousen had every reason to believe that they had enough in common to work very successfully together. Yet Skousen recalls that mayoralty candidate Bruce Jenkins gave unqualified support to the police department during the campaign, while Lee, to Skousen's "amazement," refrained from doing so. Rumors then became prominent that Lee intended to "dismantle" the department. Several tavern owners called Skousen personally to tell him that Lee had

¹²*Ibid.*, October 19, 1958.

¹³*Deseret News*, October 21, 1958.

threatened to fire him as his first official act. But Gus Backman, executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, called Skousen and told him that if he did not oppose Lee, Lee in turn would support him.¹⁴

However, by February 1960, a major financial conflict had developed. Mayor Lee began his term with an eye to economizing, not a surprising fact in light of his fiscal policies as governor. Since he was assigned the portfolio of Public Safety in Salt Lake's commission form of government, he focused on possible cuts in the police department. Skousen responded by recommending areas in which cuts could be sustained. For instance, he suggested eliminating the serving of warrants for the police court, thus releasing two officers for police work at a saving of \$10,560. Four officers could be released from the job of desk sergeant and replaced by clerks; trained clerks in traffic, radio patrol, and antiveice divisions could take over jobs held by officers; the job of civil defense director could be eliminated, saving a man's salary; policemen could buy gasoline at public service stations instead of lining up for service at a single department pump, saving \$4,500. Over all, the estimated annual savings could have reached \$75,360.¹⁵

A debate materialized as to whether cuts in the department would affect protection to the community. The *Deseret News* argued that such cuts would be acceptable as long as other economies did not decrease the level of police services. The *News* took issue with Lee's statement that Salt Lake had 1.4 police officers for each 1,000 population, a figure above the recommended standard of 1 officer per 1,000 for cities its size. Such figures supported his belief that the size of the force could be reduced without danger. The *News* claimed that he was "misinformed," and that Salt Lake was considerably below the national average of 1.8 officers per 1,000 and the recommended standard of 2 per 1,000.¹⁶ Noting that Salt Lake was not "over-protected," the *News* cited the rates of murder, rape, assault, and robbery as falling well below the national average, while crimes

¹⁴Skousen Interview. Since Backman and Lee had been both politically and personally close during Lee's governorship, it was logical for Backman to concern himself with this election.

¹⁵*Deseret News*, February 4, 1960.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, March 1, 1960. See also *1957 Police Report*. Skousen argued this point in the interview; he said that Salt Lake City had 1.2 officers per 1,000, while the national average was 1.78 officers per 1,000. He also noted that more than 1,000 cities with populations of 10,000 or more were spending \$12.13 per capita for police protection, while Salt Lake with a 200,000 population was spending only \$7.17 per capita.

against property such as grand larceny and burglary were "considerably worse than the national average."¹⁷

The intensity of the problems was borne out by an interdepartment memo later in the month, indicating a cut in the budget from \$2,147,644.76 to \$1,831,977.88. Of this total, \$1,511,111.68 was for salaries, and \$320,866.20 was for operations. According to the memo, these amounts were not sufficient to cover actual commitments beginning in 1960. For instance, salary commitments alone were \$1,602,513.00.

On February 10, a further cut in salaries of \$40,000.00 was announced. In order to absorb it by curtailment of personnel, it would be necessary to eliminate 40 patrolmen sixth grade or 31 patrolmen first grade,¹⁸ which would unquestionably cut the level of police service.

Claiming he did not wish to impair the efficiency of the department, Lee nevertheless was determined that the cuts be made. After a two-hour session with Skousen, he asserted that the city must be operated in the black.¹⁹ Although Skousen argued that 17.5 percent had been allotted to the police department in past city budgets, compared with the 12.5 percent presently suggested, Lee ended their meeting with this comment: "I am sure that you will continue to do the fine job you are presently doing, despite the decrease in funds for this year."²⁰

¹⁷*Ibid.* Lee later charged that Skousen had been deliberately misleading about crime statistics in order to get more money from the city commission. Allegedly, Skousen said that Salt Lake showed a sharp increase in major crime during 1958, notably in robbery, grand larceny, and petty theft. But six months later when he was more interested in his reputation, he noted that willful homicide was down 75 percent, robbery down 37 percent, burglary down 19.3 percent, and auto theft down 25.1 percent; rape and larceny were still up, but they were down from earlier reports. Skousen no longer needed money, Lee suggested, but "publicity to tell the people all over the world what a wonderful chief of police he was." Transcript of TV address by J. Bracken Lee, April 5, 1960, p. 3, in Skousen's possession. Actually, the 1959 offense report gives validity to Skousen's figures. Willful homicide was breaking even, rape was still up (29 percent), robbery was down even more (16 percent), burglary was up by 18 percent, while larceny and auto theft were down by 12 percent and 11 percent respectively. 1959 Offense Progress Report, Salt Lake City Police Department.

¹⁸Memorandum from E. H. Morgan, assistant chief, to Skousen, February 16, 1960, Special Budget Report, in Skousen's possession.

¹⁹*Deseret News*, March 1, 1960.

²⁰*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 1, 1960. Later, Lee bitterly attacked those figures, accusing Skousen of dishonesty. He claimed that the city auditor said the police budget was actually 21 percent in 1959, and 19 percent in 1960. (Lee TV address, pp. 2, 3.) Actually, the records corroborate the Skousen figures: \$14,832,743.00 total budget for 1960, with \$1,831,977.00 for the police department, which is slightly short of 12½ percent. (Budget for Salt Lake City Corporation, 1960, pp. 6, 21. Taken from Lee Papers, Western Americana, University of Utah.) A police department memorandum listed the same figure for the total budget, but a slightly higher police department figure of \$1,915,937.00, still close to 12½ percent. Memorandum from Morgan to Skousen, February 27, 1960, Skousen file.

But Skousen was nettled, as evidenced by a letter he wrote to Lee a few days later. He said he had applied the mandatory cut of \$40,000 to the budget but called it an "inequitable distribution of funds" which would "definitely impair the quantity of Police service."²¹ A police department memorandum reflected the sincere concern of Skousen and his subordinates over the cuts. It recommended savings in minor areas, such as the car-lease rental account and gasoline accounts, but it still forecast a major drop in personnel as inevitable to conform to the budget. The memo suggested that 14 first grade men be dropped by April 1 or 20 first grade men by July 1, beginning with those closest to retirement age.²²

Only three days prior to the firing, Lee and Skousen were still debating the budget implications. Skousen claimed the department was already 25 officers short of the 294 policemen authorized by the city commission in 1958. Yet, he said, it would be necessary to fire more than 30 patrolmen of sixth grade rank, if done by April 1, and 40 sixth grade if done by July 1.²³ By forecasting the firing of newer men instead of the retiring of older men, he could use a higher figure. Obviously, Skousen wanted the public to know and understand the implications of the mayor's budget, and his feelings were well publicized.

When confronted with Skousen's persistent belief that manpower would be lost, Lee suggested the alternative of dropping the three assistant chiefs. Skousen implied that Lee spoke out of ignorance and reminded him of his own comment that he was "completely unfamiliar with police work."²⁴ Skousen hinted that one assistant chief might be eliminated, but certainly not three. Yet Lee claimed

Lee believes that Skousen told three lies before the commission: 1) The department was undermanned and underpaid. He gave a figure which Lee contradicted because it did not agree with the National Municipal Association book. Although Skousen said his came from the FBI, he never produced the evidence. 2) Skousen said that Salt Lake's crime rate was much greater than the average city of its size. Lee believes that Skousen carefully chose cities for comparative purposes which made Salt Lake appear worse than it was in reality. 3) Skousen misrepresented the number of officers needed or assigned for traffic purposes. Allegedly, there were 14 of 260 men on traffic. "I know you have more than that," said Lee. Lee believes there was only a traffic problem at certain times in a day, and that the numbers of officers should be accordingly adjusted. Interview with J. Bracken Lee, July 31, 1972, Salt Lake City, Utah.

²¹Skousen to Lee, March 9, 1960, Skousen file.

²²Memorandum from Morgan to Skousen, March 14, 1960, Skousen file. The *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 19, 1960, said Morgan reported 32 sixth grade men would have to go, or 25 first grade, by April 1.

²³*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 19, 1960.

²⁴*Ibid.*

that Skousen had told him that the three assistant chiefs could go without impairment of service. Skousen meanwhile complained that Lee had never seriously entertained the suggestions that Skousen himself had earlier made to effect economy.²⁵

Finally, and seemingly without warning, Lee fired Skousen by securing the necessary support from the city commission. Finance Commissioner Theodore I. Guerts and Water Commissioner J. K. Piercey voted for the mayor's suggestion, based on their belief that he should have the right to his own department heads, although Guerts thought Skousen had done a good job. When Streets Commissioner Joe L. Christensen complained that he knew too little and requested further study of the matter, Lee flatly refused. As a result, both Christensen and Parks Commissioner L. C. Romney voted no.²⁶

Since Lee had won his case by 3-2, the commission then voted unanimously to adopt a new ordinance eliminating the positions of the three assistant chiefs,²⁷ at a savings of \$7,200 each per year, and abolishing the uniform allowance for all personnel not required to maintain uniforms. Capt. L. C. Crowther, former police chief, was named acting chief pending the appointment of a successor.²⁸ Lee gave no specific reason for the dismissal, but said, "I've given this a lot of thought and I'm doing it in the best interest of Salt Lake City. . . . He apparently didn't agree with me and I just found it impossible to work with him. I have no desire to hurt the man in any way and I don't intend to go into any details about it."²⁹

According to Skousen, the mayor's budget director, Charles Foote, once suggested that Skousen resign because of his disagree-

²⁵*Ibid.* Actually, Lee decided less than five months later that two assistant chiefs were, in fact, necessary. See *Deseret News*, August 11, 1960.

²⁶*Deseret News*, March 22, 1960.

²⁷The three assistant chiefs dropped were: Owen Poulsen, E.H.Morgan, and L. R. Greeson. *Deseret News*, March 22, 1960. Poulsen, assistant chief in charge of the Youth Bureau and Vice Squad, returned to the rank of captain. Morgan, assistant chief in charge of Communications and Records, returned to rank of captain and supervisor of Communications. Greeson went into a private polygraph business but is presently chief security officer for Skaggs Drug Centers in Reno, Nevada. *Deseret News*, March 23, 1960; Greeson's position was reported by Lt. N. K. Johnson, Planning and Research, SLC Police Department, in a letter to the author, April 12, 1973.

²⁸Skousen recalls that Lee put in as chief his "most incompetent captain." He said that Crowther was an outstanding patrolman but a terrible administrator. Crowther had a dispute with LDS President David O. McKay in 1947 when McKay was chairman of the Centennial Commission. McKay asked Crowther to clean up prostitution, but Crowther claimed there *was* none in the city. The disagreement caused Crowther to lose his job and he had been disgruntled ever since. He had often consulted with Lee behind Skousen's back. Skousen Interview.

²⁹*Deseret News*, March 22, 1960.

ments with Lee. Skousen told him that under no circumstances would he resign, because he could not abandon the department in time of crisis.

The Mayor, I understand today, suggested that I quoted him as saying that I had been asked to resign by him, and if I had said that, that was a lie. Well, let's be very clear on this. The Mayor didn't ever extend me that courtesy of resigning. He just up and fired me.³⁰

Lee remembers a very different story. He recounts that after several disagreements, he called in Skousen and told him that they would "never get along. You're strong willed and so am I." Lee suggested that Skousen write a letter of resignation so they would not have to make a "big fuss" about their differences. Lee would promise to give him a good "boost" and tell everyone "what a good man I think you are." According to Lee, Skousen said he would not resign, and " 'what's more, you can't fire me.' And I didn't think I could."³¹

When Lee decided to fire him, he refrained from discussing it with anyone — even his wife. "I thought, 'if I tell anybody it'll get out and this guy's got enough power — the only chance I've got is to keep it quiet.'" He made up his mind to make the motion in a commission meeting without prior warning, and "when I did, all hell broke loose." The next day the chambers and hallways filled with friends of Skousen, "the meanest, screaming bunch of people I've ever heard in my life." They were allegedly "religious people, pretending to like Skousen because he was religious," but they used foul language and called Lee and his wife on the phone and swore at them. Later they burned a cross in front of his home and ruined the lawn with salt. The firecrackers were so loud that his wife was ready to move.³²

On the day of the dismissal, Skousen was unavailable to anyone. His office claimed that he had left no word as to where he could be reached. When reporters sensed the import of the commission meeting, they tried to find him but without success. It was Harold Schindler of the *Tribune* who finally caught up with him shortly

³⁰*Ibid.*, March 23, 1960.

³¹In a letter to the author, April 14, 1973, Skousen reaffirmed his earlier position: "Not at any time did Mr. Lee extend to me the courtesy of resigning. At no time did he discuss avoiding a 'big fuss' and suggest that he would give me a 'boost' and tell everyone 'what a good man' I had been."

³²Lee Interview.



The police were headquartered in the Public Safety Building at First South and State streets during the Lee-Skousen years. This photograph from the Utah State Historical Society's Morgan Collection also shows the old City Hall to the left that has been moved to Capitol Hill.

after five, walking south on State Street toward the police station. Schindler shouted his regrets about the day's activities, but Skousen only laughed and said, "What's up?" Schindler informed him that he had been fired. According to Schindler, Skousen was still "smiling, but uncertainly, as if he had misunderstood."

"Really?"

"You mean you haven't heard?"

"I haven't heard anything; I've been at the Hotel all day. Tell me what's happened."

Schindler then provided the details. Later, in describing Skousen's obvious surprise at the news, he commented: "Skousen's reluctance to discuss the Hotel Utah meeting or to identify its participants has always piqued my curiosity, but, then, that may be making a mountain out of a molehill." At any rate, Schindler is convinced that Skousen would have been able to prevent the firing that day — "if he had known what was happening."³³

Skousen corroborated the important points of Schindler's version of their meeting on the street and the conversation that ensued.

³³Letter to the author from Harold Schindler, December 1, 1973.

Their only significant point of difference concerns the Hotel Utah. Skousen remembers that he had been addressing a meeting of the Rotary Club that afternoon ("or was it the Kiwanis?") and had been detained for about an hour afterward by several businessmen. They had asked many questions about the department and Mayor Lee's objections to Skousen's policies. Even though many of them were close friends of Lee, they were puzzled by his statements. Skousen recalls that he gave them frank answers, concluding that Lee's attitude toward law enforcement was a major difference. Nevertheless, Skousen told them that he thought they could "work it out." After leaving that meeting, Skousen recalls the encounter with Schindler. In response to the assertion that he could have prevented the firing, Skousen remains adamant:

No one ever suggested to me that they had been trying to find me or have me appear before the Commission. Had they done so, I would have declined to attend. . . . From the beginning I recognized the right of the Commission to make a change in the Police administration and therefore I made no attempt to appeal or reverse their decision.³⁴

NEWSPAPER REACTION

Especially in light of their 1958 battle, editorial reaction from the city's two newspapers was ambivalent. In contrast to its earlier criticism of Skousen, the *Tribune* called the act a "distinct shock" and referred to massive public reaction in the form of telephone calls to the *Tribune* and a noisy demonstration by approximately seventy-five persons at the city commission meeting as indicative of a need for clarification. The *Tribune* astutely observed that the debate over economies in the department played only a small part in the final action. The editors suggested that seeds for the firing were planted during the mayoralty campaign when Jenkins and Lee had disagreed over the status of the police department. Finally, the *Tribune* credited Skousen, quite surprisingly, with "an outstanding job of reorganizing and strengthening the force" and said he was leaving a department "more efficient and with a far more enviable record" than when he assumed office. The editors implored the mayor to act quickly in appointing a permanent chief to continue strong law enforcement, avoiding "any trend toward 'opening up' the town."

³⁴Skousen Interview and letter to the author from Skousen, March 19, 1974.

As to Chief Skousen, "the community owes him a vote of thanks for his past service and his responsiveness to duty."³⁵

On the other hand, the *Deseret News*, which had always been in Skousen's corner, soft-pedaled the affair, first giving warm praise to Lee's decision to step down from Public Safety and assume Finance, while J. K. Piercey took over Public Safety. The *News* saw the possibility that Piercey might call Skousen back, since "public reaction certainly confirms our convictions that Chief Skousen has done a tremendous job of building the Police department in this city." In an overture to Lee, the editors claimed he was right in his decision to fire Skousen; after all, Lee *was* in charge of Public Safety. Since the two men had clashed so often, harmony was allegedly impossible. It was significant, according to the *News*, that public reaction had been "unprecedented in memory," ample proof that the city was definitely not apathetic.³⁶ With some difficulty, the *News* had straddled the fence.

This was hardly the spirited defense that they had launched so willingly for Skousen in 1958, but it was not because of a change of heart. In fact, the editors felt so strongly about the incident that they had prepared an unprecedented, full-page editorial to be run in the *News* on March 23. It did not appear. With final preparations underway for its inclusion in the evening edition, the editorial was ordered killed by Henry D. Moyle, First Counselor in the First Presidency of the church, among whose official functions was the supervision of the *Deseret News*.³⁷ A scathing denunciation of Lee's "high-handed autocracy," it heaped lavish praise on Skousen and described the flood of calls from angry Utahns which suggested that the firing was "an amazing, unprecedented thing."

Here is a man who has finer personal and professional qualifications than any man who has served as police chief of this city within the memory of most citizens; a man of such superb reputation that he was seriously considered to reform and give new moral strength to the police department of the nation's second largest city; a man who raised Salt Lake City's own police department from a morass of unbelievably low morale and efficiency to one of national reputation in which every law-abiding citizen now takes pride; a man never touched by the

³⁵*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 23, 1960.

³⁶*Deseret News*, March 23, 1960.

³⁷A claim fully supported by both Skousen and Lee in personal interviews.

slightest breath of scandal, whose integrity and purpose and ability have not been responsibly questioned.³⁸

Castigating Lee for reneging on an agreement to appear on television the previous evening to explain the firing, the *News* demanded an explanation. The editors detailed Skousen's accomplishments in increasing morale and efficiency left over from a "parade of police chiefs in and out of the job"; eliminating the internecine warfare within the department so effectively that one officer could report, "he had made us no longer ashamed to say we're police officers"; instituting a self-policing program among taverns, hotels, pharmacies, and doctors, bringing the cleanest, highest standards in years; and cleaning up "an abominable city jail situation." Obviously, the editors concluded, the discharge was not justified by Skousen's performance in office.³⁹

Then they speculated on the reasons for the discharge: according to Skousen, Lee had instructed him to "go easy" on law enforcement, especially with respect to private clubs, bingo gambling, or striptease shows. Since Skousen refused, Lee allegedly became distraught. Perhaps the "organized drive" to institute sale of liquor by the drink in the city, opposed by Skousen, was another stumbling block. Only one criticism made by Lee, said the awaiting editorial, was worth considering: the charge that Skousen had used department pressure on tavern owners to form an association and to attempt to collect a \$2,000 debt from tavern owner Byron Jensen, even though he did not owe it. However, no proof was forthcoming from the mayor or the tavern owners. Since it was not legally possible to recall or impeach the mayor, the editors recommended massive citizen pressure in the form of petitions asking for Skousen's reinstatement. In the wake of such pressure, the city commission would have the obligation to reverse its stand or reorganize itself so that another commissioner than the mayor would head Public Safety and gain the power to invite Skousen back. Then came the grandstand play:

And so the vital question is: "What kind of city do the people of Salt Lake City want? Do they want an "open" city where vice is winked at, where huge profits can be made by those who control vice, and where those profits can in turn influence city government?"

³⁸Unpublished editorial, *Deseret News*, March 23, 1960, taken from galley proof in the possession of Skousen.

³⁹*Ibid.*

Or do they want impartial law enforcement, without fear or favor, in a city in which they can be proud and confident to rear their children?

Every Citizen who considers this question should consider also the profound message of this truth: "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."⁴⁰

It can be easily understood why the editorial that replaced this one was ambivalent and ineffective. It was undoubtedly written hurriedly, without conviction, and reflected the pressures applied from above.

The accounts of both Lee and Skousen after the fact are indeed revealing. According to Lee, when he received word that the *Deseret News* was about to run a full-page editorial against him, he telephoned President McKay who instructed him not to worry.⁴¹ McKay said that the First Presidency of the church was supporting Lee in the firing of Skousen, and he advised Lee to call the other members of the First Presidency, Presidents Clark and Moyle, to personally thank them.⁴² Lee recalls President J. Reuben Clark saying that it had always been his opinion that it was impossible for Skousen to handle the chief's job and be active in church assignments too.⁴³ He suggested that Skousen had often taught inaccurate doctrine and on at least one occasion the First Presidency had forced him to repudiate some stands he had taken in an article. President Moyle said, "Bracken, the Church supports you!" Furthermore, Moyle allayed Lee's fears by announcing that as the controlling official of the *Deseret News*, he had personally ordered destroyed a full-page editorial against him which was already on the presses. He said Lee would never have to worry about the *News* discussing the issue again.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹Lee Interview.

⁴²Such a development may have surprised Lee. Ironically, Skousen had always believed that Lee resented his Mormon ties. On one occasion, Skousen reported Lee saying, "You know, Chief, I think you're the kind of fellow who doesn't think anybody is any good unless they belong to your church." "I told the mayor, I thought he was a bigger man than that." Skousen prided himself in his association with Catholics, Jews, Protestants, and in the fact that two of his assistant chiefs were not Mormon. Greeson, one of the assistant chiefs, made a good partner for him because he was a Mason and non-Mormon. Skousen said that Lee once called in Greeson and offered him the chief's job if he would help Lee "harpoon" Skousen. Allegedly, Greeson used some "colorful language" to tell the mayor what he thought of the offer. He also told him that Skousen was not run by church leaders. He said the department was operated by professional principles and Skousen was not dictated to by anyone. As a matter of fact, Greeson thought Skousen ought to talk to church leaders more than he did. Skousen Interview.

⁴³It seems probable that Lee misunderstood Clark on this issue. Church leaders have never believed that a man's profession should or could significantly interfere with church assignments. Rather, Mormons take special pride in their ability to excel in both church and professional assignments.

Although Skousen's account differs in explaining motivation, it fully supports the basic details: that the *News* was in fact planning the editorial and that Moyle had killed it.⁴⁴ Skousen claimed that Lee had as many friends among church leaders as he did and that the president of the church had always been more comfortable with a non-Mormon in office who was friendly than a Mormon who might feel a need to be independent. The interesting thing, said Skousen, was that when he was fired he got no calls from church authorities saying, "Stick to your guns."⁴⁵ He said he learned of the editorial when an employee of the *News* mailed him a proof and a note saying, "Good editorial — too bad Brother Moyle wouldn't allow it to be printed."⁴⁶

Skousen believes that Moyle killed it because he was worried that the *Deseret News*, the church organ, attacking Lee, a Mason, might revive the Mormon-Mason feud of earlier times. Skousen said Lee himself had conceived the idea of the Mormon-Mason feud and had sold Gus Backman on the idea, who in turn convinced Moyle.⁴⁷ Both Lee and Skousen believe that William Smart, present editor and general manager of the *News*, was responsible for writing the editorial. Because Smart was director of the editorial page, he presumably established the general tenor of the piece.⁴⁸

⁴⁴Skousen Interview.

⁴⁵Skousen's most important support from the General Authorities of the Mormon church could reasonably be expected to come from Apostle Ezra Taft Benson, political conservative and ardent anti-Communist. In an interview with the author, August 15, 1972, Benson said he was out of the city when the firing took place and that he was "very unhappy" about it. However, he never did discuss it with Lee and only in passing with Skousen. He asserted that all General Authorities had been very happy about the original appointment of Skousen as chief. He said he would recommend that I talk with President McKay if he were alive, because he took a genuine interest in city and state affairs. He said that the "Brethren" were generally pleased with Lee both as governor and mayor and had heard President McKay say so on more than one occasion, but President McKay also thought Lee could have been "tighter in eradicating sin" (specifically, prostitution) from the city.

⁴⁶Skousen told a slightly different version in a personal note to himself clipped to the editorial. He said that he personally dropped by the *News* office just after Moyle's order and found the office in a furor. Employees were threatening to resign in protest since they thought the order was a violation of professional ethics. As he was leaving, an employee handed him the proof of the editorial as a "souvenir." Skousen believed that McKay and Clark were both "indisposed" at the time, which is why Moyle exercised so much power. This is in complete opposition to Lee's account of his telephone conversations with McKay, Clark, and Moyle.

⁴⁷Skousen Interview.

⁴⁸Interview with William Smart, August 3, 1972, Salt Lake City. Smart expressed his conviction that Skousen's firing was a "bad move," and Salt Lake had had nothing but problems in the police department ever since. When asked about the editorial, Smart replied, "Well, we've never published nor ever *will* publish a full-page editorial — that's ridiculous. And I'd really rather not comment on that. That's an internal matter that I'd rather not get into."

In light of the editorial incident, one conflict between Lee and Skousen may have additional overtones. A few weeks before the firing, Lee accused Skousen of "covering up for a Mormon Apostle" in connection with a traffic accident. Skousen denied the charge and then wrote a letter to Lee describing an accident occurring on September 12, 1959, in which Henry D. Moyle was involved. While Moyle and a cab driver were exchanging license numbers, a woman parked by the curb asked Moyle to move his car so she could move hers. He did so and then drove into a parking lot to call the police. Later, Moyle called Skousen to complain about the way one of the officers handled the incident. Skousen characterized the officer as "disgruntled" and took over the investigation himself.

When I completed the investigation, I determined that Mr. Moyle had violated Section 98 of the Salt Lake City Traffic Code in that he did not "remain at the scene of the accident until authorized to leave by a police officer."

Later, Moyle was issued a citation and paid \$100 for the violation.⁴⁹ Neither Lee nor Skousen saw any connection between this incident and later events.⁵⁰

SOFT ON LAW ENFORCEMENT

In a series of television appearances after the firing, Skousen attempted to clear his reputation by outlining his differences with Lee. Although the record illustrates severe budgetary disagreements, Skousen claimed the real reason he was fired lay in his refusal to agree to softer law enforcement. For instance, Lee allegedly advised Skousen that the practice of regularly sending the vice squad into the private clubs of the city, such as the Alta, Ambassador, and Elks, was a "waste of manpower" which should be directed toward major crimes. According to Skousen, Lee ordered him several times to stay away from those clubs. On one occasion, he even talked to several officers, advising them that he did not want any further suppression of fringe gambling; Skousen argued that such a request was impossible because the law required that police

⁴⁹Skousen to Lee, March 8, 1960, in Skousen's possession. This letter is labeled "personal and confidential."

⁵⁰Lee says that he is certain that Moyle appreciated what Skousen was doing to protect his good name and that the incident was not the reason Moyle sided with Lee against Skousen in the editorial episode. Letter from Lee to the author, March 26, 1973.



Newsman Doug Mitchell listens as Chief Skousen airs his views on law enforcement and his firing. Salt Lake Tribune photograph.

check for gambling and sale of liquor across the bar. Skousen voiced his intention to enforce the law and added that the mayor could not order him to disobey it. Angry words followed, with Lee suggesting that the police should stay away from striptease shows and admitting that he enjoyed them himself and had no desire to be arrested while attending one.⁵¹

In his own television rebuttal, Lee alleged that Skousen was guilty of telling “half truths” about himself and the private clubs. When Skousen complained about a shortage of men to check burglaries and robberies at night, Lee advised him to stop “bothering”

⁵¹*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 23, 1960; Skousen Interview. Lee admits talking candidly about the latter point to Skousen. He remembers a contractors association gathering at a private club, raided by fourteen men sent in by Skousen. There were some dancing girls who had very little on, and Lee asked Skousen later what he found when he got there. Skousen replied that they had arrived too early and “they hadn’t taken off their clothes yet.” Offered Lee, “ ‘Well, what if they had? To me the most beautiful thing on earth is a naked woman.’ He gave that to the press and they played it up. But I don’t give a damn what the press says. I think the prettiest thing in the world is a nude woman — a good looking nude woman.” Lee Interview.



Skousen and Lee differed over the policing of private social organizations such as the Ambassador Club. Photograph by L. V. McNeely.

the legitimate clubs and use the men on the street automobile patrols where they were needed most. According to the mayor, he gave no order, only some advice about allocation of manpower.⁵²

A major point of contention concerned a specific night at the Ambassador Club when Mayor Lee was in attendance. Part of

the activities centered on a pari-mutuel horse race game, a clear violation of the law. After the game was over, police officers arrived to investigate, and the club owners frankly admitted the violation. It was then discovered that besides Lee, Tony Hatsis, tavern owner and good friend of Lee, and Charles Foote, Lee's budget director, were in attendance.⁵³ A close associate of Lee's, John Lewis, claimed that the mayor made the initial call to the police to report the game, but Skousen countered that the call was anonymous. Skousen was critical of Lee for failure to enforce the law as mayor of the city.⁵⁴

Lee believed that "fine leading citizens from all over Salt Lake City" were in attendance that night at an annual banquet for charity purposes, with proceeds going to the blind. He was proud to be there at what he called a "high class club," recognized as legitimate and honest. "The gambling — if you want to call it that — doesn't amount to anything. Mr. Skousen thinks it is a terrible thing." Lee argued that he had no advance knowledge of the gambling and did not buy any of the fifty-cent tickets. Worried that Skousen was "setting a trap" for him, Lee instructed Foote to call Skousen and ask who granted permission to run the game.⁵⁵ But since Foote allegedly could not get the chief's telephone number, he gave the informa-

⁵²Lee TV address, p. 1; *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 5, 1960.

⁵³*Deseret News*, March 23, 1960.

⁵⁴*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 23, 1960.

⁵⁵Lee TV address, p. 2; and *Tribune*, April 5, 1960.

tion to the dispatcher. Lee said he took this action to protect himself and the members of his party, because he knew it was against the law for the mayor or a police officer to be in the presence of illegality. But he called it a "silly thing to make a big fuss over."⁵⁶

Skousen claimed a discrepancy in Lee's story, because employees had instructions to get a message to the chief from any legitimate person. The reason Foote failed to get the number is reflected in the official report, which says: "About 11:30 P.M., 3-19-60, an irate anonymous phone call was relayed by the dispatcher to Sergeant Haun."⁵⁷ Lee said the next day Skousen discovered that the city attorney, James L. Barker, had also been present at the club. According to Lee, Barker told Skousen that "there wasn't anything to it," but Skousen retorted, "Well, it is too bad for you, too."⁵⁸ That, said Lee, was the reason Skousen was fired — because he was a man who used the police department for "scaring his enemies and protecting his friends."⁵⁹ Although the incident seems an excellent example of Skousen's vindictive spirit, Skousen himself claimed, "the only problem is, I did not say it."⁶⁰

SELF-POLICING

According to Skousen, the supervision of taverns was chaotic when he became chief, and so he inaugurated a self-policing program. Tavern owners were requested to keep their own places clean in return for fewer police checks. Allegedly, the majority of them were cooperative, and they cut drunkenness in half under the program. The tavern owners hired a former police officer, Sgt. T. W. Southworth, to advise them about the technicalities of the liquor law. When Southworth saw violations he reported it to the department which in turn told the association so they could "clean themselves up." The owners, said Skousen, were not forced to join any association as the mayor charged.⁶¹

Lee maintains that the only order he had specifically given to Skousen was to stop the self-policing program, "because I believed

⁵⁶*Tribune*, April 5, 1960.

⁵⁷Skousen private notes in his possession; *Deseret News*, April 7, 1960.

⁵⁸In a letter to the author, May 29, 1973, Barker gave an account similar to Lee's. He said Lee had ordered Foote to call Skousen and that Lee took no part in the gambling. Skousen called him to ask about the penalty if an elected official observed a violation of the law and took no action. When Barker told Skousen he was at the club, too, Skousen allegedly replied, "Then you are in the same boat and will have to suffer the consequences."

⁵⁹Lee TV address.

⁶⁰Skousen private notes; *Deseret News*, April 7, 1960.

⁶¹*Deseret News*, March 23, 1960.

there was something dishonest" in it. Lee recalls that he told Skousen: "I think you could make a deal with the underworld to only steal so much at night and they would be glad to police themselves." This would be self-policing with thieves in order to reduce stealing downtown. He suggested that these thieves were potential law violators who would be protected if they would cut down their activity. "That's what you're doing, and I don't like it."⁶² The analogy, however, is not apt, since it inexplicably lumps tavern owners with thieves as potential law violators.

Lee said further that he had affidavits to show pressure had been used by the department to force men in the tavern business to pay money for bills they did not owe. Tavern owner Byron Jensen said that in order to get his beer license transferred to another location he was required to sign a note for \$2,000 to pay an obligation of another concern that had gone bankrupt. "The man said he didn't owe the note, but that Mr. Southworth had told him he should sign it."⁶³ (He was also told that it was his responsibility to settle \$16,000 in bad debts of the former owner of the new location.) At first he refused to sign, and then agreed; he said he had paid \$650 on the note when Mayor Lee advised him to stop payment.⁶⁴

⁶²Lee Interview.

⁶³Lee claims Southworth made a great deal of money through the program. Tavern owners were told they would not be harassed if they joined the association. If the owners said no, the vice squad would arrive the same night and "make a nuisance of themselves." Southworth would return the next day, and the owner would ask, "What the hell were those policemen doing here last night?" Finally, the owner would agree to join. Lee Interview. Southworth himself declined to reply to the author's questions about the program.

⁶⁴*Deseret News*, April 16, 1960.



Lee disapproved of tavern owners policing themselves as a means of cutting down police surveillance. Photograph by L. V. McNeely.

Skousen, however, claimed that because the note was written four days before bankruptcy was declared, it was valid. Actually, Skousen asserted, all that had been required of the purchaser was to satisfy the bulk sales law of Utah, a legal necessity prior to gaining a license. Skousen reported that investigation to Lee and suggested that he have a public hearing to satisfy all, but Lee declined and instead directed the matter to the county attorney, Grover Giles.⁶⁵

Eventually, a public hearing was held by Mayor Lee to determine the effectiveness of the self-policing program. Some tavern owners testified that the policy made them feel like businessmen instead of criminals, while others claimed they had been pressured and had had difficulty getting licenses. Lt. Marvin Butterfield, in charge of the police antivice squad, praised the program as an effective way of allowing the taverns to handle their own problems. Three tavern owners, Harry Wilkinson, Steve Floor, and Clifford James, all testified that the program had not been forced on them and that they were pleased with the results.⁶⁶

On the other hand, Mrs. Marian Spence related that although she and her husband had been in the tavern business for years, they had been forced to sell because of difficulty in securing a dance license. She claimed that they had refused Southworth's request to join the tavern owners association. Later, Southworth gave them "one more chance" to join if they wished to survive. They still refused and subsequently were denied a dance license even though they paid for it. Anthony Ventura said he had paid \$1,425 for

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, March 23, 1960.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, April 16, 1960.



The West Second South area pictured above and on the opposite page continues to be the scene of much police antivice activity. Photograph by L. V. McNeely.

transfer of a beer license plus a \$401 license fee to the city and still had not received a license. Pete Paulos complained that when he wrote a letter to the tavern owners association requesting a vote on a 2:00 A.M. closing ordinance the vice squad began making more frequent visits to his tavern. Leonard Feraco said he had paid Southworth \$300 for membership in the association and was later refunded \$200; and Nick Karkus said he was obliged to join the association for \$100 in order to obtain a card room license for his business.⁶⁷

Skousen admits the presence of pressure to join the tavern association, but he believes it came from the association, not the vice squad. When a tavern was not complying with the law, the association would threaten the owner with losing his membership, and then the owner would correct the problem. Skousen was told that the tavern owners were a big source of Lee's political campaign chest which, he concluded, was the reason that Lee was irritated by the self-policing program. Skousen noted that the tavern association supported Skousen, not Lee, and that they editorialized on it in their regular bulletin.⁶⁸

OTHER DISAGREEMENTS

Calling Skousen a "very expensive man," Lee referred to the 1958 police report which, he said, had cost the taxpayer \$2,304.19 to print. Skousen allegedly arranged for a number of hard-cover reports, with people's names embossed in gold, to be mailed around the country to his friends at the taxpayers' expense. Lee said 248 copies went to all stake presidencies and bishops of the Mormon church, while others went to the Lions Club, Exchange Club, and other organizations. Copies had even been sent to Skousen's relatives in California. The actual money spent was relatively insignificant, said Lee, but it "just shows what an egotist he is." Additionally, Skousen persuaded the city commission to send him to Hawaii at a cost of \$678 to the taxpayer.⁶⁹

Skousen replied that the police department files showed that requisition order number 815, dated April 16, 1959, authorized

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸Skousen Interview. The bulletin named is not available. In a letter to the author, April 14, 1973, Assistant Chief J. L. Smith of the Salt Lake City Police Department reported that no copies could be located.

⁶⁹Lee TV address, p. 4; *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 5, 1960.

payment of \$1,371.23 for 3,000 copies of the 1958 annual report. Only 25 copies were prepared with hardback covers so they could be placed in libraries and presented to the city commission for permanent filing.⁷⁰ Skousen thought it unfair to mention that they were sent to Mormon officials without adding that they were also sent to all other churches in the area. He believed that sending them to other police departments was especially valuable, and he admitted mailing copies to members of his family in California. "This is entirely true. I was very proud of the work the department had been doing." The Hawaii trip, said Skousen, was the annual convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, where he served on two general committees. The services rendered by other departments to Salt Lake City as a result of contacts made at these conventions was worth far more than the money spent on the trip, said Skousen.⁷¹

A minor Lee charge was that Skousen had held the taxpayer financially responsible for his book, *The Naked Communist*, by using city policemen and secretaries to assemble and type it.⁷² According to Skousen, the text of the book was almost completed before he became chief, and the final chapters were typed by his secretary's daughter, for which he had the cancelled checks to prove his personal payment.⁷³ Lee estimated that Skousen had made numerous speeches each year at the expense of his duties as chief.⁷⁴ Although Skousen did not deny this charge, he noted that the speeches were approved by the city commission. Mayor Stewart had always felt such speeches were a compliment to Salt Lake City, and Lee had never expressed himself otherwise. The trips were made without expense to the city except for Skousen's time.⁷⁵

Lee also claimed that he was disturbed by Skousen's use of polygraph tests in hiring of policemen. Allegedly, most of the questions were on sex: "When did you first want a woman? When did you first have intercourse? Did you ever cheat on your wife? etc." Skousen allegedly told Lee that he wanted to "steer clear of sex

⁷⁰Skousen says that these twenty-five copies were prepared free by the publisher — at no cost whatever to the department. He sent paperback copies to other departments because it provided a "wonderful liaison." Skousen Interview.

⁷¹Skousen private notes.

⁷²*Tribune*, April 5, 1960.

⁷³Skousen to Walter Knott, Knott's Berry Farm, Buena Park, California, September 9, 1960, Skousen file.

⁷⁴Lee TV address, *Tribune*, April 5, 1960. Lee claimed that Skousen made between 300 and 400 speeches a year.

⁷⁵Skousen private notes.

fiends" on the force. When Lee argued that it was an unfair intrusion into private lives and asked him to discontinue its practice, Skousen ignored the suggestion.⁷⁶

In response, Skousen insisted that Lee's description of the tests was inaccurate. There were some questions about sex "but only for the purpose of determining moral turpitude." He desired to weed out applicants "involved in promiscuous immorality or homosexuality" because they would be "vulnerable to blackmail." Skousen characterized the questions as "routine" and claimed they were the same ones asked throughout the country for this purpose. He believes they were continued in use after he left and during the remainder of Lee's tenure.⁷⁷

A final problem concerned Lee's assertion that Skousen had instructed policemen to have no association whatever with the mayor. As a result, policemen would hesitate even to speak to him. "I thought, gee, of all the mean policemen I've ever seen!" One officer who was especially knowledgeable about police operations confided to him that a plainclothes detective was monitoring Lee's door; under orders from Skousen, he was to report the names of policemen seen visiting the mayor. The officer refused to come to the mayor's office, but he agreed to meet Lee in a vacant building. There he complied with Lee's request for a list of twenty policemen who were allegedly "real close to Skousen."⁷⁸

Lee telephoned each of them, saying, "I'm *ordering* you to my office" where he asked them basic questions about their jobs. Lee claimed the practice worried Skousen, even though it was only a "game of cloak and dagger" they were playing with each other. Lee also believed that Skousen had put a "tail" on the mayor's car in hopes of getting some information about him.⁷⁹ Skousen laughed off the charge, saying, "Why would I want to put a tail on Mayor Lee? Ridiculous!" He declared that the police department had never placed Lee under surveillance in any way. Skousen also stoutly denied Lee's story about his forbidding the police to talk to the mayor. He did instruct policemen that official police matters must go from the police chief to the mayor, thus following logical chan-

⁷⁶Lee Interview.

⁷⁷Letter from Skousen to the author, April 14, 1973. In a previously cited letter to the author, Assistant Chief Smith claims no direct knowledge as to whether Skousen included questions on sex. Presently, however, the department uses the polygraph in hiring but includes no questions on sex.

⁷⁸Lee Interview.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

nels. Further, he believes that if Lee had really been an astute administrator, "he would have called *me* in," rather than officers suspected of being close to him.⁸⁰

LEE AND SKOUSEN TODAY

Although noticeably more tolerant of each other, neither Lee nor Skousen has appreciably changed his attitude toward the episode. Lee now has the first kind words for Skousen since the firing, responding adamantly that his record was as good as any chief in the history of Salt Lake City. "When it comes to policemen doing their job," said Lee, Skousen excelled. The policemen worked and were always available when he was chief, but "I never see a policeman around now." Lee also lauded Skousen for his handling of the traffic department: "You didn't have a better traffic setup than when Skousen was chief, and I think you could probably say it about every department." The praise finished, Lee felt compelled to add, "I'll tell you though, he was a dictator! He was the type of guy who would cut off your head." Lee claimed Skousen was "practicing Communism to fight it" and was running the department like a gestapo — through fear. Moreover, Lee still maintains that Skousen was dishonest. "I *know* that. In my last campaign I said he was dishonest. Now you would think I would be sued for that, wouldn't you? But he knows that I know something about him that he don't want other people to know."⁸¹

When Skousen was questioned about Lee's integrity, he flatly replied that Lee was *not* dishonest. He thought only that Lee was a victim of bad advisers left over from the "Hatsis years" in Price when Lee was mayor of that city. According to Skousen, Lee's good friend, Tony Hatsis, was the leader in the drive to get liquor by the drink in Utah.⁸² Skousen has always objected to the charge that he operated the department as Communists would, claiming that morale was high among personnel. As proof he quoted *Police Mutual Aid Magazine* in which his own personnel had praised his service:

As chief he corrected the loose construction which could have destroyed the department. He disciplined the division to a fine edge: teaching us unity through order. Most important of all was his example of high principles and zeal, combined with unexcelled integrity and

⁸⁰Skousen interview.

⁸¹Lee Interview.

⁸²Skousen Interview.

executive ability which enabled our police force to win national recognition. . . .⁸³

Skousen concluded that Lee was perhaps not the man that his wife was a woman and that it was too bad that he did not have the church to give him "stability." In Skousen's view, Lee has many fine personal qualities but only one flaw — "he's a rebel."⁸⁴

CONCLUSIONS

The confrontation between Lee and Skousen really should have been predictable, for it was a clash of strong wills, represented by two aggressive, independent, and charismatic leaders, in some ways too much alike to work well together. It is evident that they felt threatened by each other. Yet their personal styles are dramatically different: Lee is plain-speaking and frank, with special appeal to the common man reminiscent of Truman's style if not his politics; Skousen on the other hand, is polished, sophisticated, and fluent, recalling the majesty of MacArthur. Both attracted considerable support from members and leaders of the Mormon church.

The differences in their accounts of the dispute are impossible to resolve. Many of them rest on interpretation, while others grow out of personal, two-way conversations. In any case, neither side of the story will be completely corroborated by outside evidence. City and police records are fuzzy on the significant details, and many individuals with personal knowledge of the conflict have refused comment.⁸⁵ However, in the final analysis, most of these details are unimportant, for it was the philosophies of the men themselves that produced the crisis.

Skousen's belief that Lee needed the church for stability is instructive, for it reveals the moral base for many of their disagreements. Although both men are politically conservative, their moral and religious backgrounds contrast sharply. Lee could speak positively about law enforcement without ever considering the restriction of private clubs, because they were an integral part of his way of life. To Skousen, on the other hand, the clubs and their activities not only threatened law enforcement, they were morally repugnant.

⁸³As quoted by Skousen in his letter to Knott. Unfortunately, the author was unable to locate the actual editorial either from individual police officers or from the Salt Lake Police Department who maintain there is no copy on file. Letter to author from N. K. Johnson.

⁸⁴Skousen Interview.

⁸⁵The author has written numerous letters to police officers and politicians who knew either Skousen or Lee, and many of them refused comment.

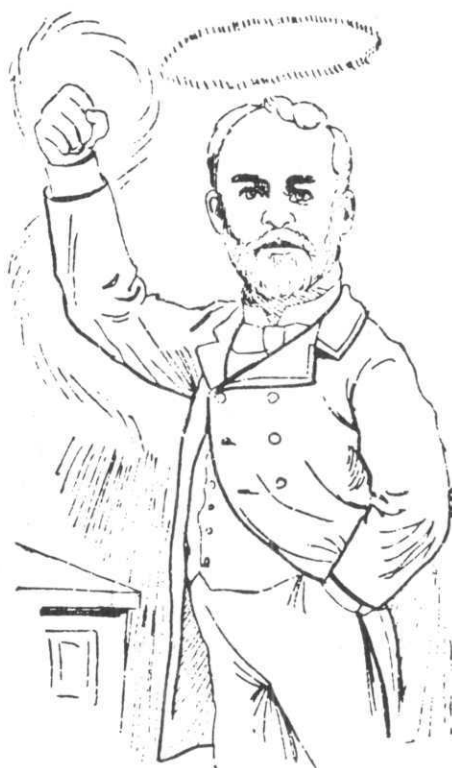
While Lee enjoyed watching dancing girls, Skousen found them distasteful. To Lee the use of the polygraph in hiring policemen was an invasion of privacy, while Skousen believed in it as a way to gauge moral turpitude. Obviously, Skousen's philosophy was deeply rooted in his Mormon background, an ironic twist since the church supported Lee in the crisis. Yet in self-policing, the moral argument reverted to Lee, who believed the program to be inherently dishonest, while Skousen considered it a boon to efficiency. In budgetary matters, Lee could claim to be the real conservative, while Skousen argued the folly of cutbacks. Skousen was more interested in efficiency than in economy, while Lee gave the appearance of economizing for its own sake.

Through the dismissal both men gained an aura of public respect that may not have been attainable in any other way. Neither career has suffered in the intervening years. In fact, Lee's career received fresh impetus, since he survived a barrage of criticism unparalleled in the city's history. When people tired of disputing the issue, Lee was still in power, applying his familiar, resolute approach to city problems. If he was ruffled, he did not show it. Clearly, Lee had the edge, for he was an incumbent with continuing visibility, while Skousen was forced to take on the more quiet role of a private citizen. But one aspect of the problem should not be overlooked: as mayor of the city with authority over the police department, Lee had the right to have associates with whom he could work. Just as Truman could not govern while disputing with his general in the field, neither could Lee handle city affairs when his police chief disagreed with him on every vital issue. Although Skousen was unquestionably right in many of his disputes with Lee about effective police service, Lee still retained the right to remove. He did not have to demonstrate malfeasance, incompetency, or other specific charges — but only that he and Skousen did not work well together.

Because of the personalities involved, the Lee-Skousen feud is one of the more colorful confrontations in Utah political history. It is important because it illustrates unequivocally that a political decision need not be immediately popular to be politically rewarding. On the contrary, an unpopular decision may be the best route to enduring public approval for an official — if he can retain composure and decisiveness in the aftermath. For it is incumbency coupled with composure that adds the historic dimension. J. Bracken Lee weathered the crisis.



Roberts Receives the Impertinent Telegram.



The "Inspired" Whitney Blows Elder-Down at Roberts.

Sketches from the Salt Lake Tribune depict the fervor of convention oratory.

Woman's Place Is in the Constitution: The Struggle for Equal Rights in Utah in 1895

BY JEAN BICKMORE WHITE

I

IN JULY OF 1894 the nation's leading advocate of woman suffrage, Susan B. Anthony, voiced a hope and a warning to the officers and members of the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah. "My dear friends," she wrote, "I am delighted that you are now to be in the

Union of States, as you have been for many years in the union of the dear old National Woman Suffrage Association! I congratulate you not only because Utah is to be a state, but because I hope and trust that her men, in Constitutional Convention assembled, will, like the noble men of Wyoming, ordain political equality to her women."

Noting that Utah's women had once had the right to vote, Miss Anthony said: "And I am sure that you, my dear sisters, who have not only tasted the sweets of liberty, but also the bitterness, the humiliation of the loss of the blessed symbol, will not allow the organic law of your state to be framed on the barbarism that makes women the political slaves of men."¹

Miss Anthony was a political realist, and it seems that she could foresee the struggle ahead for Utah's women. She urged them to fight to get their right to vote in the state's new constitution and not to leave it to future legislatures or to a separate vote of the electorate. She warned:

Now in the formative period of your constitution is the time to establish justice and equality to all the people. That adjective "male" once admitted into your organic law, will remain there. Don't be cajoled into believing otherwise! Look how the women of New York toiled and toiled over forty years to get "male" out of our constitution. . . .

No, no! Don't be deluded by any specious reasoning, but demand justice now. Once ignored in your constitution — you'll be as powerless to secure recognition as are we in the older states. . . .²

She went on to warn against leaving the vote for women out of the constitution and submitting it for a separate vote of the electorate, pointing out that Colorado was the only state in which the male voters had agreed to extend the franchise to women.³ By 1894 only Wyoming and Colorado granted full political rights to women; some other states permitted them to vote in school or municipal elections.

Miss Anthony's letter had arrived at a crucial time, on the eve of statehood for Utah. Earlier in 1894 Congress had passed the Enabling Act, providing for a constitutional convention to be held in

Dr. White is associate professor of political science at Weber State College, Ogden. This paper was originally prepared for the Charles Redd Lecture Series at Brigham Young University, February 14, 1974, and is printed here with the kind permission of the Redd Center which has also issued the paper as a separate monograph. Minor changes have been made to conform to *Quarterly* style. ■

¹*Woman's Exponent*, 23 (August 1 and 15, 1894), 169.

²*Ibid.*

³*Ibid.* For a discussion of the attempts to gain woman suffrage by constitutional amendment see T. A. Larson, "Woman Suffrage in Western America," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 38 (Winter 1970), 7-19.

1895. If the constitution conformed to the provisions of the Enabling Act, and if it were approved by the voters at a subsequent election, President Grover Cleveland would proclaim Utah a state, and the dream of most citizens of the territory of Utah would be fulfilled. Utah would at last be a state on an equal footing with the other states of the union, free of territorial laws enacted by Congress and free to elect her own state officials.

It was a particularly crucial time for advocates of equal political rights for women. Ahead of them lay a unique opportunity to secure these rights. Utah women had once had the right to vote, as a result of an act of the territorial legislature, from 1870 until 1887, when it was taken away by Congress with the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act.⁴ In the meantime, several of the prominent women in the Mormon church (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) had become active in the national woman suffrage movement, and in 1889 they had founded the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah.⁵ Many of these same women were leaders in the Mormon Relief Society, the women's auxiliary of the church, and had promoted lessons in government, parliamentary law, history, and other subjects that would stimulate women's interest in public affairs.⁶ They had also moved out into the territory, organizing suffrage associations in the outlying counties, to make sure that there was widespread support for the movement. They had stayed in close touch with the leaders of the Mormon church, obtaining their blessings and support for their activities in the national women's organizations. By the time Miss Anthony's advice arrived, the leading Utah suffragists were already getting well prepared for the struggle ahead, continuing to organize at the grass roots as well as cultivating support at the top of the religious hierarchy.

In September of 1894, both of the national political parties held territorial conventions, and it became evident that the women's efforts were beginning to bear fruit. The Republicans met first, at the Opera House in Provo on September 11. The party platform included a list of twenty-one items, starting with the need for a

⁴The 1870 law and its consequences are discussed by Thomas G. Alexander in "An Experiment in Progressive Legislation: The Granting of Woman Suffrage in Utah in 1870," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 38 (Winter 1970), 20-30. See also Ralph Lorenzo Jack, "Woman Suffrage in Utah as an Issue in the Mormon and Non-Mormon Press of the Territory, 1870-1887" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1954).

⁵*Woman's Exponent*, 17 (January 15, 1889), 121-22.

⁶Alexander, "Progressive Legislation," 27.



Emily S. Richards.

protective tariff and free coinage of silver. The eighteenth item stated simply: "We favor the granting of equal suffrage to women."⁷ There is no indication in the *Tribune* account of the convention that there was any controversy over this provision, although there was to be considerable debate later about its exact meaning. It would be argued later that the provision was hastily placed in the platform by a minority and that it was not the sense of the Provo convention that Republicans be committed to placing woman suffrage in the new constitution. This was denied by the resolutions chairman, former governor A. L. Thomas, who said he felt a majority of his committee and of the convention delegates "strongly supported" the provision.⁸

The Democrats met on September 15 in Salt Lake City, and again the question of woman suffrage was placed near the end of the platform. However, it received a much stronger endorsement than it had from the Republican convention. The Democratic platform stated:

The Democrats of Utah are unequivocally in favor of woman suffrage, and the political rights and privileges of women equal with those of men, including eligibility to office, and we demand that such guarantees shall be provided in the Constitution of the State of Utah as will secure to the women of Utah these inestimable rights.⁹

A lone voice, that of Scipio Africanus Kenner, asked to have the platform adopted by sections in order to permit objections to sections that some delegates could not endorse. After his objection died for lack of a second, he is quoted as saying, in a hoarse whisper, "Well I'll never vote for woman suffrage, anyway."¹⁰ Two prominent suffragists, Emily S. Richards and Electa Bullock, rose to thank the

⁷*Salt Lake Tribune* September 17, 1894.

⁸*Woman's Exponent*, 23 (May 11, 1895), 261.

⁹*Tribune*, September 16, 1894.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

convention for its actions on behalf of women's political rights, pointed out the difference in the two platforms, and promised that women never would abuse their political privileges.¹¹

During the weeks following the conventions the political parties held precinct and county conventions at which candidates were selected to run for seats in the constitutional convention. It is important to note this sequence of events, for some convention delegates were to argue later that they had not attended their party's territorial convention, that they had not had a voice in its territorial platform, and that they had not made any pledges on the suffrage question in their own campaigns.

After the election was held in November, the president of the Woman Suffrage Association of Salt Lake County, Dr. Ellen B. Ferguson, urged members to visit the newly elected constitutional convention delegates to see if they intended to put woman suffrage in the constitution. She warned that some of the delegates were now wavering and noted that "many are inclined to hang back, saying wait till we are a State then we will give to women Suffrage."¹²

The editor of the *Woman's Exponent*, an unofficial journal reflecting the interest of the Mormon Relief Society and dedicated to promotion of woman suffrage, warned also that the vote for women faced some opposition — from women. Emmeline B. Wells, editor of the *Exponent*, observed that some women in the territory felt no need of extending the political rights to their sex because they were sitting in "luxury and ease." These same women, she commented, might someday need political rights "for their own defence and protection, or mayhap for their little ones. . . ."¹³

The women favoring suffrage continued their organizing efforts and were able to report in mid-February that nineteen of Utah's twenty-seven counties had suffrage organizations.¹⁴

As the constitutional convention opened on March 4, 1895, the restoration of the franchise for women looked fairly certain. True, there was some opposition, but the suffragists had done their work well and had every right to hope for success. The *Tribune* reported that "a strong sentiment in favor of giving women the right to vote is manifested by the delegates."¹⁵

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Woman's Exponent*, 23 (December 1, 1894), 211.

¹³*Ibid.*, 23 (November 1 and 15, 1894), 204.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 23 (February 1 and 15, 1895), 233.

¹⁵*Tribune*, March 4, 1895.

WOMAN'S EXPONENT.

The Rights of the Women of Zion, and the Rights of the Women of all Nations.

VOL. 22.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, APRIL 1, 1894.

No. 15.

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DOWN BY THE RIVER.

Down by the River:
The dark flowing river,
That flows to Eternity's Sea:
Kneel to the Giver
To God, the Good Giver
And pray for my vessel and me.
Cold is it? Dark it is
Hushed as my heart it is,
Dark flowing river sublime!

But there'll be something missing;
When the summer comes again,
Some golden links most precious,
Have been torn from out life's chain;
Tho' summer comes with beauty,
Wealth, and plenty in her train,
Her power can ne'er restore,
These lost links from out life's chain,
She will bring buds and flowers,
But we'll listen all in vain,
For tones from voices golden,
When the Summer comes again.
"Arnold Dell." L. M. HEWLINGS.
Tenaffly N. J.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE COLUMN.

SHALL UTAH BECOME A STATE WITHOUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE?

To vote or not to vote! That is the the Question. Shall we drift with the sluggish tide of Custom, and in our Organic Act rivet the fetters of perpetual minority upon the mothers of so hardy a race of men as Utah can boast? Shall we mar our onward progress as a Commonwealth and clog the footsteps of

toiled, hoped, prayed but wept not, can never be persuaded, that you and your daughters are not equally concerned in all that pertains to this hard-won home, equal heirs to the grand estate.

All men know it is not in us to boast; but we do not deny that our record of the past gives us room to boast of every requisite to honest, useful citizenship; and we look with confidence to our husbands and fathers, to see that our claims be not ignored, and our rights not abridged, when the crown of Statehood shall rest upon the brow of our beloved Utah.

L. L. DALTON.

A WOMAN'S ASSEMBLY.

[Concluded.]

ADDRESS BY M. HUGHES CANNON M. D.

Madame Chairman, Gentlemen and Ladies.

An old powerful and influential opponent to Woman's Suffrage relates the following little story with the attempt to

Mormon women spoke for their rights in a forceful, direct way on the pages of the Woman's Exponent. Their skillful use of the pen proved more effective than the militant confrontations of suffragists elsewhere.

Yet within a month the political rights of women in the new state became the most bitterly fought issue of the convention, raising anew the old charges of Mormon church domination in politics and bringing forth the most eloquent oratory the delegates could muster.

Why did this issue, which had seemed non-controversial only a few months before at the parties' territorial conventions, consume so much time at the constitutional convention? Was it a sham battle with the outcome never in doubt? And why did the suffrage supporters finally win their fight? These are the questions to be explored in this paper.

II

The men who assembled at the constitutional convention in March of 1895 were in many ways a remarkable group. The 107 delegates included 28 non-Mormons, among them Charles S. Varian, a former district attorney in charge of the prosecution of

polygamists; C.C. Goodwin, editor of the *Salt Lake Tribune*; and George P. Miller, a Methodist Episcopal minister. The Mormon members included the president of the convention, Apostle John Henry Smith, Apostle Moses Thatcher (who was absent much of the time), Presiding Bishop William B. Preston, and Brigham H. Roberts, member of the First Council of Seventy. Heber M. Wells, who would become the state's first governor, and President Karl G. Maeser of Brigham Young University were among the many other prominent men attending. Approximately two-thirds of the delegates were farmers and ranchers, and the rest were businessmen, lawyers, or mining men. There were 59 Republicans and 48 Democrats.¹⁶ Only 29 of the delegates had been born in the Utah Territory.¹⁷ There seemed to be a determined effort to keep the old religious animosities from dividing the convention, and partisan politics played a smaller role than might have been expected. There were several excellent orators who could be counted on to display their knowledge of constitutional history and classical literature at the slightest provocation. Although some of the speeches went on for seemingly endless hours, it must be admitted that the quality of the rhetoric was considerably above that generally found in legislative bodies today.

On March 11 the subject of equal rights for women was taken up before eight of the fifteen members of the Committee on Elections and Suffrage, and the ensuing debate proved to be a preview of the problems that lay ahead. Seven of the eight members present approved a provision taken from the Wyoming constitution. It read:

The rights of citizens of the State of Utah to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex. Both male and female citizens of this State shall equally enjoy all civil, political and religious rights and privileges.¹⁸

The *Tribune* reported that "the discussion was quite animated between Mr. Kiesel [a non-Mormon businessman from Ogden], who is stoutly opposed to woman suffrage, and the seven other delegates present, but the latter were not won over by Mr. Kiesel's arguments,

¹⁶This is the convention profile given in Stanley S. Ivins, "A Constitution for Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 25 (April 1957), 100-101. This article gives a concise, readable account of the main business of the convention.

¹⁷*Tribune*, March 18, 1895.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, March 12, 1895. Fred J. Kiesel cast the dissenting vote.

nor did Kiesel succumb to theirs, and the vote stood seven to one." A *Tribune* editorial the same day condemned the committee's action as hasty and ill-advised and voiced the main argument that would be used against woman suffrage in the weeks of debate ahead. The merits of this or such other controversial topics as prohibition were not at issue at this time, the editorial writer argued; the question was one of expediency. The constitution would be sure to draw some negative votes, he reasoned. Why ask for more?

Now, we submit to the convention whether it is wise to put in the Constitution woman suffrage, prohibition, etc., and thus add to the hostility that must inevitably be drawn upon it. It is not likely that any of the voters will oppose the Constitution merely because woman suffrage and prohibition are left out of it. It is certain that a good many will oppose it merely because they (or either of them) are put in. Even to submit them as separate propositions will be sure to draw adverse votes to hundreds, perhaps thousands. We put it to the convention, whether it can afford to take the risk of putting these propositions or either of them, in the Constitution, and so perhaps put their whole work in jeopardy.¹⁹



Emmeline B. Wells.

While the committee was continuing its deliberations, Emmeline B. Wells, president of the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah, returned from the National American Woman Suffrage Association meeting in Atlanta. In an interview published in the *Tribune*, Mrs. Wells voiced the arguments that were to be heard often in the weeks ahead. Rather than making broad, general appeals for the franchise as a matter of fundamental rights and equality between the sexes, she referred to practical matters and to the unique history of the territory. Women of Utah, she said, should have the vote because it was given to them by the territorial legislature, was

¹⁹*Ibid.*

used without abuse for seventeen years, and was taken away only as a "political measure." Another reason cited was that "there are undoubtedly more women in Utah who own their own homes and pay taxes (if in a small way) than in any other State with the same number of inhabitants, and Congress has, by its enactments in the past, virtually made many of these women heads of families." This was a reminder of the fact that women had been left to support families while their husbands were imprisoned for unlawful cohabitation. She concluded with the statement that educational equality had always existed in the territory, in keeping with the sentiment of its founders, and added that she was glad to be back to work for suffrage in the convention.²⁰ There was much work waiting for her to do.

A few days later, on March 18, both the Salt Lake and the Utah suffrage associations presented memorials to the convention summarizing the reasons why they felt women should have political equality with men. They touched on the "taxation without representation" theme and quoted Abraham Lincoln as believing that "women would someday wield the ballot to purify and ennoble politics." Reminding the delegates that both political parties were on record pledged to woman suffrage, the women engaged in transparent flattery, designed to persuade the men to take a historic step and make Utah the third state to grant full suffrage in its constitution. They wrote:

We believe that now the time clock of American destiny has struck the hour to inaugurate a larger and truer civil life, and the future writers of Utah history will immortalize the names of those men who, in this Constitutional Convention, define the injustice and prejudice of the past, strike off the bonds that have heretofore enthralled woman, and open the doors that will usher her into free and full emancipation.²¹

Under the heading, "God Bless the Ladies," the *Tribune* reported that the presentation of the memorials by the seventy-five women who crowded into the convention hall was made before a convention that was already strongly in favor of woman suffrage. "Under the circumstances," the *Tribune* reported, "it was but a pleasing method of conveying to the delegates an assurance of the

²⁰*Ibid.*, March 15, 1895.

²¹Utah, Constitutional Convention, 1895, *Official Report of the Proceedings and Debates*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1898) 1:197-99. Hereinafter referred to as *Proceedings*.

regard in which they are held by their sisters, with incidental arguments designed to keep the convention steadfast in devotion.”²²

The women were conceded to be in a good position to gain their objectives, but they were taking no chances. They knew there were those who were not ready to open the doors into “free and full emancipation,” including some members of the committee drafting the elections and suffrage article — and the publisher of the *Tribune*.

The majority report of the committee was presented on March 22, with the explanation that most members of the committee had found it difficult to find a reason why women should *not* have political equality. They had, therefore, adopted literally the language of the Wyoming constitution, since woman suffrage in that state had for twenty-five years been demonstrated to be a “pronounced success.”²³

The following day the *Tribune* editorial maintained that by adopting the equal suffrage article “Utah will join the small group of freak states. Its insertion in the body of the Constitution as proposed, will invite many votes adverse to statehood.” If proposed at all, woman suffrage should be submitted separately, the editorial stated, in order to find out how the people at large really felt about the issue.²⁴

A few days later the report of the minority members of the committee came before the convention, and the battle lines began to be drawn. Signed by F. J. Kiesel, Richard Mackintosh, and Robert McFarland (Kiesel and Mackintosh were non-Mormons), the report began by agreeing that women were intellectually qualified to vote as intelligently as men. It went on to suggest that women are, in fact, better than men but are ruled more readily by “their sympathies, impulses and religious convictions. . . .” In the carefully worded passages that followed, the minority report played upon a number of fears that still underlay Utah politics. It recalled the period, only a few years before, when Mormons had belonged to one party — the large and predominating People’s party — and the badly outnumbered non-Mormons had belonged to the Liberal party. Both parties had dissolved by 1894 in the interest of gaining statehood, and their members had gone into the national parties of their choice.

The report asserted that during the period of political division along religious lines women had been taught “sincere allegiance to a

²²*Tribune*, March 19, 1895.

²³*Proceedings*, 1:265.

²⁴*Tribune*, March 23, 1895.

local government and in that allegiance has been woven an absorbing affection and pious devotion" which they would find difficult to change. The vote had been taken away by Congress, it continued, because the sympathies and devotion of the women were "all bending in one direction," and it was feared that with the voting privilege restored "the old overwhelming force would destroy the present equality of parties. . . ." There would be "a terrible temptation on the part of those who ruled before, to resume their sway by working upon the generous impulses and religious instincts of women, which would result in political, if not social and business, ostracism of the minority."²⁵

The careful wording did not obscure the message. The minority report raised the fear that Mormon church leaders could achieve political and economic domination of the new state through their control of the women's vote. This possibility was so repugnant to the nation at large, the report asserted, that it might result in the withholding of statehood and keep away eastern capital which was badly needed for the development of the area. As for party platform pledges, the minority members observed that platforms are changed from year to year and suggested that there had been a change of heart in the territory since people began to consider seriously the consequences of granting woman suffrage. Leave this vital question to the state legislature, the report concluded.²⁶

The *Salt Lake Herald*, a newspaper with pronounced Democratic sympathies, undertook to refute the minority views point by point:

The fear that conditions have not actually changed in Utah is a buried bugaboo, pulled out of its grave to do duty for this occasion. If there is not a sincere division on party lines, then the whole contention between parties — which every sane man recognizes as a vigorous reality — is a sickening sham. . . . The assertion that this alleged fear is felt throughout the nation, is a straight undiluted falsehood without any semblance of fact. . . .²⁷

Kiesel later attempted to explain his position by acknowledging that the process of assimilating Mormons and non-Mormons into the national parties was going on; however, he feared that the addition of thirty thousand or more women — four-fifths of them

²⁵*Proceedings*, 1:407.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 1:408.

²⁷March 29, 1895.

Mormons — would concentrate in the hands of the Mormon clergy a power that they would be unable to resist. “I know we Gentiles would use it,” he said.²⁸

On Thursday, March 28, the majority report of the committee, calling for equal political rights for women, was placed before the convention for debate. Kiesel quickly offered a substitute limiting the vote to males of the age of twenty-one or over. The issue was now before the convention, and one of the outstanding orators of the Mormon church, Brigham H. Roberts, a Davis County Democrat, rose to speak against extending suffrage to women. He conceded that the overwhelming sentiment of the convention was to place political equality for women in the new constitution; therefore, he would not deliver the part of his speech devoted to discussing the merits of the question. Nor would he discuss the arguments contained in the minority report — which he had had no hand in preparing. He would only advance the argument that adoption of woman suffrage would be dangerous to the acquiring of statehood.²⁹ Advance it he did, in a lengthy speech before a rapt audience. The *Salt Lake Herald* provided a vivid description of the scene:

He spoke to an audience composed of the leading women suffragists of this city, the delegates of the convention and the packed lobby, in which there was not an inch of standing room. From the beginning of his speech until the last word was uttered, fully an hour and a half, the interest never flagged. All eyes were fixed on the orator as he stood in front of the desk, towering over those who were ready to oppose him the most, as he one moment rose to a climax thrilling in its intensity, and the next checked himself and allowed his voice to become slow and pleading. It took him sometime to gather himself, but once he did he was an oratorical avalanche. A stream of language, potent and pleasing, flowed from his lips and caught his listeners until even those who were most bitterly opposed to him were compelled to pay compliment to his power with rapturous applause. As he stood alone, disclaiming any desire for charity and fully recognizing the consequences of his action, the suffragists themselves could not but admire his courage, and when he had finished they crowded around him and shook his hand enthusiastically.³⁰

The content of the speech can be summarized briefly. He argued that there were already many grounds for rejection of the

²⁸*Proceedings*, 1:531.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 1:421.

³⁰*Salt Lake Herald*, March 29, 1895.

constitution and for a vote against statehood — fear of high taxes, fear of prohibition, fear of a return to church domination. Why add to these negative votes those of the men opposed to woman suffrage? And why tempt a rejection in Washington by easterners opposed to the West's strong stand for silver? He pleaded with women to give up their struggle for enfranchisement in order to further the cause of statehood — a cause that had been lost by the territory so many times before. He concluded by warning the convention delegates that in their desire to gain immortal fame by granting women the vote, they might be digging a grave for statehood.³¹

Delegate Andrew Anderson undertook to answer Roberts, not on the basis of expediency but on the merits of the issue. He argued that it was unjust to tax women without representation, contended that women were morally superior and would help to purify politics and government, pointed to the lack of bad effects from women having the vote in Wyoming, and denied that equal suffrage would cause the defeat of the constitution. Failure to keep their party platform pledges would be more likely to do so, he asserted. He also voiced this appeal to ethnocentric instincts:

Millions of ignorant slaves have been admitted to the right of suffrage, and thousands of ignorant foreigners are admitted yearly, and yet why hesitate to grant our mothers, our wives and our sisters the rights of suffrage, most of whom are native born, many are property owners and well educated, and all are most vitally interested in the welfare of the government, in the principles of liberty and the perpetuation of the same.³²

These were themes that would be embellished almost endlessly in the debates ahead by supporters of woman suffrage.

One of the most scholarly speeches of the convention was delivered on the same day by Franklin S. Richards, son of Apostle Franklin D. Richards and an early suffrage leader, Jane S. Richards. He was the LDS church attorney and a party to some of the most delicate negotiations between church leaders and government officials in Washington, D.C., during the later territorial period. He was also the husband of a tireless organizer of many suffrage associa-

³¹See *Proceedings*, 1:420-28, for complete text of Roberts's speech.

³²*Proceedings*, 1:433. For text of Anderson's speech see 431-33.

tion chapters in Utah, Emily S. Richards. He stood squarely for statehood *and* suffrage and felt there should not be a conflict between the two. Quoting prominent jurists, constitutional experts, and sociologists, Richards asserted that the vote for women was the next necessary step in the march of human progress. Richards said he had never known a woman who felt complimented by the statement that she was too good to exercise the same rights and privileges as a man. "My experience and observation lead me to believe that while men admit the superiority of women in many respects, the latter do not care so much for this admission as they do for an acknowledgement of their equality, and that equality we are bound in honor to concede. . . ." ³³



Franklin S. Richards.

Several speakers challenged the contention of the minority report that giving women the vote would cause a return to the old political divisions along religious lines or threaten church domination. A Utah County Democrat, Samuel Thurman, asserted vigorously: "I have this confidence in the Mormon Church, that if political parties will let them alone, they will let political parties alone." ³⁴

During the next two days the debate continued, despite an effort by Washington County Democrat Anthony W. Ivins to cut off debate and advance the suffrage article to third reading. Again the star performer was the eloquent Roberts, but at this point he moved from the low ground of expediency to the higher ground of merit. He contended that the franchise should be given only to individuals who could act independently, free from dictation. Since most women over twenty-one were married, they could not act freely but would — and should — be ruled over by their husbands. As for the argument advanced by the suffragists that it was unfair to expect women property owners to pay taxes without representation at the

³³*Ibid.*, 1:444. For text of Richards's speech see 437-52.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 1:436.

ballot box, Roberts maintained that voting was a privilege, not a right. Historically, he pointed out, there had been qualifications of age, property ownership, and literacy imposed as a condition for voting. Women gained their representation through their husbands, whose votes represented not only themselves but their families. Most demands for the franchise in the past were made to provide a protection against tyranny, Roberts said, but men were not the enemies of women and there was no need to give them the vote on this account.

Turning to the question of equality, Roberts said men and women were no doubt equal as to abilities and mentality, but they were different in their dispositions, tastes, and constitutions. Men needed women as a civilizing influence, he said, and without them would soon sink into a state of barbarism.

I place the values of woman upon a higher pinnacle, and there is not a suffragist among you all that has a higher opinion of her and of her influence than I myself entertain. But let me say that the influence of woman as it operates upon me never came from the rostrum, it never came from the pulpit, with woman in it, it never came from the lecturer's platform, with woman speaking; it comes from the fireside, it comes from the blessed association with mothers, of sisters, of wives, of daughters, not as democrats or republicans. [Applause.]³⁵

He warned women that if they permitted themselves to be dragged into the political arena they would fall from their high pinnacle, and quoted Cardinal James Gibbons on the dangers involved:

Christian wives and mothers, I have said you are the queens of the domestic kingdom. If you would retain that empire, shun the political arena, avoid the rostrum, beware of unsexing yourselves. If you become embroiled in political agitation the queenly aureola that encircles your brow will fade away and the reverence that is paid you will disappear. If you have the vain ambition of reigning in public life, your domestic empire will be at an end.³⁶

As for the argument that women would purify politics, Roberts asserted that the sensibility and delicacy of good women would keep them away from the polls, "while the brazen, the element that is under control of the managers and runners of saloons, will be the ones to brave the ward politicians, wade through the smoke and cast

³⁵*Ibid.*, 469. For text of Roberts's March 29 speech see 459-73.

³⁶*Ibid.*

their ballot. The refined wife and mother will not so much as put her foot in the filthy stream.”³⁷ Instead of purifying politics, women involved in public affairs would destroy the peace and harmony in their homes. He pleaded for the delegates to leave a refuge for man to come out of the strife and bitterness often engendered in business, professional, and political life.

Perhaps the most persuasive pleader for equal political rights was the Mormon author and historian, Orson F. Whitney. He challenged Roberts’s major arguments concerning the effect of political activity on women and the possible effect of women upon political life:

I believe that politics can be and will be something more than a filthy pool in which depraved men love to wallow. It is a noble science — the science of government — and it has a glorious future. And I believe in a future for woman, commensurate with the progress thereby indicated. I do not believe that she was made merely for a wife, a mother, a cook, and a housekeeper. These callings, however honorable — and no one doubts that they are so — are not the sum of her capabilities. While I agree with all that is true and beautiful in the portrayals that have been made of woman’s domestic virtues in the home sphere, and would be as loath as anyone to have her lose that delicacy and refinement, that femininity which has been so deservedly lauded, I do not agree that this would necessarily follow, that she could not engage in politics and still retain those lovable traits which we so much admire. . . .³⁸

On the contrary, Whitney maintained, the elevating and ennobling influence of women would “someday help to burn and purge away all that is base and unclean in politics.” The woman suffrage movement was in tune with the march of human advancement:

This great social upheaval, this woman’s movement that is making itself heard and felt, means something more than that certain women are ambitious to vote and hold office. I regard it as one of the great levers by which the Almighty is lifting up this fallen world, lifting it nearer to the throne of its Creator. . . .³⁹

By the time the convention adjourned for a Sunday break, the same arguments for and against woman suffrage, for and against holding fast to party platform pledges, and for and against submitting woman suffrage for a separate vote had been repeated dozens

³⁷*Ibid.*, 1:473.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 1:508.

³⁹*Ibid.*

of times. Weary of the oratory and cognizant of the cost of the convention, Utah County Democrat Edward Partridge, Jr., remarked in his diary:

The whole day was taken up in discussion of the suffrage question. Bishop O. F. Whitney in a very forcible speech of over an hour demolished B. H. Roberts' efforts. . . . Thus the time is used to no purpose and some \$600 a day of the public money used up to no purpose only to gratify the vanity of man.⁴⁰

Although many delegates were beginning to tire of the debate and to resent its cost in time and money, the suffrage discussions wore on into the following week. By this time delegates who had had no intention of speaking rose to put their positions on the record. The opponents of suffrage began to concentrate their efforts on a new strategy.

On Saturday, March 30, an editorial in the *Ogden Standard* urged delegates to forget their party platforms and extricate themselves from the question by leaving it to the people to decide. This proved to be a tempting position to take when pressures from outside the convention began to be felt during the following week.

On Monday, April 1, a motion was made to submit the woman suffrage question to the voters as an issue separate from the body of the new constitution. This was discussed during the day but not acted upon, and it was agreed that the debate would close the following day with a speech by B. H. Roberts.

The prospect of hearing the summation of the debate by Roberts attracted crowds so great that a move to the Salt Lake Theatre was briefly considered. By 8:00 A.M. the crowd started to gather; by 9:30 the entrance was so tightly jammed that the services of a squad of police were necessary before members could take their seats. The *Herald* reported on April 3 that "the hall and lobby, with every approach, was fairly packed and some very prominent ladies even stood on the tables in the cloak room in order to see and hear." Roberts held his audience for two hours, the *Herald* report stated, "and hardly one stirred from the uncomfortable positions in which the great majority of the listeners had to stand or sit."

Despite this dramatic appearance, in which Roberts offered little that he had not said before, the antisuffrage forces failed to pass

⁴⁰Edward F. Partridge, Jr., Diaries, March 30, 1895, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo.

the motion for separate submission of a suffrage article. Only 28 votes could be mustered for separate submission — but this was substantial enough to encourage suffrage foes outside the convention to increase their pressure. Public meetings in Ogden on April 2, 3, and 5 culminated with a vote of 434 to 28 for separate submission of an article on woman suffrage.⁴¹ The Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce went on record favoring separate submission.⁴²

The delegates returned to the suffrage issue on Thursday, April 4, to learn that petitions were being sent all over the territory to be signed by those who wanted woman suffrage submitted as a separate article. Antisuffrage delegates urged that further consideration of the article be postponed until the people could be heard from. What harm could there be in waiting for the petitions to be circulated if the people favored the women's vote overwhelmingly — as the suffragists claimed they did?

The next day a group of prominent non-Mormon women called an open meeting in the Opera House. Oddly enough, they suggested in a resolution to the convention that the new constitution provide for women to vote in school elections and hold school district offices. However, they advised that the question of granting further political rights to women be postponed until a special election to be called by the first legislature. And they resolved that women should be able to vote in this election. They explained that they were not opposed to the vote for women as a matter of principle, but they felt its inclusion under pressure in the state constitution might endanger statehood.⁴³

In an effort to see that the non-Mormon women's meeting did not produce a unanimous vote against suffrage in the constitution, Mormon suffrage supporters also attended the meeting. Mary A. Freeze notes in her diary that she was asked to attend the meeting, even though she had to miss a session of the Mormon General Conference:

At noon I learned that it was desired that a lot of the sisters should go down to the Opera House and attend an Anti-suffrage Mass Meeting, so I went there instead of Conference, much against my natural inclinations, but soon learned that it was necessary.⁴⁴

⁴¹*Ogden Standard*, April 6, 1895.

⁴²*Tribune*, April 6, 1895.

⁴³*Proceedings*, 1:754-55.

⁴⁴Mary A. Burnham Freeze Diaries, April 5, 1895, Lee Library.

The same afternoon, Varian moved that the suffrage article be sent back to committee with instructions to frame an article providing for a separate vote of the people on the question of woman suffrage. A substantial number of delegates — 42 — voted for the motion, showing that the separate submission forces were gaining strength. But there still were not enough votes for the motion to carry. A few minutes later the equal suffrage section was passed by a vote of 75 to 14, with 12 absent and 5 excused from voting, most of them on the grounds that they were in favor of woman suffrage but against having it put in the constitution.

Despite the fact that woman suffrage was now a part of the main article on elections and suffrage to be voted on later, the controversy was not over. The Mormon church's General Conference was being held on April 5, 6, and 7, and the convention was adjourned for two days because of the Arbor Day holiday. Although the subject was studiously avoided by conference speakers, the church leadership was very much aware of the issue. Church President Wilford Woodruff noted in his journal on April 2 that he was "visited by a Company of Sisters upon Womans Sufferage" [*sic*].⁴⁵ He did not disclose what they said to him or what he said to them. On April 4 at a meeting of the First Presidency and the apostles, John Henry Smith, an apostle and president of the convention, said that all the Gentiles in the constitutional convention were united in their opposition to the suffrage provision, and many Mormons were also opposed to it. According to Apostle Abraham H. Cannon's account of the meeting, President Woodruff said he feared the constitution would be defeated if woman suffrage was not a part of it, and he said he had advised B. H. Roberts not to oppose it. Joseph F. Smith, a counselor in the First Presidency, spoke in favor of including it in the constitution, as did several others. George Q. Cannon, another counselor and a former territorial delegate to Congress, urged that the suffrage question wait rather than threaten the achievement of statehood:

I believe we can better wait for a time to get Suffrage for the women, than to force the matter now, and thus array against us the opposition of the Gentiles. It gives the opponents of Statehood the opportunity to work strongly against the Constitution. Things which are right in themselves it is not always wise to attempt. . . .

⁴⁵Wilford Woodruff Journal, Archives Division, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

Since there was no unity of opinion of the subject, the matter was left for the members to do as they desired, Abraham Cannon reported.⁴⁶ It is obvious that there was little the church leadership could have done without arousing fears of church interference in the affairs of state.

On Monday, April 8, a large number of petitions asking for separate submission of the woman suffrage section arrived at the convention. Nevertheless, the entire article containing the woman suffrage section was passed with a vote of 75 for, 16 against, 13 absent and 2 paired. But it was agreed that the article could be recalled for further consideration later if a simple majority, rather than the two-thirds majority usually required for reconsideration, should desire to do so.⁴⁷

At this point the delegates were faced with the fact that their \$30,000 appropriation was rapidly running out, and they needed to move on to other subjects. It was one thing to spend time listening to overblown oratory in the early days of the convention; it was quite another to face the prospect of working on into the summer without their four-dollar-a-day salary.

Although the issue seemed settled, the petitions calling for separate submission of the woman suffrage section continued to pour into the convention from all corners of the territory. Recognizing the need for a counterforce against this tide, the well-organized suffragists swung into action with their own petitions calling for equal political rights to be embedded in the constitution.⁴⁸ The petition game was one that both sides could play.

On April 18 a motion to reconsider the suffrage and election article was offered by Varian. After a brief flurry of debate centering on fears for passage of the constitution by the people, the motion was lost on a vote of 32 for, 69 against, 3 absent, and 2 paired.⁴⁹ The petitions obviously had helped to keep the opposition alive, but the supporters of political equality generally had held firm throughout the controversy. The *Tribune*, which had kept up a steady opposition to woman suffrage, reported on April 19 that the tally on petitions as of April 18 stood at 15,366 signatures for separate submission and 24,801 signatures for including the vote for women in the constitu-

⁴⁶Abraham H. Cannon Journal, April 4, 1895, Lee Library.

⁴⁷*Proceedings*, 1:804.

⁴⁸Mary A. Freeze reported in her diary on April 9 that she had copied headings for petitions and helped to get them circulated.

⁴⁹*Proceedings*, 2:1150.

Election Notice!

In accordance with the provisions of Law and by direction of "The Board of Registration and Election," notice is hereby given that

AN ELECTION WILL BE HELD

at Precinct, in County,
Territory of Utah, on

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5th, 1895,
for the purpose of choosing persons to fill the following offices:

— TERRITORIAL —

MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL FOR DISTRICT.

COMMISSIONER OF THE COUNTRY OF DISTRICT.

MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FOR DISTRICT.

CORPORATED BY COUNTY.

ONE SUPERINTENDENT OF DISTRICT SCHOOLS
PRECINCT OF

MUNICIPAL.

ONE MAYOR.
ONE RECORDER.
ONE TREASURER.
ONE SHERIFF.
ONE CITY CLERK.
MEMBERS CITY COUNCIL.

— STATE —

ONE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE 54th CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

ONE GOVERNOR.
ONE SECRETARY OF STATE.
ONE STATE ATTORNEY.
ONE STATE TREASURER.
ONE ATTORNEY GENERAL.
ONE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.
THREE JUSTICE JUDGES.

ONE DISTRICT JUDGE FOR DISTRICT.

COMMISSIONER OF COUNTY.

ONE MEMBER OF SENATE FOR DISTRICT.

COMMISSIONER OF THE COUNTRY OF

ONE MEMBER OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FOR DISTRICT.

COMMISSIONER OF THE COUNTRY OF

CONSTITUTION
For the proposed State of Utah.

Said election will commence at one hour after sunrise, and continue until sunset, on the 5th day of November, 1895.

[Ball boxes at 7 and vote at 4:30, noon time. Standard time is 25 minutes later than noon time.]

Dated at Precinct, County, Utah Territory,
this day of October, 1895.

Register for Precinct, County.

Voters gave their approval to the new constitution on November 5, 1895, and elected the first state officials. Utah State Historical Society collections.

tion. Ultimately both the *Tribune* and the *Ogden Standard*, which had favored separate submission, urged Utahns to "gracefully accept" the new constitution.⁵⁰

Although the long-sought prize was now nearly within their grasp, the woman suffragists were warned in October by *Woman's Exponent* editor Emmeline B. Wells to keep on working hard for passage of the constitution. She urged women to see that no vote was lost because of neglect or indifference and to remember that "one vote more or less might turn the scale for or against."⁵¹

After the election on November 5, 1895, it was clear that there had been opposition to the constitution in some parts of the state, for nearly one-fifth of the voters had opposed its adoption. The largest percentage of the "no" votes came from Weber, Salt Lake, Summit, and other counties where there was a substantial non-Mormon vote.⁵² On the other hand, more than four-fifths of the voters — all male — apparently had found it possible to accept the new constitution with political equality in it, despite

the threats to their happy homes and the fear of adding Utah to the small list of "freak" states.⁵³

⁵⁰Standard editorial, April 19, 1895; *Tribune* editorial, May 8, 1895.

⁵¹*Woman's Exponent*, 24 (October 15, 1895), 68.

⁵²Results of the 1895 election are found in Utah Commission, Minute Book G, p.413, Utah State Archives, State Capitol, Salt Lake City. Out of a total vote of 38,992, the "yes" votes numbered 31,305 and the "no" votes 7,687.

⁵³Susan B. Anthony reported in May 1895 that only two states, Wyoming and Colorado, granted full political equality to women, while one state permitted them to vote in municipal elections and 25 permitted them to vote in school elections. *Woman's Exponent*, 23 (May 15, 1895), 268.

III

It seems strange that a proposal which started out with the strong support of a majority of delegates could have generated so much heat and consumed so much time. It is one of the theses of this paper that much of the argument over woman suffrage had little to do with the issue of women's political rights. The Mormon-Gentile political and economic conflicts of the past, supposedly forgotten in the struggle for statehood, were lying just below the surface. The fear of domination by the Mormon majority was a real one to the non-Mormons in the convention. These fears probably had to be aired, and this was one of the issues to which the fear of Mormon domination became attached. There was also a deep concern that statehood, which seemed so near, might once again slip away if the convention produced a document that displeased Congress or President Cleveland. The memories of several past constitutional conventions which had failed to bring statehood were still fresh in many minds. These fears, together with the excitement produced by a charismatic orator, were enough to keep the question alive for such a long period of time. Although the oratory made good newspaper copy, and makes interesting reading even today, it probably did not change many votes. It simply took time to air the question thoroughly and give everyone a chance to be heard.

After reading through so many pages of debate and knowing that in the end nothing was changed, it is tempting to view this entire struggle as a sham battle, staged for political glory by ambitious politicians. One would have to impugn the integrity of B. H. Roberts, among others, to reach this conclusion. The author believes that Roberts was sincere in his actions, as were the others who worked so hard to keep the suffrage article out of the constitution. For his efforts Roberts earned the ill-concealed scorn of many of his colleagues in the convention, was bitterly assailed and urged to resign by members of his own party in Davis County, became estranged from the top church leadership, and gained the hearty disapproval of many future women voters. The battle was real to Roberts and to the outnumbered minority who opposed woman suffrage for various reasons.

The one strategy that might have kept the woman suffrage section out of the constitution was the movement to submit it for a separate vote. This proposal offered a tempting haven to those who felt committed to the cause of woman suffrage but did not want to

risk the rejection of the constitution. It was a kind of "half-way house" for those who wanted to keep their party platform pledges but who were concerned about the flood of petitions indicating strong opposition to putting equal rights in the constitution. Supporters of separate submission could argue, with some logic, that if woman suffrage were so clearly preferred by the people they would certainly vote for it separately. Those who wanted it nailed down in the constitution generally replied that all the bad elements in the state — saloon keepers, gamblers, prostitutes, and the like — would use their evil money to sway the election and keep the purifying influence of women out of politics.⁵⁴ Moreover, the Democrats were continually reminded that their platform had promised to put woman suffrage in the constitution — not to shift the question to the voters. The strength of this appeal for a separate vote can be seen on April 4 when forty-two delegates tried to send the suffrage section back to the committee for rewriting into a separate article. When casting their votes, many affirmed their devotion to woman suffrage but argued that no harm would be done by a separate vote.

Given more time to raise doubts, the minority probably could have won a few more converts to the separate submission proposal. But the convention was tired of the subject; the appropriation was rapidly running out; there was a strong core of suffrage supporters who wanted the issue decided without further delay. By the time the subject came up for reconsideration, the delegates were in no mood to open again such an emotion-clouded issue. So it seems that the real battle was over separate submission. This strategy offered a ground of compromise that is always tempting to politicians who do not want to displease anyone and who are usually happy to shift emotional issues to the voters for decision. However, even on this issue, the suffrage supporters won.

Why did women find a place in the constitution in 1895? There are several reasons. First, although the vote for women was something of a radical proposal at the time — since only two states then granted full suffrage — it was not identified with radicals in Utah. There was no militancy; there were no public spectacles. The suffragists concentrated on winning equal political rights and did not espouse other controversial reform measures that might have alienated their supporters. The women supporting suffrage were pre-

⁵⁴See speech of Lorin Farr, *Proceedings*, 1:701.



Susa Young Gates.

dominantly from the respectable Mormon establishment, women who were wives and daughters of church leaders. Among them were Zina D. H. Young, a wife of Brigham Young; Jane S. Richards, wife of Apostle Franklin D. Richards; Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon, a wife of Angus M. Cannon; Margaret Caine, wife of Delegate to Congress John T. Caine; Susa Young Gates, editor of the *Young Woman's Journal*; and, of course, the tireless editor of the *Woman's Exponent*, a wife of Daniel H. Wells, Emmeline B. Wells. These women were prominent in the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association or in the Relief Society and frequently promoted suffrage through the Relief Society.⁵⁵

The suffrage movement leaders had enjoyed the support of the church's First Presidency in attending national meetings for many years, ostensibly to show the women of the rest of the nation that they were not ignorant, downtrodden victims of a peculiar marriage system. Apostles openly promoted suffrage in the early 1890s.⁵⁶

Support from the top, however, was not enough. The woman suffrage leaders had carried their educational efforts throughout the territory, and there was no question that they had developed broad support. A movement so widespread, so completely dominated by the "respectable" women of the territory, could hardly be laughed off as the pet cause of a few radicals.

⁵⁵F. J. Kiesel acknowledged the role of the Relief Society during a convention debate: "I admit that there is a society existing in Utah — a very estimable body of ladies — the Female Relief Society, an adjunct of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and those are the ladies that have worked up sentiment, while on the other side there is a large body of ladies that do not want, and are not in favor of, woman's suffrage." *Proceedings*, 1:734.

⁵⁶For example see speech of Apostle Franklin D. Richards on March 19, 1891, reported in "Woman Suffrage in the West," in *Heart Throbs of the West*, Kate B. Carter, comp., 12 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1939-51), 5:311. This article traces the history of Utah's suffrage fight, including the relationships between the territorial and national woman suffrage organizations and the role of the Relief Society in organizing suffrage association chapters in Utah. See especially 291-94, 299-301, and 310-14.

A second reason may be found in the fact that woman suffrage had already been tried in Utah for seventeen years and the territory had survived the experience. So the new state would not be taking a plunge into the unknown. As a *Herald* writer asked rhetorically at the height of the suffrage debate: "Where are its terrible consequences? Where is the degradation of women as its effect? Where are the discordant and wifeless and motherless homes as the result?"⁵⁷

A third reason lay in the careful cultivation of grass-roots, bipartisan support throughout the territory. As a result, the women were able to obtain a minimal commitment to the cause of equal political rights in party platforms, a commitment that some delegates felt unhappy about but still felt obliged to keep. Those who wanted to cast platform promises aside were charged with a lack of honor and with creating a low opinion of politicians among citizens who had elected them on those platforms. This proved to have been an important part of the preconvention strategy of the suffragists and a result of their excellent groundwork in the years before 1895. The value of these platform commitments may be seen in the statements of two of the strongest non-Mormon members of the convention, former U. S. attorney Varian and *Tribune* editor Goodwin, on March 29, that they were against putting suffrage in the constitution but felt bound to keep faith with the people who had expressed their will in the party platforms.

A fourth reason why women won their fight in the 1895 convention was because they had a solid core of supporters in the convention — supporters who parried the oratorical thrusts, who made sure they were not outwitted in parliamentary maneuvering, and who stood fast when the compromise move for separate submission threatened to postpone the achievement of their aims. Anyone who has ever lobbied a bill through a legislature knows that there are supporters who will vote for your cause when there is little controversy over it and there are supporters who will put up a real fight for your bill, using their influence to convince others and holding firm to the end.

Most people today who know anything about the woman suffrage fight in the constitutional convention recall only that B. H. Roberts led the oratorical fight against it. A few may recall that Orson F. Whitney made a stirring speech in rebuttal. But few know

⁵⁷April 7, 1895.

of the many men who fought the wearying fight day after day, the men who firmly believed that women had rights that should be clearly expressed in the new state constitution, the men who had faith that putting women in the constitution did not mean driving them out of the home. Among the strongest of these was the son of one prominent suffragist and husband of another, Franklin S. Richards. Permit me to close with just one more bit of convention oratory, a paragraph from a speech made by Richards on April 1, 1895, when many feared that the inclusion of woman suffrage in the constitution might mean the loss of statehood:

So I say that if the price of statehood is the disfranchisement of one half of the people; if our wives, and mothers, and daughters, are to be accounted either unworthy or incapacitated to exercise the rights and privileges of citizenship, then, however precious the boon may be, it is not worth the price demanded, and I am content to share with them the disabilities of territorial vassalage till the time shall come, as it will come in the providence of God, when all can stand side by side on the broad platform of human equality, of equal rights, and of equal capacity.⁵⁸

⁵⁸*Proceedings*, 1:444.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

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The purposes, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes have not changed during the preceding twelve months.

The following figures are the average number of copies of each issue during the preceding twelve months: 3,500 copies printed; no paid circulation; 2,719 mail subscriptions; 2,719 total paid circulation; 150 free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier, or other means; 2,869 total distribution; 631 inventory for office use, leftover, unaccounted, spoiled after printing, total 3,500. The following figures are the actual number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: 3,500 copies printed; no paid circulation; 2,882 mail subscriptions; 2,882 total paid circulation; 150 free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier, or other means; 3,032 total distribution; 468 inventory for office use, leftover, unaccounted, spoiled after printing; total 3,500.

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Areas In 2 States Face Flood Threat

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 18.—(AP)—Rivers rose throughout Western Pennsylvania and Northern

House Vote Checkmates Labor Bill

Farm Measure Passes
Senate With Tally
Of 59 To 29

BY REG INGRAHAM.
WASHINGTON, Dec. 18.—(AP)—A climatic House rebellion which shelved the wage-hour bill checkmated administration leaders today in their efforts to push through much of the Roosevelt program before adjournment next week.

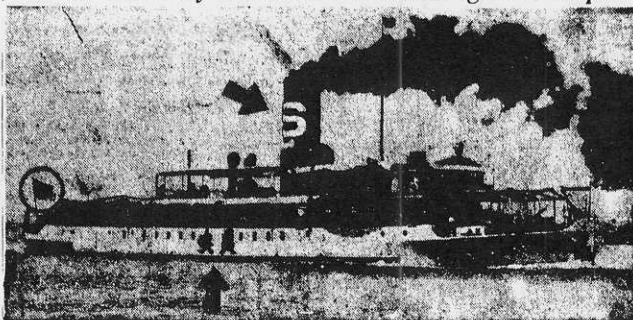
In a tense, overtime session, the House sent the battered measure back to the Labor Committee last night despite an appeal from Majority Leader Rayburn (D-Tex.) that such a step would mean "the death of wage-hour legislation."

The 216-to-198 vote, which dealt the administration its first major legislative defeat since the Senate killed the Roosevelt court bill last summer, was offset somewhat by Senate approval of the other major item on the special session program—the "ever normal granary" farm bill.

Carried 59 to 29
The Senate approved the measure 59 to 29, ending four weeks of wrangling only two hours before a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats doomed the labor standards bill in the House.

Victory on the farm measure, however, came after weary senators saw it nearly sidetracked

'Poor Visibility' Claimed For Bombing U. S. Ships



Japanese claim that poor visibility and inability to discern any mark of identification indicating that they were American ships, was the cause of the recent bombing of the U. S. S. Panay and three oil tankers in the Yangtze River. Survivor witnesses refuted the Japanese statement by declaring visibility was excellent and added Japanese launches machine-gunned the Panay and that soldiers boarded her before she sank. Photo shows the Standard Oil tanker Meishia, one of the bomb victims. Note the Stars and Stripes flying on the masthead and also astern. Arrow points to other marks of identification on stack and side of ship.

Officers Hunt Alcatraz Felons

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 18.—(AP)—The search for two missing Alcatraz Island convicts was renewed on land and water today, but officials reiterated belief the pair drowned in a desperate attempt to flee from the supposedly escape-proof federal

Sunny Skies Follow Brief Rain And Snow

Fair weather prevailed over virtually all of Utah today after the tip of a northwestern storm area, which yielded some rain and snow in northwestern Utah, had been driven northward.

The mercury, which remained above the freezing mark yesterday, threatened to sink to lower

Hoover Lauds

America And Japan Pro Gunboat Ca

New Note From G
Hits Attack After
Aerial Bombing

TOKYO, Dec. 18.—(AP)—Japanese foreign office disclosed today that United States Ambassador Joseph C. Grew had delivered a second American note in connection with the sinking of the gunboat Panay.

The nature of the new representations was not made known but they were reliably understood to concern reports that Yangtze River patrol ships had been machine-gunned by Japanese launches before it sank under the pounding of aerial bombs last Sunday.

The note also was believed to have carried a strong protest against the reported boarding of the Panay by Japanese officers before it went down about 100 miles upriver from Nanking.

Officer To Resign
Informed sources said Vice-Admiral Kiyoshit Hasegawa, commanding Japanese naval forces in the war with China, has assumed "full responsibility" for the Panay attack and had been ordered to resign.

At the same time the Japanese army officially entered the investigation. Lieut.-Col. Yoda Nishi was said to have left yesterday to go to China to conduct an inquiry in China independent of the navy's investigation.

At Shanghai an official

Senators King and Thomas and the Coming War with Japan

BY JUSTIN H. LIBBY

IN THE AFTERMATH of the "vicious assault by a skillful and determined enemy," as Michigan Congressman Claire E. Hoffman de-

Dr. Libby is assistant professor of history at Indiana-Purdue University at Indianapolis. He acknowledges the financial assistance of Indiana University Office of Research and Advanced Studies in the preparation of this manuscript.

scribed the attack upon Pearl Harbor,¹ the United States resolved to crush Japan militarily. This decision was, of course, a reaction to the Japanese attack, but it was also the culmination of a decade of growing enmity between the United States and Japan. In each nation there was sentiment for rapprochement and for outright belligerence. In the United States these two opposing positions were most noticeably articulated by members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Both Utah senators, William H. King and Elbert D. Thomas, were members of this committee, but they voiced separate, distinctive attitudes concerning the increasing menace of Japan to the independence and integrity of the countries in Asia, and their positions were quintessential statements of the confusion, indecision, and irresolution evidenced on Capitol Hill and in the country as a whole. By examining their attitudes, which has not been done heretofore, it is possible to achieve a better understanding of American-Japanese relations between the two world wars.

During his congressional career following World War I, Senator King favored American participation in the League of Nations and the Kellogg-Briand Pact;² he also endorsed the Washington Conference negotiations in 1922 by voting for the Five and Nine Power Treaties, calling the latter a "magnificent gesture."³ Possessing an intense mistrust and hostility toward Japan, however, he broke this voting pattern by opposing the Four Power Treaty, a rejection predicated on fear that it would guarantee a status quo in the Pacific thereby insuring a Japanese Empire in Asia.⁴ Moreover, he did not believe the treaty would stand if the signatories became embroiled in a crisis with a fifth power or if a nationalistic encounter strained their tenuous relationship.⁵

Earlier, King had rejected Japan's call for an equality article in the covenant of the League of Nations, remarking:

¹U.S., Congress, House, 77th Cong., 1st sess., December 16, 1941, *Congressional Record*, 87, p. 9856.

²*Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961* (Washington, 1961), 1168; *Who Was Who in America*, 4 vols. (Chicago, 1950), 2:300; *New York Times*, April 26, 1927, p. 8, and January 8, 1929, p. 2; "A Caribbean Comedy," *Independent*, 118 (March 26, 1927), 329. See also Laurence M. Hauptman, "Utah Anti-Imperialist: Senator William H. King and Haiti, 1921-34," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 41 (Spring 1973), 117-27.

³*New York Times*, March 31, 1922, p. 2.

⁴For King's voting on the Washington Conference treaties consult U. S., Congress, Senate, 67th Cong., 2d sess., March 24, 1922, *Congressional Record*, 62, p. 4497; March 29, 1922, p. 4718-19; March 30, 1922, p. 4784. See also *New York Times*, January 8, 1922, p. 2.

⁵*New York Times*, December 11, 1921, p. 4, and December 29, 1921, p. 2.

If Japan insists upon equality for her citizens in immigration that simply means that either Japan or the United States will not be a signatory to the League of Nations compact.⁶

Recognizing that this issue was central to Japan's honor, King still could not allay his concern that if the article was inserted into the covenant and then signed by the United States, a possibility might arise whereby the League could interfere in American immigration policies.⁷ A rather farfetched assumption, it nevertheless caused King to remain adamant in his rejection and portended, in 1919, the extent to which his anti-Japanese prejudices would color future foreign policy decisions.⁸ But throughout the decade, despite these sentiments, King continued to hope for some rapprochement between Japan and the United States, even calling upon the president and the Congress to convince the Japanese they had nothing to fear from America.⁹ Concurrently, he was appointed a member of the Executive Committee of the Asiatic Exclusion League in order to advise the administration on the "Western viewpoint" concerning the formulating and implementing of anti-Japanese immigration and residency legislation.¹⁰

Whereas his opposition to Japan continued to increase throughout the twenties, King was, at the same time, evidencing strong friendship for China. Desirous of ending all unequal treaties in that nation, he voted against the Chinese Customs Tariff Treaty and America's participation in fixing Chinese tariff schedules negotiated during the Washington Conference. In protest against what he termed insincere expressions of friendship for China, the Utah Democrat rebuked the treaty as "an infringement upon the rights of China and of her sovereign authority."¹¹ He demanded removal of the tariff chains and acceptance of China as an equal member into the community of nations.¹² In 1926 King worked for removal of American warships from Chinese waters as well as

⁶*Ibid.*, March 16, 1919, p. 3.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹"A Condemnation of United States Naval Policy," *Current History*, 22 (May 1925), 167-77; *New Republic*, 25 (February 2, 1921), 271.

¹⁰King to Sen. Hiram Johnson (R. Calif.), April 18, 1921, William H. King folder, Hiram Johnson MSS, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The letter thanks Johnson for the appointment.

¹¹*New York Times*, March 31, 1922, p. 1; U.S., Congress, Senate, 67th Cong., 2d sess., March 30, 1922, *Congressional Record*, 62, p. 4790.

¹²U.S., Congress, Senate, 67th Cong., 2d sess., March 30, 1922, *Congressional Record*, 62, p. 4789-91; the vote on the tariff treaty can be found on p. 4791.



William H. King.

American "imperialists" from that country.¹³ Two years later, calling for recognition of the Nationalist government in order to foster Sino-American amity, King remarked that recognition would help stabilize conditions in China and nullify any Communist activities.¹⁴ By 1931, the senator's pro-Chinese sympathy had become mixed with his dislike of Japan whose aggression against China forged him into a dedicated member of the incipient anti-Japanese movement in Congress throughout the next decade.

Following what he termed Japan's violations of Chinese sovereignty in 1931, King asked for an economic boycott against that nation.¹⁵ Continuing his crusade, three years later he supported impartial embargo powers for the president as well as an investigation into Japanese actions in Manchuria and into alleged accusations that Japan was fortifying the mandated islands under her control in the Pacific Ocean.¹⁶ The investigation, he insisted, was not to

¹³*New York Times*, February 17, 1926, p. 10.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, July 10, 1928, p. 5.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, January 31, 1932, p. 25.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, January 9, 1935, p. 3. See Senate Resolution 154, U. S., Congress, Senate, 74th Cong., 1st sess., June 17, 1935, *Congressional Record*, 79, p. 9415-16. The matter was referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and never reported out. The question of impartial embargo powers was studied by the State Department but the department informed Pittman, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, that neither Secretary of State Hull nor his advisors had reached a conclusion on the matter. See R. Walton Moore to Walter Lamb, clerk of the committee, U.S., Department of State, State Department file 811.113-556, January 25, 1935, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Moore was a former congressman from Virginia and served during 1919-31. He was appointed assistant secretary of state, replacing Raymond Moley, and served as congressional liaison from 1933 until his death on February 8, 1941.

threaten Japanese interests but to preserve the territorial integrity of China and to insist on the observation of international agreements since the League of Nations had only given Japan the Pacific islands in trust, not as outright possessions.¹⁷

As violence in the world increased during the thirties, King's thinking exhibited conflicting tendencies in international relations. While still remaining angry, bitter, and hostile towards Japanese aggressions in China, he simultaneously asked for disarmament of all Christian nations and for the defeat of the administration's army and navy appropriation bills. He also pleaded for policies leading to world peace and calculated to relieve the people of the heavy burden of militaristic taxation.¹⁸ Yet he dismissed any moderate policies towards Japan, especially following the Marco Polo Bridge incident on July 7, 1937, and the sinking of the American gunboat *Panay* on December 12, 1937, the latter event converting him into one of the most strident anti-Japanese members of Congress.¹⁹ The *Panay* episode prompted him to address the Senate for three consecutive days in February 1938 and in the process fill thirty pages of the *Congressional Record*. Referring to his one-time friendship for that country, he recalled defending her during the occupation of non-Japanese territory following the First World War. King had hoped her withdrawal from the Shantung Peninsula and Siberia in 1922 would mean the beginning of a new, liberal, and anti-imperialistic government. Japan's return to militarism in the thirties following a decade of incipient democratic reforms instilled within the Utah Democrat a feeling of betrayal. Arguing that Japan was motivated by greed, avarice, and ambition for power, King called her policies abhorrent and uncivilized, remarking the time had passed for believing her assurances and promises that no American rights would be violated in Asia.²⁰ King's views on Japan never varied during his remaining years on Capitol Hill, and he continued to oppose her on racial, strategic, and military grounds. While unhesitant to challenge Japan, King still maintained a non-belligerent missionary sentiment for peace, sanity, and a lack of militarism towards the growing menace of totalitarianism in Europe. Yet by 1938 he was condemn-

¹⁷ *New York Times*, January 9, 1935, p. 3.

¹⁸ Swarthmore College Peace Collection, "Neutrality Campaign, 1935-1939," Box 388, National Council for Prevention of War MSS, Swarthmore College Library, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

¹⁹ *New York Times*, December 14, 1937, p. 18.

²⁰ U.S., Congress, Senate, 75th Cong., 3d sess., February 2, 1938, *Congressional Record*, 83, p. 1400-1407; *Ibid.*, February 3, 1938, p. 1450-64; *Ibid.*, February 4, 1938, p. 1504-12.

ing Japan most vehemently, making it clear he would not be averse to an embargo of trade and perhaps the severance of diplomatic relations.²¹ By 1940, continuing to ask for severe reprisals against the Japanese, King had become one of the senators least willing to appease her.²²

In a letter to his wife on October 1, 1940, Roger S. Greene of the strident anti-Japanese organization, the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression,²³ wrote affectionately of King. Calling him a friend of China and the committee, Greene lamented that with the Utah Democrat losing his bid for reelection earlier that year, a valuable ally would be sorely missed on Capitol Hill.²⁴ King had been a recognized stalwart of anti-Japanese sentiment on the Hill as well as a forum for the committee.²⁵

Actually, King needed little prompting from the American Committee; in fact, he had moved beyond its call for an economic embargo. Introducing a bill in 1940 that would have authorized the president to negotiate with other powers friendly to the United States for naval bases in the Pacific, King showed a disposition toward military confrontation with Japan.²⁶ In an emotional outburst on the floor of the Senate, he called for halting Japan's "oriental tyranny and mediaeval barbarism in China" and other implied regions of Asia as well.²⁷ King impressed the members of the American Committee, and they enjoyed speaking to him on the Hill where they always received a genuine welcome. They found the Utah Democrat pessimistic about the readiness of the administration to halt Japanese aggression effectively or to support his bill. Although the government had terminated the American-Japanese Commer-

²¹*Ibid.*, June 16, 1938, p. 9525-26; *New York Times*, July 17, 1938, p. 2; Towards European events King concurred with the sentiments of the pacifist National Council for Prevention of War and spoke under their auspices. See "Neutrality Campaign, 1935-1939." The NCPW did oppose boycotting Japan. See *Ibid.*, "Japanese Boycott, 1937," folder.

²²U.S., Congress, Senate, 76th Cong., 3d sess., appendix, *Congressional Record*, 86, p. 143-44; *Ibid.*, January 25, 1940, p. 666; William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason, *The Challenge to Isolation, 1937-1940* (New York, 1952), 578.

²³Hereinafter cited as ACNPJA or American Committee.

²⁴Roger S. Greene to Katherine Greene, October 1, 1940, Roger S. Greene MSS, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. See also footnote 29.

²⁵King's sentiments may be consulted in King to George Fielding Eliot, November 9, 1940, "Congressional Correspondence File," ACNPJA Papers, Littauer Center Library, Harvard University.

²⁶The bill was first introduced on September 30, 1940, and was ordered to lie on the table. The next day King asked that it be sent to the Foreign Relations Committee where it was never acted upon. See Senate Resolution 4391, U.S., Congress, Senate, 76th Cong., 3d sess., September 30, 1940, *Congressional Record*, 86, p. 12780, and October 1, 1940, p. 12902.

²⁷*Ibid.*, appendix, p. 143-44; *Ibid.*, January 25, 1940, p. 666.

cial Treaty of Amity and Navigation signed in 1911, King did not deem that action sufficient to stop Japan. Greene readily concurred.²⁸

Unfortunately for the anti-Japanese movement, King failed to win the Democratic party's primary election for renomination to the Senate in 1940. The administration had not forgiven King, a ranking member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, for helping block Franklin D. Roosevelt's court reorganization attempts in 1937 and hailed his defeat as a victory for the New Deal.²⁹

While King could be considered a member of a loosely constructed anti-Japanese coalition in Congress during the thirties, Utah's other Senator initially represented a striking departure from that point of view. Sen. Elbert D. Thomas, a long-time friend of Japan, probably had more familiarity and personal experience with that nation than any other congressman serving on the Hill. Thomas had attained his firsthand knowledge as missionary and president of the Japan Mission for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1907 to 1912. During that time he not only traveled throughout the empire spreading the Mormon faith, he also taught English to students of the Japanese War College, learned their language well enough to speak and read it fluently, and even wrote articles for Japanese magazines. Before returning to the University of Utah in 1913, Thomas and his wife traveled throughout Asia, and in the following years he continued to extend his knowledge of eastern Asia at the University of California, Berkeley, by writing his doctoral thesis — which was published in 1927 — on Chinese political thought. Defeating five-term Sen. Reed Smoot, Thomas was elected to the Senate in 1932 and served until 1951.³⁰

²⁸Greene to Greene, October 1, 1940; King to George Fielding Eliot, November 9, 1940. Eliot was an army major who considered America impregnable. In the monograph *The Ramparts We Watch: A Study of the Problems of American National Defense* (New York, 1938), Eliot wrote that America's geographical distance from war in Europe and Asia was sufficient to maintain peace at home. King's letter was a refutation of that thesis.

²⁹James T. Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal: The Growth of the Conservative Coalition in Congress, 1933-1939* (Lexington, Ky., 1967), 77-127; *New York Times*, November 7, 1940, p. 16, and November 24, 1940, p. 2. The issue of Japan does not seem to have influenced the electorate since King was considered a senator to be *purged*. His purge also provides an interesting commentary on the administration's priorities.

³⁰*Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1703-04*; Maxine Block, ed., *Current Biography, 1942* (New York, 1942), 830-31; *Time*, 39 (January 5, 1942), 29; *New York Times*, December 30, 1941, p. 3. For additional biographical material consult, "Biographical Data on Senator Elbert D. Thomas," Biographical Data 1938 folder, Box 7, Thomas MSS, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

Prior to 1940, Thomas had been one of Japan's strongest allies, working diligently in the Senate to convince his colleagues that the government in Tokyo could be won over to a moderate, peaceful policy whereby the two nations could avoid armed conflict. In 1935 he had called for an exchange of students between Japan and America to foster understanding. If cordial relations and understanding were not achieved, Thomas warned, within ten years fear and distrust would lead to "the bloodiest war ever known in the world."³¹ Proposing that



Elbert D. Thomas.

student exchanges were a better defense against war than the \$26 million appropriated for defense of Hawaii and the \$100,000 for air defense programs and fortifications in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, he remarked that his plan would help guarantee peace, for "nations that understand each other and have no fear of each other will never fight."³² Trying to convince his colleagues and countrymen the Japanese could be won over to a peaceful policy if America truly wanted to avoid war, Thomas suggested restraint from any intervention on behalf of China. He also hesitated supporting the invocation of the neutrality legislation, apprehensive that such a move would anger Tokyo. He warned that should the United States recognize a state of war when it had not been legally declared by the belligerents, Japan might be provoked into attacking Americans residing in China. A further ramification of acknowledging an Asian war, Thomas added, might be to cause

³¹*New York Times*, February 15, 1935, p. 4.

³²*Ibid.*

... each nation now fighting to declare that war was forced on them as a result of America's action and the present ignoble lawlessness would become a glorious war, a war, too, which would, by the governments affected, be justified and therefore made bigger and more intrinsic by appeals to patriotism, sacrifice, and devotion to country.³³

Believing, even after the sinking of the *Panay*, that it would be in the best interests of the United States and Japan to reach a rapprochement, Thomas reminded his colleagues that Japan, by admitting it was wrong and compensating the families of the men lost in the incident, had undercut any argument for going to war. In addition to promising to pay indemnities to the families of the crew members, Japan also agreed to punish the responsible military personnel, leading Thomas to conclude that the apology and payment should end the controversy in Congress and the nation.³⁴

Nevertheless, even while he worked for Japan's friendship, the war in Asia began in late 1937 to irritate the senator and lead him to a sympathy for China's plight.³⁵ By February 13, 1939, Japan's strongest ally in the Senate had introduced a new proposal, Senate Joint Resolution 67, which if passed would have given the president authority to forbid exports to belligerents. There was, however, one important exception; if the chief executive considered a country the victim of aggression he could lift the embargo to aid that nation in its struggle.³⁶ In attempting unsuccessfully to reverse the supposedly neutral provisions contained in the Neutrality Act of 1937 by allowing the president latitude in determining the aggressor and the

³³U.S., Congress, Senate, 75th Cong., 2d sess., appendix, *Congressional Record*, p. 82, 96; undated news release, Box 7, Thomas MSS.

³⁴*New York Times*, December 14, 1937, p. 18. See also Thomas to Willis W. Ritter, December 20, 1937, "R" folder, Box 26, and Thomas to Juiji G. Kasai, a member of the House of Representatives, Japanese Imperial Diet, February 9, 1938, and March 23, 1938, unmarked folder, box 25, Thomas MSS.

³⁵See reprint of a speech over the Columbia Broadcasting System sponsored by World Peaceways, Inc., a nonprofit organization for public information on peace and international affairs. Also consult letter, J. Max Weis to Thomas, in folder, "November 4 Neutrality Act and Sino-Japanese Conflict," Box 5, and Thomas to G. Shiraishi, November 16, 1937, "S" folder, Box 26, both in Thomas MSS. Thomas's speech in Salt Lake City, November 4, 1937, concerning neutrality and the Sino-Japanese conflict is enlightening; see his "Chinese-Japanese War" folder, OF-150-C, Box 5, Franklin D. Roosevelt MSS, FDR Library. *Congressional Record*, p. 82, 96. For Thomas's concern that neutrality legislation would not keep the United States out of war see: "United States Relations with Foreign Countries," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 2 (October 7, 1935), 3-5; "Theory of Neutrality," *The Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science*, 186 (July 1936), 163-68; *ibid.*, 192 (July 1937), supplement, 131-37; "Can Impartial Neutrality Be Maintained," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 5 (October 1, 1939), 743-46.

³⁶U.S., Congress, Senate, 76th Cong., 1st sess., February 13, 1939, *Congressional Record*, 84, p. 1347; *New York Times*, December 2, 1938, p. 10, January 28, 1939, p. 5, February 15, 1939, p. 2, and March 26, 1939, p. 29; Robert Divine, *The Illusion of Neutrality: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Struggle Over the Arms Embargo* (Chicago, 1962), 239-46.

victim, Thomas's sponsorship of the measure portended growing animosity within the Senate toward the European dictatorships and Japan.³⁷ Thomas now came to realize that the issue in Asia was more than a military or imperial commitment by Japan. It was a countervailing revolution of ideas, ethics, and diplomacy opposed to his view of civilization, fair treatment of people, and peace. His eventual conversion to an anti-Japanese stance was prompted by Japan's power relationship in China and Southeast Asia. If Japan's friend could shift his position so radically in two years that he would be willing to allow Roosevelt the discretion to use an embargo because of that nation's aggressive, imperialistic policy,³⁸ then what kind of attitudes could be expected from other, less moderate, members of Congress, such as William H. King?

During this transitional period Thomas became an ardent supporter of the American Committee. On February 5, 1940, Greene interviewed the senator and wrote that the Utah Democrat was now interested in halting Japanese expansion. Moreover, Greene remarked that he liked Thomas both personally and for his aid on the Hill concerning an embargo of trade to Japan. Thomas, with his previous liking for Japan and scholarly research in East Asian culture, was a powerful ally in the Senate and his conversion was considered a major victory by Greene's anti-Japanese committee.³⁹

Further discouraged in September 1940 when Japan signed the Tripartite Agreement with Germany and Italy, Thomas reflected:

That Japan, a victor, should ally herself with Germany which was a defeated country, and make common cause with that defeated country, leaves Japan in an inconsistent position. Today she is confused. The old order is changing, but a new order will not come by reverting to the ways of the barbarian. Since the Manchurian and the Chapei incidents, Japan's history has not been an enviable one. Her latest act is in no sense one of self-defense or self-protection. It is one of aggression.

³⁷Address by Thomas over Columbia Broadcasting System, March 16, 1939, defending his Senate Joint Resolution 67 in "Proposed Amendment to Neutrality Law" folder, Box 8, Thomas MSS. See also his speech "American-Japanese Relations," *American Forum of the Air*, 2 (October 6, 1940), 4, found in RSG folder no. 5, ACNPJA Papers; Divine, *Illusion of Neutrality*, 239-46.

³⁸U.S., Congress, Senate, 76th Cong., 1st sess., August 2, 1939, *Congressional Record*, 84, p. 1067; see Thomas's speech before the Institute of World Affairs held at Riverside, California, December 16, 1938, "The United States in World Affairs" folder, Box 7, Thomas MSS.

³⁹Interview of Elbert D. Thomas by Roger S. Greene, February 5, 1940, "Congressional Correspondence File," ACNPJA Papers; see also in *ibid.*, Greene to Harry Price, executive secretary of the ACNPJA, March 20, 1940, RSG folder no. 3, and Greene to Price, April 5, 1940, RSG folder no. 4; Greene to Katherine Greene, July 23, 1941, RSG MSS. In addition see speech by Thomas in U.S., Congress, Senate, 76th Cong., 2d sess., October 6, 1939, *Congressional Record*, 85, p. 150-59.

To act as an aggressor and to consort with other aggressors should make no nation proud of itself; yet, Thomas noted, Japan appeared pleased with its performance during the past decade of expansion. He then counseled Japan to end its senseless brutality and reinstitute morality so that peace might be preserved.⁴⁰

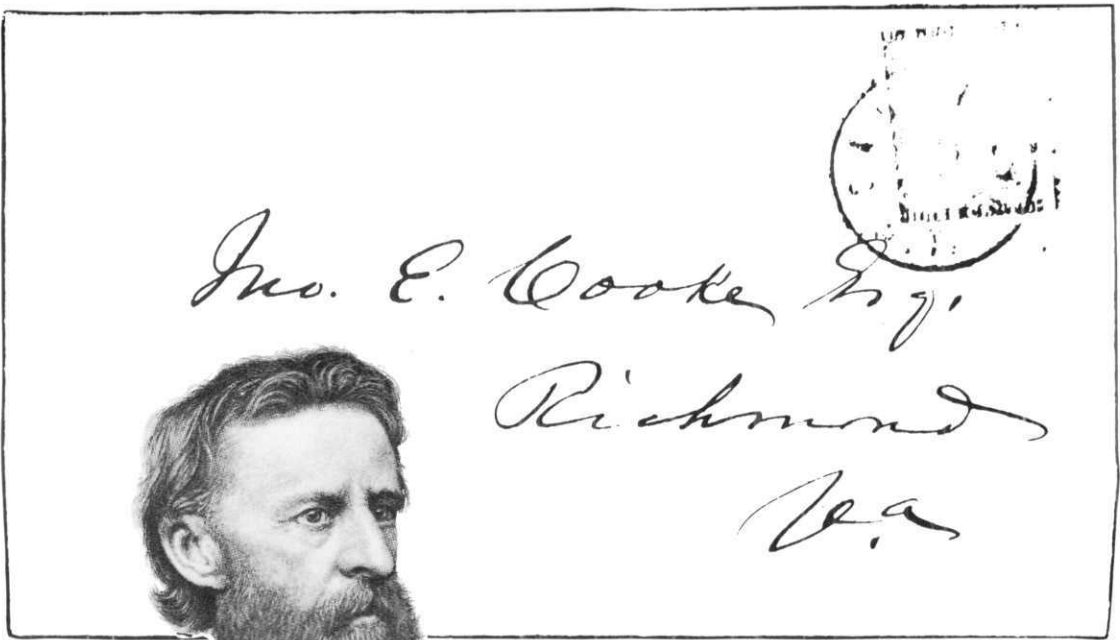
Alarmed at increased friction between Japan and the United States and assured that if war did come Japan would prove a surprisingly strong and determined enemy, Thomas still hoped America could redirect Tokyo's foreign policy toward peaceful objectives. With foreboding he remarked, "Without this change the Far East is doomed."⁴¹ Calling Britain's decision to allow the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to lapse a "terrible mistake," Thomas importuned the United States government to replace Great Britain and act as Japan's tutor concerning matters of peace, morality, and international diplomacy.⁴² Thomas's recommendations, which would relegate Japan to the position of student and America of teacher, demonstrated a serious limitation in the senator's thinking. While the premise of converting Japan to peaceful intentions could not be faulted, Thomas presumed a Japanese moral and ethical inferiority to the West that could only further antagonize Japanese opinion.

Senators King and Thomas approached Asian policy from widely differing points of view during the thirties. However, as events built steadily toward a climax and Japan joined the Axis Alliance in 1940, not even Thomas could cling to the illusory hope of temporizing Japanese ambitions. Until that time he had been disposed to appease Japan, even if it meant the dismemberment of China and the loss of much of Southeast Asia. For King, the issue had always been clear: Japan must be stopped and the only way effectively to halt her imperial ambitions was to legislate economic sanctions. The denouement was provided by events beyond their control. On December 7, 1941, Thomas's and King's opinions finally converged completely, brought together by the very issue, Japanese aggression, that had kept them divided for so long.

⁴⁰U.S.

⁴¹*Ibid.*:

⁴²Elbert Thomas, *The Four Freedoms* (New York, 1944), 93-94; see also Thomas's speech before the Institute of Far Eastern Studies at the University of Michigan, June 29, 1939, reprinted in U.S., Congress, Senate, 76th Cong., 1st sess., appendix, *Congressional Record*, 84, p. 3014-16. In the Thomas MSS two speeches are worth noting: "Chaotic World Conditions," March 17, 1939, Box 8, and "To What Extent are American Interests Involved in Present Day World Activities," March 28, 1939, Box 8, given over CBS under the auspices of the American Council against Nazi Propaganda.



Philip St. George Cooke.

*A Virginian in Utah Chooses
the Union: Col. Philip St.
George Cooke in 1861*

BY RICHARD W. ETULAIN

MANY HISTORIANS HAVE discussed the dilemmas the Civil War forced upon families who were divided in their loyalties between the North and South. Some writers argue that the fratricidal nature of the war was its worst horror. We do know that President Abraham

Lincoln agonized over the problem; part of his family took up the Southern cause. And equally revealing was Gen. Robert E. Lee's tortured indecision before finally deciding to follow Virginia into the Confederacy. Yet we have not generally been given an inside view of these family struggles — that is, we have not seen how one side expressed its feelings to members of the family who went with the opposition. The document printed below provides the reader with one such view.

The author of the letter, Col. Philip St. George Cooke, was a Virginian who spent all his adult life in the military until his retirement in 1873.¹ Stationed from the late 1820s until 1861 in several forts throughout the West, Cooke was absent from his home state when sectional fires began to smolder and then burst into flames. His absence from Virginia for nearly thirty-five years prior to the Civil War helps to explain his point of view. He was also strongly devoted to the army because, as he states, it had provided him with an occupation and a means of support for his family. Though he remembered his origins and cherished his family ties in Virginia, he was even more strongly attached to the United States Army and to the cause of the Union.

Dr. Etulain is associate professor of history at Idaho State University, Pocatello. This project was prepared for the National Historical Publications Commission seminar in historical editing held in Charlottesville, Va., June 1974. The author is indebted to NHPC staff members and particularly to Dorothy Twohig, associate editor of the George Washington Papers, for help in editing the document.

¹Philip St. George Cooke was born in 1809 in Leesburg, Virginia. In 1823 he was appointed to West Point. Graduating in 1827, he was assigned to Jefferson Barracks near Saint Louis, Mo. In the ensuing years he took part in the Black Hawk War (1832) and served in the Mexican War. In the latter conflict he commanded the Mormon Battalion (1846-47) that marched overland to California and helped to secure that area for the United States. For this action Cooke received a citation for meritorious conduct and gallant service in February 1847. Late in 1857 Cooke again demonstrated his bravery in leading his troops from Fort Leavenworth (Kansas Territory) through bitter cold and snow to Camp Scott, near Fort Bridger. The next year he helped to establish Camp Floyd in Utah and then went to Europe for a year to write his *Cavalry Tactics* (1861) and to observe the war in Italy. He returned in 1860 and was given command of the Department of Utah from August 1860 until August 1861.

In March 1861 he was promoted to brigadier general, and the next year he was named commanding general of the cavalry division in charge of defending Washington, D.C. His was the top cavalry position in the Union Army. In the Virginian Peninsula campaign he fought in battles against units to which his son, John R. Cooke, and his son-in-law, J. E. B. Stuart, were assigned. In October 1863 he was selected as commanding general of Baton Rouge, La., and finished the war as general superintendent in charge of recruiting. He retired October 29, 1873, after forty-six years of continuous service. He died in 1895 in Detroit.

²Nearly all accounts describe Cooke as an able leader, a strict disciplinarian, and a man of high honor. The most extensive treatment of his life is Otis E. Young, *The West of Philip St. George Cooke, 1809-1895* (Glendale, Ca., 1955). See also *Dictionary of American Biography*, s. v. "Cooke, Philip St. George." For general background on the Utah years, consult Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859* (New Haven, 1960).

The recipient of the letter, John Esten Cooke, who was the nephew of Colonel Cooke, lived his entire life in Virginia.² By the outbreak of the Civil War he had gained a national reputation as a writer, and no one questioned his allegiance to his home state. He agreed with Virginia's slow, deliberate steps toward secession, and evidence in the Cooke letter indicates that he tried to convince his uncle to resign and to join the Confederate cause. The older man's answer, though beginning calmly enough, soon becomes a stinging reply. Shortly after writing the letter, Colonel Cooke joined the Northern cause and fought for the North during the Civil War.

The letter of Philip St. George Cooke reflects the thoughts of one well-known Virginian, stationed in the West, who decided to remain with the Union. It is from a collection of materials transferred from the Office of the Adjutant General to the National Archives on June 16, 1959. These documents had not been formally accessioned as of June 1974. The transcription follows the spelling of Colonel Cooke, but the punctuation has been altered slightly to achieve uniformity; dashes have been omitted where commas were already present, periods have been added at the end of sentences, and capital letters have been used to begin the sentence. Superscriptions have been brought down to the line and varied forms of "and" regularized. Otherwise the letter remains as Cooke wrote it.

Fort Crittenden Utah³
May 8th '61

My Dear John,

Only by our last mail did I receive yours of Mar. 31, and Apl. 4 — and enclosure. As you urge, I write by the first mail east. I must first thank you most heartily for your warm interest, and unlimited offers of service; and then, alas! with much pain, write — as *you* say — "plainly frankly and in a straight-forward way."

²John Esten Cooke, the son of Colonel Cooke's older brother, John Rogers Cooke, was born in 1830 in Winchester, Virginia. Unable to attend the University of Virginia because of family financial difficulties, he studied law privately and was admitted to the bar in 1851. Disliking law, he turned to writing, and before 1860 he had produced seven volumes of fiction and other essays and poems. A close friend and admirer of J. E. B. Stuart, Cooke served throughout the Civil War and surrendered with General Lee at Appomattox. After the war, he wrote several novels and histories sympathetic to the South. He died in 1886. One biographer summarized Cooke as "a chivalric Cavalier, who idealized the past and was unreservedly devoted to Virginia," *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Cooke, John Esten." John O. Beaty has written a full-length study, *John Esten Cooke* (New York, 1922). Cooke briefly summarizes his life in John R. Welsh, ed., *John Esten Cooke's Autobiographical Memo* (Columbia, S.C., 1969).

³Camp Floyd, which Colonel Cooke renamed Fort Crittenden in February 1861 (because Secretary of War John B. Floyd had gone over to the Confederate side), was officially opened November 9,

Young, unmarried, having spent your life in Va. and amid the influences of a city hot-bed of state-rights prejudices, of revolutionists, such is *your* stand point.

Consider *mine*: Thirty eight years ago the American Nation took me, an orphan, to educate to its service, giving me a profession;⁴ and has supported me, and honored me, ever since; long before your birth, I was severed from Virginia — and from a part, still I believe loyal to the Union; and for that *long* course of time, bonded with honorable friends from every corner of my country, have laboured, have fought and triumphed all over our Northern Continent under a National flag, emblem of honor and protection, and which I have sworn to honor and defend in return. I have been a *Western* man, married and raised children by the far, rude but loved Missouri!⁵ and finally, in the last passionate struggle, shuddering at the arrant palpable *madness*, to which God, with inscrutable purposes, has delivered half a nation, amid stern mountains, and perennial snows, 2000 miles off, I have calmly surveyed the whole field.

Then realize — my dear Nephew — that with pain in my heart, I shrink from the miseries and horrors of a fratricidal war, to be endured by friends — Kin — Women and orphaned children; that I cannot have the poor and bitter satisfaction of being sustained, and excited by feelings and passions, enlisted on either *side*.

I cannot realize that Va. will sever herself on the 23d. — ⁶ that she will stultify her old principles, the teachings, and life labours of her great dead; her hero-statesmen whose legacy of renown is her greatest claim upon the respect of the world; I cannot realize that her sons will make her the tool of cold, selfish conspirators and traitors — the oligarchy of S. Ca. — and my National pride is refreshed when denociated from such communities as Texas, assassins and fugi-

1858, although troops began arriving four months earlier. The camp was located in Cedar Valley, west of Utah Lake, an equal distance (about forty miles) from Utah Territory's two largest settlements, Provo and Salt Lake City. Between 1858 and 1861 more than two thousand men — sometimes as many as three thousand — were stationed at Camp Floyd. At the time it was "the largest troop concentration of its kind in the United States" (Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington, "Camp in the Sagebrush: Camp Floyd, Utah, 1858-1861," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 34 [Winter 1966], 3-21).

By all accounts life at the post was dreary and depressing. Favorite diversions were cursing the heat, dust, and the Mormons. That indefatigable traveler of the nineteenth century, Richard F. Burton, termed Camp Floyd a "thoroughly detestable spot," a "purgatorial place." He added about the weather: "The winter is long and rigorous, the summer hot and uncomfortable, the alkaline water curdles soap, and the duststorms remind one of the Punjab" (*The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* [New York, 1861]). The most complete account of life at the post is Don Richard Mathis, "Camp Floyd in Retrospect," (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1959).

⁴Cooke is a bit misleading here. He entered West Point at age fourteen, the youngest member of his class. His father was dead, but his mother lived until 1839. Hamilton Gardner, "A Young West Pointer Reports for Duty at Jefferson Barracks in 1827," *Bulletin* (Missouri Historical Society) 9 (January 1953), 124-38.

⁵Cooke was the father of four children. His only son, John R., was a Harvard graduate who fought in Lee's army and became a brigadier general in the Confederate Army. His eldest daughter, Flora, married J.E.B. Stuart. Another daughter, Maria, married Lee's surgeon general, Doctor Brewer. A third daughter, Julia, became the wife of Major Sharpe, an officer in the Union Army. Hence, three of Cooke's children supported the Confederacy. Hamilton Gardner, "The Command and Staff of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 20 (October 1952), 332-51.

⁶Here Cooke misjudges the outcome of an important decision before the voters of Virginia. On April 17 a specially elected convention from the state passed "an ordinance of secession and adhesion to the Southern Confederacy" (John Esten Cooke, *Virginia: A History of the People* [Boston, 1883], 501-2). On May 23 the people of Virginia ratified the convention's proposal for secession by a vote of 129,950 to 20,373. Richard L. Morton, *History of Virginia*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1924), 3:12.

tives! from Florida, debased mendicated mongrels, wreckers! with less white population than many a county, it acquired just strength enough from the *purchase*, support, care, the magnanimity of a great nation, to turn and insult her!

It is perhaps not the least of the miseries of this mad struggle — that it should in any way — or degree, discover the ties and affections of blood, and friendship.

If I resign, I expect to take myself and family to an honorable poverty and seclusion; and where? — What folly, if, owning no slaves, I should choose for neighbors, the owners of slaves!

It would be pleasure and pride, in a just cause, to fight side to side with Virginians; but should the fates *now* throw me in their midst, my sword point would be by feelings turned against the "Cotton States", rather than the North!⁷

It is singular, Col. Loring⁸ lately asserted that Col. Davis⁹ had recommended him, and other officers, *not* to resign, unless when their arms were turned against their own States!

We have had reason to look for orders to march eastward, but *now*, appearances, are contradictory: fate, now the second time, placing me far from the great scenes of action, I grow callous, and disposed to make the best of it.¹⁰

Remember me with great affection to your sisters and theirs.

Very truly yours
P. S. Geo. Cooke

Jno Esten Cooke, Esq — Richd.

P. S. You may find my crisis politics in Senator Bayard's speech, Mar. 20th. — *ex. session*¹¹

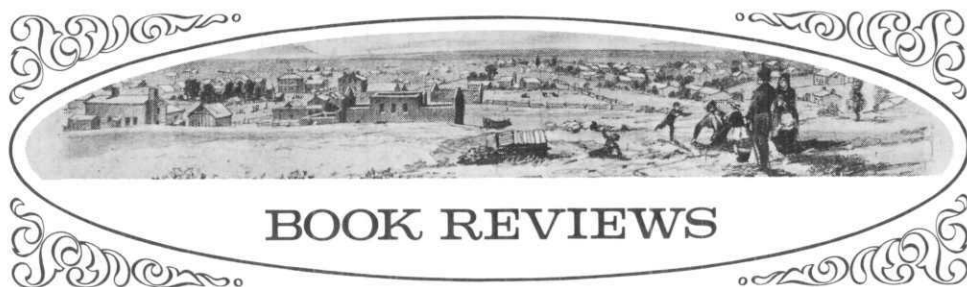
⁷Douglas Southall Freeman states (*Lee's Lieutenants*, 3 vols. [New York, 1942], 1:716) that Virginians awaited the announcement of Colonel Cooke's decision because he "was among the best-known men in the army." But at first there was no news at all. Then a letter arrived in June 1861 announcing that "his first allegiance was to the Union and not to Virginia." Freeman is no doubt referring to Cooke's letter that appeared in the June 6, 1861, issue of the *National Intelligencer*. Phrases in this later letter repeat much of the feeling and flavor of the one printed here. The June letter is reprinted in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events*, 2 vols. (New York, 1966), 2:171-72.

⁸William Wing Loring entered the service in 1837 and was cited for gallant action in the Mexican War. He was promoted to colonel in December 1856. Resigning May 13, 1861, he became a major general in the CSA from 1861 to 1865. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), 642.

⁹Cooke may be mistaken here. Heitman lists no Colonel Davis in May 1861, but Cooke may be referring to Nelson Henry Davis of Massachusetts who became a colonel in September 1861. He had fought with Loring in several of the same battles of the Mexican War. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 359.

¹⁰The orders to move eastward came May 17, 1861 (Alexander and Arrington, "Camp in the Sagebrush," 18). Cooke's words "fate, now the second time," refer to his disappointment at not being involved in the major battles of the Mexican War.

¹¹James Asheton Bayard, Jr. (1799-1880), senator from Delaware (1850-64, 1867-69). Bayard's speech of March 20, 1861, is reprinted in the *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 2d sess., 1861, pp. 1477-83. It continues March 21 on pp. 1484-88 and March 26 on p. 1490. Senator Bayard argued (pp. 1477-78) that the seven states that had seceded ought to be allowed to go their own way. The other states ought to make a treaty with them and recognize their independence. No force ought to be applied, especially by an army, to coerce them back into the Union. Evidently, Cooke changed his mind after writing his letter, for by the late summer of 1861 his actions did not follow those outlined in Bayard's speech.



Utah's Black Hawk War: Lore and Reminiscences of Participants. By CARLTON CULMSEE. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1973. 181 pp. Cloth, \$5.00; paper, \$3.50.)

The history of the American westward expansion during the mid-nineteenth century is the history of white-Indian conflicts. Mormon settlement of Utah closely resembles the national experience — the struggle of the whites to occupy and settle the land, the trauma of the Indians to maintain and adapt. Two major battles for control of the land and its resources in Utah were the Walker War of the 1850s and the Black Hawk War of the 1860s and 1870s. With the conclusion of the Black Hawk War, much of Utah's land was under white ownership, and the Indians were being relocated on reservations.

Carlton Culmsee's *Utah's Black Hawk War: Lore and Reminiscences* is an account of the attempts by Mormon settlers in southern and central Utah to defend their homes against the desperate efforts of the native Indians to retain control of traditional lands and, with the lands, their traditional life style. Using interviews with survivors and their descendants, contemporary accounts in newspapers and diaries, the "Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," and previously published sources, Culmsee describes the depredations committed on the white settlements by a group of Utes, Paiutes, and Navajos under the Ute leader, Black Hawk. These small settlements, with their poor defenses, little cooperative planning, and limited

military support from Camp Douglas, were easy victims of the raids by Black Hawk and his followers. However, after seven years of conflict, 1865-72, federal and local forces finally triumphed. With two separate agreements, August 17, 1872, at Springville, Utah, and September 17, 1872, at Mount Pleasant, Utah, Black Hawk and his Ute followers retreated to the newly established Uintah Reservation; the other Indian participants retreated to their homelands. Culmsee details the great cost of the war to the white settlers, but the Indians paid a heavier price. Lands they had used for centuries were now closed to them, and they were forced to adopt a new life style based on non-Indian values.

Utah's Black Hawk War deals with only one of several aspects of the war, the Mormon participation. For a fuller understanding of why Black Hawk broke with other Ute leaders and carried on seven years of raiding, the reader should also become informed regarding federal Indian policy of the 1860s and 1870s, the conflicts between the federal government and the territorial government of Utah, and, most importantly, the Indian point of view.

Because this account of the Black Hawk War was first written as a series of commissioned articles published weekly August-October 1934 in the *Deseret News*, and was republished

with only few changes, the book reads haltingly. Sentences, paragraphs, and chapters are short and choppy. Further, while the articles as printed in the *Deseret News* were accompanied by pictures and maps, these were unfortunately omitted (with the exception of one map of Utah, previously published in 1865) from the book. An introductory essay does attempt to offer reasons for not rewriting the narrative (thus forewarning the reader of its shortcomings), particularly in light of the changing perspective on Indian-white relations that has occurred since the 1930s.

Utah's Black Hawk War does make an important contribution to the historical description of Utah's white history.

It makes available personal interviews with white survivors and their immediate descendants which would be far less productive if attempted today. The result is a deeper and more personal view of the Mormon's participation in the war than is possible from using only Mormon historical documents and diaries. However, now the Indian point of view must be explained in order to present a more complete interpretation of the Black Hawk War and its significance in Utah history.

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Anasazi: Ancient People of the Rock. By DAVID MUENCH and DONALD G. PIKE. (Palo Alto: American West Publishing Co., 1974. x + 191 pp. \$20.00.)

This elegantly printed book about the prehistoric Pueblos of the northern Southwest consists of a series of incomparable photographs by David Muench related in groups to a text written by Donald Pike. The volume is mainly a handsome picture book printed in a large format to accommodate the strikingly beautiful photographs. By necessity, the photographs emphasize the spectacular architecture, such as the huge ruins of Chaco Canyon and the cliff dwellings and their awesome surroundings of Mesa Verde and Tsegi Canyon. A smaller number of photographs depict some of the more beautiful artifacts. Near the end of the volume there is also a series of photographs of contemporary Pueblo village architecture and village life.

A concluding section consists of historic black and white photographs taken between 1899 and 1904 by Adam Clark Vroman. These are mostly of various Pueblo Indians, in-

cluding the famous potter Nampeyo, engaged in arts and craft work.

There is really little a reviewer can say about the superb quality of Muench's photographs, except that they depict the spectacular, and do not, and could not, give a visual impression of the more typical Anasazi habitations and artifacts, i.e., the thousands of small unimpressive hamlets and the undistinguished, nonluxury artifacts scattered throughout the northern Southwest. This task should have been, in part, the goal of the accompanying text, and yet Pike gives the impression that, in the main, the Anasazi were largely constructors of "massive and multi-storied apartment buildings, walled cities, and cliff dwellings of shaped and mortared sandstone" (p. 16).

The text is marred by certain errors in fact, for example, Pike's statement that the earliest Anasazi developed out of the Cochise culture; and there are statements presented as fact that

are hotly debated issues, such as Pike's presentation of the Sinagua people in the Flagstaff region as an amalgam of Anasazi, Hohokam, and Mogollon.

Perhaps most disturbing are the statements that can be placed under the rubric of paleopsychology. Pike states that the early Anasazi "were an easygoing, gregarious folk who got on well with their neighbors and most strangers" (p. 98), and he suggests the possibility that the notion of fighting may never have entered the Anasazis' heads (p. 141). Southwestern archaeologists would be most curious to know the evidence for these statements.

In short, the text, which not only covers the Anasazi, but touches on other prehistoric southwestern cultures, such as the Mogollon, Hohokam, Salado, and Sinagua, does not measure up to the pictorial quality of the book.

As a side note, it should be pointed out that it is almost a universal complaint of the professional archaeologist that popular books written by nonarchaeologists are inadequate. I feel that it behooves the archaeologist to present his findings in popular books and articles, as well as the more technical journals and monographs so that the record for the public is a more accurate one. It does little good for the archaeologist to continually criticize without contributing his knowledge to the public.

In spite of the flawed text, the volume is a beautiful one and well serves its main purpose, which is visual.

GEORGE J. GUMERMAN

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The Last American: The Indian in American Culture. By WILLIAM BRANDON. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974. 553 pp. \$12.95.)

We have in this volume on the history and culture of the American Indians a largely new picture of the Indian and a fresh interpretation of his importance in the development and shaping of American history. It is the fullest treatment yet given the American Indian; it encompasses primitive and prehistoric man in America and the period of contact, conflict, and accommodation of Indian and European cultures.

One is amazed at the thoroughness of the author's research, and width and depth of his investigations, and the new viewpoints and approaches he employs.

Space will not permit individual appraisals of his treatments of the many peoples and cultures described. But as examples of superb topical coverages we might mention the Mayan civilization, the Inca empire,

the removal of the Civilized Tribes from southeastern United States, the tribes of the American Southwest, and the life of present-day Indians.

Some widely selected quotations may be given as samples of his observations:

"The Indian world was devoted to living, while the European world was devoted to getting (p. 8).

"The basic unit of social construction in the New World was kinship — family relationship. The basic unit of social construction in the Old World was property relationship (p. 76).

"Sequoya became famous among both Indians and whites, and the Cherokee nation presented him with an annual pension, the first literary pension in the United States (p. 260).

"The newly arrived gold-rushers and companion pioneers [of California] killed these people [the

Indians] off in what seems to have been the biggest single spree of massacring in United States history (p. 341).

"The frontier stole in from the east like dusk, and by the 1840s the nations of the plains had already felt its touch, in the form of whiskey, plagues, syphilis, and a bewildering increase of war (p. 374).

"The Navahos, with a fifteen-million-acre reservation and a population of more than 100,000, are the giants of the present-day Indian world in the United States (p. 448)."

Mr. Brandon is a poet as well as a historian. He writes vivid prose; his deep sympathy for the Indian is unconcealed and movingly expressed.

Extensive notes and references are assembled at the end of the text, and a bibliography and index are provided.

LEROY R. HAFEN

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The Bone Hunters. By URL LANHAM. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973. xiv + 285 pp. \$12.95.)

Url Lanham, curator of entomology at the Museum of the University of Colorado, has presented a highly readable account of the nineteenth century search for, and study of, vertebrate fossils in the United States.

The scientific study of vertebrate fossils in the United States essentially began in 1799 with publication of a paper by Thomas Jefferson describing fossil remains of a lion (later shown to be a giant sloth) from Virginia. Later, after the Lewis and Clark expedition was completed, Jefferson asked William Clark to dig fossils at Big Bone Lick in Kentucky. From these efforts many specimens, mostly of elephant-like mastodons, were shipped to Washington and displayed by Jefferson in the White House. By the middle of the nineteenth century, fragments of bone and stories of "great boneyards" worked their way east with returning fur traders. Most early fossil bones found in the West were sent to Joseph Leidy (1823-91), then professor of anatomy at the University of Pennsylvania. Leidy published a major monograph in 1852, in conjunction with David Dale Owen's geological report on the upper Mississippi Valley, on the then-known fossil

mammals and tortoises from the Badlands of Nebraska, thereby bringing worldwide attention to this richly fossiliferous region.

After the Civil War, federal explorations in the West by the Hayden, Powell, King, and Wheeler surveys provided impetus to fossil collecting on an exceptionally large scale. Discoveries of dinosaurs and large extinct mammals began to capture the nation's imagination. During this period two principal characters emerged who brought North American paleontology into world prominence, and along with it a public clash of egos developed that eventually brought the issue of federal financing of paleontology into congressional debate. The two protagonists were Othniel Charles Marsh (1831-99), Yale professor and organizer of the Peabody Museum, and Edward Drinker Cope (1840-97), a mostly self-educated scientist and fervid eccentric prone to religious fanaticism. Cope and Marsh, after a brief initial period of friendship, were soon in competition with each other for choice fossil bones from the unsurveyed regions of the upper Missouri Basin and Rocky Mountain regions.

Much of Lanham's book relates to the Cope-Marsh feud and reverberations it caused among the federal surveys, the National Academy of Sciences, and the Congress of the United States.

Lanham's treatment of the main scientific participants in the formative years of North American paleontology is mainly by summary of secondary sources. The text makes effective use of direct quotations but unfortunately omits explicit references to original documents. However, the text is greatly enhanced by approximately fifty black-and-white photographs, many of which show the terrain and sites where major fossil dis-

coveries were made, and continue to be made, in the western United States.

This book is basically an introduction to an important chapter in nineteenth-century natural science and to the personalities of some of the men who participated in it. The professional probably could spend his time more profitably elsewhere, but general readers and western buffs might receive an evening or two of enjoyment from reading this book.

MICHAEL E. TAYLOR
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The American Territorial System. Edited by JOHN PORTER BLOOM. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1973. xvi + 248 pp. \$10.00.)

The book consists of the papers and proceedings at a conference on the history of the territories held November 3 and 4, 1969. The National Archives and Records Service inaugurated a series of such conferences in 1969 and has made provision for the publishing of the papers.

This is the best volume to appear on such a conference yet. The editor clearly and incisively sets out the possible limits he works within and says, "Taking this into account, it has seemed necessary to take a limited view of territorial history, falling back on the definition on which the published *Territorial Papers* series is based. Thus, the papers in this volume are rather strictly political history, illustrative of territorial administrative history, with the obvious exceptions of the personal memoirs of Clarence Carter." As one accepts these limitations and if one is concerned with territorial history thus defined, the papers gathered are of a high quality and give fresh insights into territorial development.

Two short tributes to Clarence Carter open the volume. Then there are chapters or divisions entitled The Northwest Ordinance, The Territories and the Congress, Territorial Courts of the Far West, The Territories: Land and Politics, and The Territories in the Twentieth Century. Each section includes two major papers except the last which has two essays by historians and a paper by Harrison Loesch, assistant secretary of interior, on "The American Territories of Today and Tomorrow." Each session, in addition, had at least one comment on the papers and a short paper on holdings in the National Archives pertinent to the general topic.

Two of the best papers, one by Arthur Bestor on the antecedents of the Northwest Ordinance and one by Robert Berkhofer, Jr., on the Northwest Ordinance and territorial evolution, appear in the first section. Of particular interest to readers of this journal are a study of George Curry, territorial governor of New Mexico,

by Robert W. Larson, and William Lee Knecht's account of federal judges of Utah Territory. Even more stimulating is Thomas G. Alexander's essay on the federal land survey system in the Mountain West. These essays and the others make the volume well worthwhile to one interested in our territorial system.

Collections of papers and proceedings are always vulnerable to criticism for lack of focus, lack of purpose, etc. Other shortcomings to the book and the series are apparent. Nonbureaucrats and antibureaucrats may well be irritated at the ceremonial foreword and preface. They are designed to set a purpose for the conference, but in book form their need is met more ef-

fectively by the editor. The National Archives publishes the conference proceedings to make its resources better known and more widely used, and the Archives may be sold too hard for some readers' taste. More basic, the publication of proceedings may rightfully be becoming obsolete.

However, Dr. Bloom has done a skillful job of selecting participants and putting their efforts into a coherent whole. This volume is the best one so far in this series and does something to rehabilitate the reputation of proceedings.

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University of Cincinnati

Dams, Parks, and Politics: Resource Development and Preservation in the Truman-Eisenhower Era. By ELMO RICHARDSON. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1973. viii + 247 pp. \$11.25.)

In *Dams, Parks, and Politics* the author gives us a chronicle, rather than an interpretation, of the years 1947-57. While Mr. Richardson's devotion to the preservationist's cause is clear enough, he treats this controversial era even-handedly and says thankfully that Secretaries of the Interior Ickes, Krug, Chapman, McKay, and Seaton pursued similar policies, being "preoccupied with traditional concern for economic stability and political rewards." Similarly, Presidents Truman and Eisenhower were both committed to "wide-ranging programs for the development of resources," as opposed to the preservation of wilderness.

The author claims that the policies of the decade in question did little to prepare the way for America to cope with the "total ecological crises" of a decade later. While the ecological problems we face now are real enough, Mr. Richardson does not explain how the politics of dams and parks in 1954, enlightened or not, affect today's pollution of air and water.

An eloquent statement from the Sierra Club, quoted in chapter five, goes: "aesthetic values existing in outstanding scenic areas of the West are greater than the values to be received from water development of every stream and the production of the last possible kilowatt of electrical energy. . . . It is our high belief that the government and the people of the nation should never undertake so to state the issue in terms of the dollar — unless the day should come when the nation is so reduced in spirit that it must live on bread alone." This laudable phrase will sound hollow to people who are not far removed from a subsistence economy and think of themselves as living on not much more than bread. To convince many people in the West otherwise will require time and education.

Even today some people in Utah look back on the Echo dam decision as a maneuver by California publicists to steal water that rightfully belongs to Utahns. These same observers will also say that the preservationists

("purists," Mr. Richardson calls them) are promoting use of Utah's natural resources for the few rather than the many. On the surface, at least, the claim of preservationists that developers are grabbing land and water for their own selfish ends is countered by the local claims that nature lovers are locking up "our land" for their own selfish ends. A quiet *quid pro quo*, maybe.

Mr. Richardson includes a short bibliographical essay on the sources of conservation history and offers some good suggestions on all his references, encompassing a vast quantity of primary material. All things considered, however, his performance falls short of his earlier *Politics of Conservation*.

JAY M. HAYMOND
Librarian

Utah State Historical Society

Mining Camps and Ghost Towns: A History of Mining in Arizona and California along the Lower Colorado. By FRANK LOVE. (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1974. 192 pp. \$7.95.)

The title of this book sums it all up very neatly, if one keeps in mind that the term lower Colorado is applied to only that part of the river valley south of Bill Williams River.

Because each mine, group of mines, or mining camp had its own life span and cast of characters, a study such as this is bound to be episodic in nature. *Mining Camps and Ghost Towns* is a collection of historical sketches of several dozen mines or mining camps. In each case the sketch starts with the story, or stories, of the discovery of the ore lode and follows the life of the mine, often through several reopenings, to final closing, sometime in the mid-twentieth century. The author does not make a point of the few connecting threads that run through the lives of these areas, such as the scarcity of water, the introduction of more efficient machinery, or the introduction of cyanidation. Occasionally certain men appear on the rolls of more than one camp, but this is generally by accident rather than plan. Only the wheeling and dealing of Stephen A. Dorsey tied together the stories of a few mines scattered throughout the area. The one common thread which the reader will note is the reaffirmation of the old saw that more money went into precious metal mines than ever came out of them. The author

has presented each of his vignettes in a smooth, easy-reading style that stresses the human rather than mechanical elements of the story. Unfortunately, in the opening chapter he repeats some old wives' tales that would indicate that the pre-Colombian Indians practiced hard-rock mining without the benefit of iron tools.

One must question the author's research. He relies rather heavily on popular periodicals such as *Calico Print*, *Westways*, and *Desert Magazine* while overlooking the gold mine of historical material in the papers of the United States Geological Survey. There are also a few minor criticisms. There is need for a translation of the Spanish words *chispa* and *estado*. It may be a slip of the pen that indicates a smelter to be a device for crushing ore (p. 17) or that the route of the Butterfield Mail ran through San Diego rather than Los Angeles (p. 31). There is no commentary on the fact that the Yuma County sheriff and his deputies seem to have operated at times in California (p. 141).

There are a few flaws in the mechanics of the book. The bottom of page 25 and the top of page 26 do not flow together — something is missing. The footnote on page 152 is in a most unusual position. A much more seri-

ous shortcoming chargeable to the editor is the complete lack of maps. As most of the mining camps are truly ghost towns, there is no trace of them on modern maps; and many of the topographic features mentioned in the text are so small that detailed maps are required to locate them. In addition the short lives of most of the camps were spread over some six or seven decades, forcing the curious to refer to many out-of-date maps.

Despite the relatively minor shortcomings, this book is a real contribu-

tion to the history of southwestern Arizona and southeastern California. With the possible exception of the Yuma Crossing, the valley of the Colorado River below the Grand Canyon has been, to a large extent, overlooked by historians.

HENRY P. WALKER

Assistant Editor, Arizona and the West
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Historic Denver: The Architects and the Architecture, 1858-1893. By RICHARD R. BRETTCELL. (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1973. xiv + 240 pp. \$16.95.)

Since its inception in 1970 one of the stated objectives of Historic Denver, Inc., was to publish a work of Denver's nineteenth-century architecture. Richard R. Brettell, who had previously done extensive research on Denver architects and architecture of the period 1858-93, was selected to write the text.

Brettell has glossed over the early history of Denver, moving quickly through the railroad years and the phenomenal growth of population to concentrate on what he terms "the architects' city," Denver's most exciting and prolific years (1879-93). Quarried rusticated stone was used predominantly during those early periods, giving an almost cumbersome look in its repetitive use. Heavy ornamentation of iron lintels and cornices and the continuous use of arched windows seem to have left their mark, reflecting the need of the people to have a solid, stable, and lasting city. Brettell maintains that of the thousands of buildings constructed in the boom of the later eighties and early nineties there are 25,900 extant structures predating 1911. Richardsonian architecture (H. H. Richardson, prominent architect of Mas-

sachusetts) swept the country, and in Denver its influence was used in either strong or eclectic styling. "Rusticated stone and rounded arches were the hallmark of Richardsonism in Denver."

The author lists the major architects in Denver's growth, giving biographical background and an analytical review of the architects' works as illustration after illustration unfolds at every turn of the page. As with most cities the lives of the architects are lost to future generations, but biographical material that was found was used to advantage. As the architect provides architectural illusions, so the author verbalizes with colorful descriptions seeming to give life to the very architecture itself. Although an architectural approach was used, Brettell manages to convey a living nineteenth-century Denver, portraying the social and cultural life of its society from the heights of the silver boom through the crash of 1893 which resulted in extreme misfortune, poverty, and depression and which also put an end to the great architectural era. Denver architecture did not really recover until after World War I.

The artistry of photographer Bart Edwards, assisted by Susan Brown, is beautifully combined with historic scenes and architectural renderings by the early architects to total over three hundred illustrations. By placing Brettell's notes in the back of the book the pages are left free for large-size photographs and text, giving more latitude for composition and design. An index and bibliography complete the attractively bound volume. It is highly recommended reading for students of architecture, for those interested in preservation, and certainly for all those who claim an attachment to the city of Denver. Brettell's work, *Historic Denver*, is an

outstanding contribution to Denver's architectural heritage, and every city or state would profit by its example.

To paraphrase the author, we are surrounded by our own past in architectural form, and all architecture requires both use and care to survive. Historic Denver, Inc., the author, and all those connected with the publication of the book have admirably fulfilled their purpose. "It is now up to the people. . . . Preservation is for the people."

MARGARET D. LESTER
Curator of Photographs
Utah State Historical Society

George W. P. Hunt and His Arizona. By JOHN S. GOFF. (Pasadena, Calif.: Socio-Technical Publications, 1973. 286 pp. \$10.00.)

Bulky, bald, sporting a handlebar mustache, and with boundless enthusiasm for the common man, politics, and his state, George W. P. Hunt was seven times governor and a dominant political force in Arizona from 1890 to the mid-1930s. A many-sided man, Hunt believed that as long as he lived, "the governorship of his state was his private preserve" (p. 3) and came near putting the conviction into effect. The political stock-in-trade Hunt applied to this end included old-time progressivism, privilege baiting, support of labor, prison reform, sentimental journeys to every quarter of the state but especially to his hometown, Globe, and such wholehearted use of Arizona's interest in the Colorado River as to lead one wag to note that while Jesus' walking on water was a miracle it should not be forgotten that "Arizona had a governor who regularly ran on the Colorado River" (p. 229). Since Hunt was a colorful and important figure in the annals of western American politics, it is appropriate that he is the object of this fine biography by John S. Goff.

Born in Huntsville, Missouri, in 1859, Hunt took the road for the larger West when he was eighteen, and after various adventures arrived at the central Arizona mining town of Globe in the fall of 1881. Making Globe his base of operations, Democrat Hunt became a prominent member of the territorial legislature during the 1890s and first years of this century and had risen to sufficient importance to be designated president of the constitutional convention of 1910. Influencing the progressive character of the Arizona State Constitution, Hunt went on to become the first state governor. With an ever ready flair for humanity, and for color, Hunt chose to walk to his first inauguration. Once in office he was occupied with prison reform, labor affairs, border relations with Mexico, and, under the Arizona system of two-year terms, with reelection and with contested elections until 1918 when he chose not to run. Appointed Ambassador to Siam in 1920, he served somewhat unhappily and was back in Arizona and in a campaign for

governor by 1922. Winning that year and in the next two elections he was defeated in 1928 before going on to a final victory in 1930 and a final defeat in 1932. He spoke freely and on virtually every subject, offending many, particularly the monied elements and most of Arizona's larger newspapers, but his sure touch for the common man and his obvious devotion to Arizona as well as his own toughness stood him in good stead during this long and notable political career.

Goff's treatment is straightforward, quick moving, and, with the exception of one chapter on the Colorado River, almost purely chronological. Hunt's papers, cataloged by Mr. Goff, and other contemporary sources are used

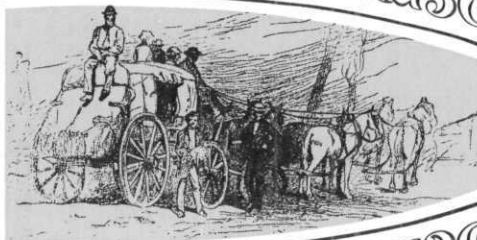
advantageously to give currency and an on-the-scene quality to the writing that is pleasing indeed. On the other hand, Goff does little by way of character analysis or interpretive commentary to carry the modern reader to deeper understanding of a vital individual and of the larger meaning of his impact upon the times. While one may lament Goff's choice not to push his facts for a more compelling analysis of the times, this is nevertheless among the better books on governors in the American West.

CHARLES S. PETERSON

Director

*Man and His Bread Museum
Utah State University*

BOOK NOTICES



Silver San Juan: The Rio Grande Southern. By MALLORY HOPE FERRELL. (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Co., 1973. xx + 643 pp. \$29.95.)

Railroad and western history buffs will enjoy this big book with its five hundred photographs and detailed, but brief, text. The volume is a tribute to the genius of Otto Mears, the Pathfinder of the San Juan, who successfully engaged in an amazing variety of enterprises. He is best remembered as a builder of toll roads, wagon roads, and railroads across some of the most difficult terrain in the West. The Rio Grande Southern, built in just two

years, was his most spectacular achievement. The 172-mile line linking Durango and Ridgeway circled and climbed four mountain passes, including 10,250-foot Lizard Head Pass. A total of 142 bridges and high trestles were needed to complete the railroad. The Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 made the San Juan area rich for a few brief years before its repeal in 1893. *Silver San Juan* tells Mears's and the railroad's story well.

Utahns will profit from this historical study of the Rio Grande Southern which was important to southeastern Utah in the 1890s and later. A stage line connected Bluff, Utah, with Dolores, Colorado, on the RGS.

Barbed Wire. By JOHN STERLING HARRIS and L. DOUGLAS HILL. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1974. 73 pp. \$5.95.)

A book of photographs and poetry which speaks of mares, hawks, derricks, junipers, and the rural environment of simple days now past.

Bent's Old Fort: An Archeological Study. By JACKSON W. MOORE, JR. (Denver: State Historical Society of Colorado, 1973. viii + 144 pp. \$14.95.)

The report includes data on the construction and operation of this important post as well as a survey of artifacts found in the complete excavation of its remains. Important information on the fort's use as a home station and repair shop by a stagecoach company during 1861-81 is also presented. Detailed sketches and photographs add to the work's value for students of the fur trade.

Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of Gran Chichimeca. By CHARLES C. DiPESO (3 vols.; Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northland Press, 1974. 1,400 pp. \$75.00.)

The Gran Chichimeca included about three-fourths of Mexico and one-fifth of the United States and contained numerous trading and interacting cultures. More than fifteen years ago the Amerind Foundation began its investigation of Casas Grandes, a trading center and cultural melting pot. The results of this massive study are presented in three fascinating, challenging volumes.

Copper. By IRA B. JORALEMON. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1973. 408 pp.)

First published in 1936 under the title *Romantic Copper*, the present edition has been extensively revised and updated. Chapters 3 through 8 treat copper mining in the American West.

Fifty Great Western Illustrators: A Bibliographic Checklist. By JEFF C. DYKES. (Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northland Press, 1974. 550 pp. \$35.00.)

Among the items listed are exhibition catalogs, books, and pamphlets. The reference work contains more than six thousand entries, with some fourteen hundred on Remington alone.

The Hard-rock Men: Cornish Immigrants and the North American Mining Frontier. By JOHN ROWE. (New York: Harper & Row, 1974. 322 pp. \$18.00.)

Traces the movements of Cornish immigrants who came to America in the 1830s and 1840s to seek their fortune in the gold and silver camps.

The Idaho Heritage: A Collection of Historical Essays. Edited by RICHARD W. ETULAIN and BERT W. MARLEY. (Pocatello: Idaho State University Press, 1974. xvi + 230 pp. Paper.)

The essays are reprinted from a number of publications but especially *Idaho Yesterdays* and *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*. Several appendices offer much interesting statistical data, and the book is further embellished by photographs.

Maynard Dixon: Artist of the West. By WESLEY M. BURNSIDE. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1974. xvi + 237 pp. \$28.95.)

This beautiful, limited edition book contains thirty-two color plates and reproductions of the great western and American artist, Maynard Dixon. The painter's career is divided into seven periods, including the years in the West and New York, the social commentary of the thirties, his mural period, and others. Many of the paintings reproduced are from BYU's collection which is the largest of its kind. This book is a splendid tribute to both man and artist.

Monuments to Courage: A History of Beaver County. Edited by AIRD G. MERKLEY. 2d edition. (Beaver: Beaver County Chapter, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1974. xxvii + 484 pp. \$10.00.)

This new edition contains more than one hundred pages of additional photographs and text over the 1948 original.

The Overland Trail to California in 1852. By HERBERT EATON. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1974. x + 350 pp. \$8.95.)

Researching and Writing in History: A Student Handbook. By F.N. MCCOY. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974. 128 pp. Paper, \$1.75; cloth, \$7.50.)

The author says the academic system has failed to teach students to write formally structured English. The handbook provides a step-by-step guide to the preparation of a research paper, from selecting a working topic to editing a final draft.

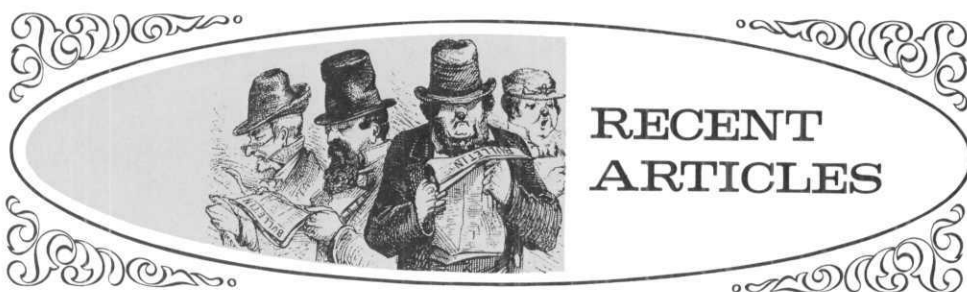
Stanley Vestal: Champion of the Old West. By RAY TASSIN. (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1973. 299 pp. \$11.00.)

Stanley Vestal (Walter Stanley Campbell), novelist, biographer, historian, and teacher, was a diligent researcher whose works depict Indian lifeways in detail. His best known single achievement was the biography *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux*, especially the second edition which included a first-person account of Custer's final moments.

Water Stone Sky: A Pictorial Essay on Lake Powell. By STANLEY L. WELSH and CATHERINE ANN TOFT. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1974. xviii + 77 pp. \$6.95.)

A compendium of history, geology, personal observations, and superb photography.

Witchcraft in the Southwest: Spanish and Indian Supernaturalism on the Rio Grande. By MARC SIMMONS. (Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northland Press, 1974. 184 pp. \$8.50.)



ART, LITERATURE, AND SOCIETY

Buchanan, Frederick S., and Larry W. Stott. "The EskDale Commune: Desert Alternative to Secular Schools," *Intellect*, 102 (January 1974), 226-30. Education is closely related to community life in this western Utah commune established by the Order of Aaron (Levites).

Davis, Jack L., and June H. Davis. "Frank Waters and the Native American Consciousness," *Western American Literature*, 9 (May 1974), 33-44.

"Dedication of Pioneer Memorial Monument," *The Pioneer*, 21 (July-August 1974), 4. Monumental bronze family group by sculptor Edward J. Fraughton was placed in Brigham Young Cemetery.

- Holm, Ed. "From Glass to Wood," *American West*, 11 (July 1974), 11-13. Early western photo-journalism.
- McCracken, Harold. "Frank Tenney Johnson: Master of the Old West," *American West*, 11 (July 1974), 14-21. Includes color reproductions of five of the artist's paintings.
- Pilkington, Tom. "Edward Abbey: Western Philosopher or How to be a 'Happy Hopi Hippie,'" *Western American Literature*, 9 (May 1974), 17-31.
- Towers, Tom H. "'Hateful Reality': The Failure of the Territory in *Roughing It*," *Western American Literature*, 9 (May 1974), 3-15.

BUSINESS, LABOR, AND TRANSPORTATION

- Barnes, F.A. "Air Touring in Canyonlands," *Desert Magazine*, 37 (July 1974), 13-17.
- Crawford, Cathy. "Survey of Union Membership in Utah," *Utah Economic and Business Review*, 34 (April-May 1974), 1-3, 8.
- McCarthy, Joe. "The Lincoln Highway," *American Heritage*, 25 (June 1974), 32-37, 89.
- Wilson, Marjorie Haines. "Governor Hunt, the 'Beast,' and the Miners," *The Journal of Arizona History*, 15 (Summer 1974), 119-38. Hunt's controversial support of Arizona miners in the 1910s and 1920s.
- Zenor, B.J. "By Covered Wagon to the Promised Land," *American West*, 11 (July 1974), 30-41. Travelers on the Oregon and California trails.

CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION

- Barnes, Charles W. "The Grand Grand Canyon," *Arizona Highways*, 50 (June 1974), 9-15.
- Boesen, Victor. "The Oil Shale Gambit," *Westways*, 66 (July 1974), 32-36, 71.
- Macpherson, Linda. "Council Studies Railroad Track Biking," *Preservation News*, 6 (May 1974), 3. Adaptive use of abandoned railroad trackage, stations, and rights-of-way.
- Nading, Lee. "NOAMTRAC: A Proposed Continental Trail System," *National Parks and Conservation Magazine*, 48 (June 1974), 15-16. A network of hiking trails would connect natural areas in all parts of North America.
- Strong, Jerry, and Mary Francis Strong. "An Open Letter to Our Readers," *Desert Magazine*, 37 (July 1974), 22-23. Refutes allegations that the magazine's publicity of petroglyph sites resulted in massive vandalism.
- Taylor, Dale L. "Forest Fires in Yellowstone National Park," *Journal of Forest History*, 18 (July 1974), 68-77.
- White, John I. "Saving the Longhorns," *American Heritage*, 25 (June 1974), 61-63.
- "Your Own Old House: Firsthand Accounts of Do-it-yourself Preservation," *Historic Preservation*, (April-June 1974), 21-26.

INDIANS

- Chappell, Gordon. "The United States Dragoons, 1833-1861: The Real Role of Cavalry in the Indian Wars," *The Denver Westerners Roundup*, 30 (February 1974), 3-43.
- Curtis, Edward S. "Snake Rite," *Westways*, 66 (August 1974), 28-31, 77. Sacred

Hopi Snake Dance was witnessed and photographed by Curtis in the early 1900s.

Metcalf, George. "Notes on Two Paiute Burials and Associated Artifacts," *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, 10 (Spring-Summer 1974), 2-22. Examinations of artifacts at the Smithsonian misidentified as from Chief Wakara's grave.

Nichols, David A. "The Other Civil War: Lincoln and the Indians," *Minnesota History*, 44 (Spring 1974), 3-15.

Pepper, Jack. "Father Liebler," *Desert Magazine*, 37 (July 1974), 24-27, 40-41. Episcopal priest H. Baxter Liebler has ministered to the Navajos since 1942 at Saint Christopher's Mission in Bluff, Utah.

Youngkin, Stephen D. "Prelude to Wounded Knee: The Military Point of View," *South Dakota History*, 4 (Summer 1974), 333-51.

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Etulain, Richard W. "Basque Beginnings in the Pacific Northwest," *Idaho Yesterdays*, (Spring 1974), 26-32. As Basque sheepmen moved northward from California and Nevada, Boise became a major Basque center in the West.

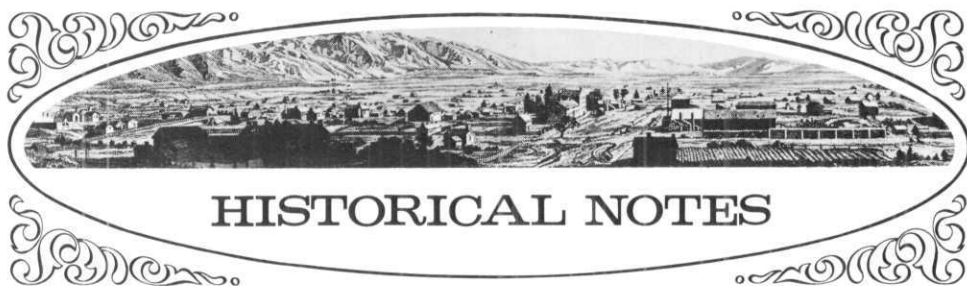
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Laxalt, Robert. "The Other Nevada," *National Geographic*, 145 (June 1974), 733-61. Life in Nevada's smaller towns.

Pace, Anne. "Mexican Refugees in Arizona, 1910-1911," *Arizona and the West*, 16 (Spring 1974), 5-18.

Scott, Patricia Lyn. "Rigby [Idaho] — Settlement and Early Days," *Snake River Echoes*, 3 (Winter 1974), 33-38.

Williams, Reggie. "A History of Helper, Utah," *Green Light* [Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad], 34 (April 1973), 3.



The Utah State Historical Society will again sponsor the observance of Statehood Day on January 4, 1975. Helen Z. Papanikolas will deliver the annual address at Price where a day-long schedule of activities involving the entire community has been planned. Theme of the 1975 commemoration will be mining. Mrs. Papanikolas, a member of the Board of State History, is well known for her historic studies of Greek and other immi-

grant groups which settled in Utah's mining towns. Under Society sponsorship Statehood Day has gained considerable community support with participation by schools and other groups. Ogden hosted the ceremony in 1973 which focused on ethnic minorities. The 1974 celebration in Logan featured agriculture.

Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, has established a Southern Paiute Special Library Collection to provide an inventory of historical, cultural, and government documents relating to the prehistory, history, and ethnology of the Southern Paiutes. In addition to documents, the collection will include tapes prepared by Paiute elders, books, and other materials. Allen C. Turner, assistant professor of anthropology at SUSC, initiated the project which is being funded by the Utah American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, the Harriet V. Travis Trust Grant, and the SUSC Library Gift Fund. Plans call for the collection to be completed by 1976.

Charles S. Peterson, associate professor of history at Utah State University and a former director of the Society, has been selected to write the volume on Utah for the forthcoming bicentennial book series to be produced by the American Association for State and Local History through grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Dr. Peterson's volume will be an interpretive essay, characterizing the peoples of Utah historically and showing the relationship of their state's history, their particular experiences, their applications of democracy, and their values to those of the nation as a whole. The projected series will contain fifty-one volumes covering every state plus the District of Columbia.

Exponent II, a quarterly newspaper published by and for Mormon women, is now being issued by Mormon Sisters, Inc., Box 32, Arlington, Mass. 02174. The paper declares itself the "spiritual descendant" of the *Woman's Exponent*, founded in 1872 as the first women's journal of importance published west of the Mississippi.

A new annual publication for members of the Mormon History Association has made its debut. The *Journal of Mormon History*, edited by Richard W. Sadler, contains some one hundred pages — four articles — devoted to Mormon scholarship. The journal is intended to serve the interests of the entire Latter-day Saint community, including the Reorganized church and other bodies. Membership in MHA is currently \$2.00. Non-members may purchase copies of the annual at \$4.00 each. Address inquiries to Dr. Sadler, Department of History, Weber State College, Ogden, Utah 84403.

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