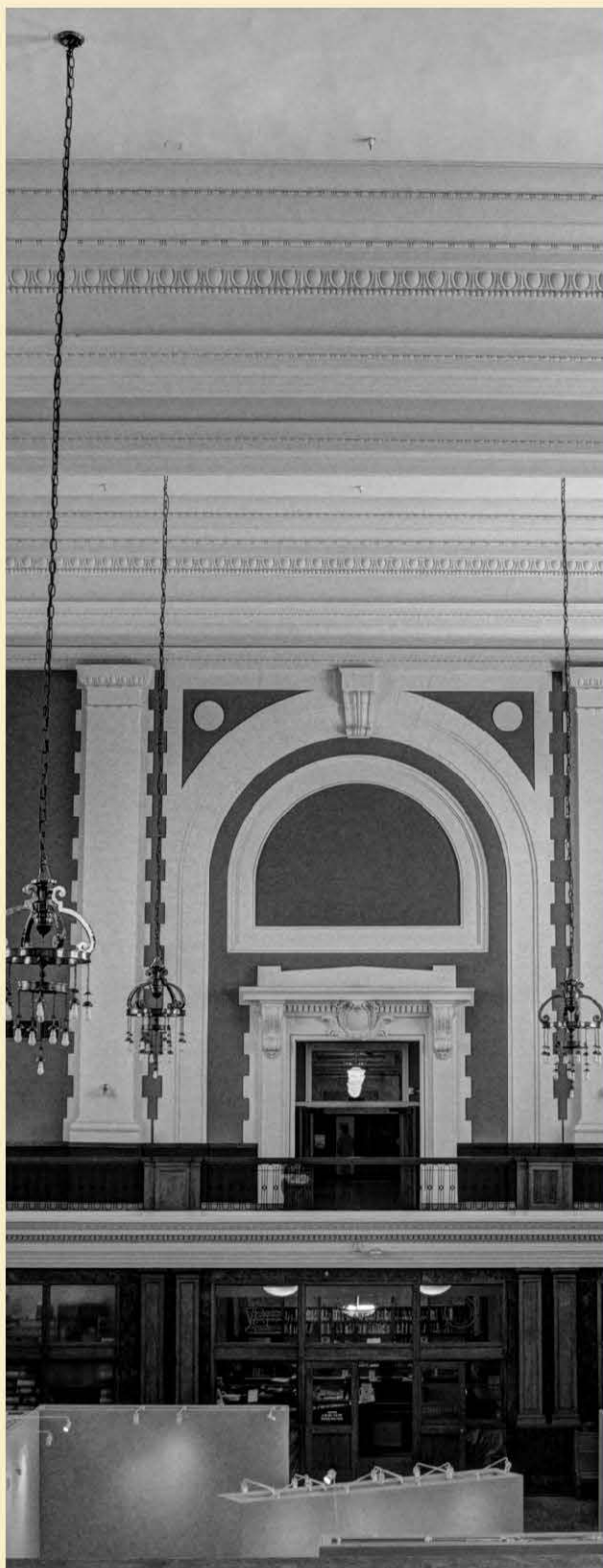


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IN THIS ISSUE

It is the *Utah Historical Quarterly's* custom to entice you, the reader, to read on, with engaging article descriptions in the opening pages of the issue. This custom will be continued—in a few minutes.

As the publisher and editor of *UHQ*, I want to reflect on some small but, I hope, valuable changes made at the quarterly and share some about the *UHQ's* future, its publications, and public offerings. This is my request for a sound check: how are we doing; how do we sound out there? We want to hear from you, so please visit history.utah.gov/uhqextras.

It is our hope to hold fast to the most beloved features of the *UHQ*, while offering new methods of delivering thoughtful, peer-reviewed Utah history—history that the *UHQ* and the Utah Division of State History want to make available to all interested households in Utah and beyond. This is a goal of the *UHQ*: to make this resource available to as many citizens and friends as possible. Over the years, a long line of remarkable, devoted historians and editors have been at the helm of the quarterly. In the last three years, *UHQ* hired two historians, Dr. Holly George and Dr. Jedediah Rogers, to join this tradition and manage the journal's complex day-to-day operations.

For six issues the quarterly has offered supplemental materials beyond the printed page: podcasts, photo and map galleries, bibliographic essays, and primary sources. These “extras” offer the back story to the printed article, a chance to examine original sources, and an opportunity to dig deeper into historical events. Start with the print journal and, if you like, explore an expanded narrative online.

In the last year we have launched each new issue with a public program, allowing us to engage our readers and to connect with local history, archaeology, and preservation groups. These events feature scholars speaking about their work or themes published in the latest issue.

Also in 2015, we reestablished lapsed publishing partnerships with the University of Utah Press and other entities to foster and make accessible praiseworthy work that expands the frontiers of Utah's history. State History and the *UHQ* have also launched annual statewide themes and encouraged Utah's historical societies, museums, and groups to address these themes at the local level. Our 2016 theme is “Rural Utah and Western Issues,” with a thoughtful focus beyond the Wasatch Front urban corridor. This theme will be followed throughout 2016, including during all of May for Preservation and Archeology Month, concluding on September 30, 2016, at the statewide public history conference, held at the Utah Cultural Celebration Center.

Now, here is a look at what is in store for you in this issue. Our opening essay tackles a subject common in Utah history—the relationship between those inside and outside the LDS church—through the prism of public health. Ben Cater explores the dynamics that pitted working and lower middle-class Mormons accustomed to folk medicine against professionally trained doctors and public health officials over smallpox vaccination. Utah's news print also reflected religious and political divisions, as surveyed in our second piece. Michael Eldredge provides a useful overview of how newspapers and their prominent editors in Ogden served as political and social instruments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Our third piece keeps us in the early twentieth century by examining a governmental body during the First World War charged with coordinating home-front activities. Whereas our first two articles highlight religious divisions, Allan Kent Powell details how Mormons and non-Mormons came together in the war effort. And, finally, Lorrie Rands introduces us to the women of Ogden's canteen and their dedication to serving soldiers during the Second World War.

Brad Westwood
Publisher/Editor



The young man in this undated photograph seems to have variola major, the more virulent of the two strains of smallpox. The variola virus causes rashes and scabs similar to chickenpox.

THE RELIGIOUS POLITICS OF SMALLPOX VACCINATION, 1899–1901

BY BEN CATER

In January 1900, John E. Cox filed a lawsuit in Third District Court, Salt Lake County, against the Salt Lake City Board of Education and the principal of Hamilton school, Samuel B. Doxey. Cox asserted that Doxey had violated the law on January 23 when he forbade his ten-year-old daughter, Florence Cox, to enter school on account of her failure to provide satisfactory proof of smallpox vaccination from a licensed medical doctor, a condition of school attendance. This condition existed due to the highly contagious nature of smallpox and the close social interaction that schools promoted. According to health authorities, a smallpox epidemic appeared to be imminent, with several cases of the disease in the Salt Lake Valley and two hundred more in the state. Yet Florence possessed “sound health” and no obvious signs of illness and, therefore, had been “wrongly excluded.” Cox’s attorney asserted: “Neither boards of health nor boards of education have a right to exclude unvaccinated children from schools, unless express authority is given by the Legislature or ordinance to that effect.” In the case at bar, “the health board is passing rules which in effect are legislative enactments.”¹

1 *State of Utah Ex rel. J. E. Cox, Plaintiff, vs. the Board of Education of Salt Lake City, Utah, and Samuel Doxey, Defendants*, January 25, 1900, No. 2971, reel 79, Series 1622, Third District Court, Civil Case Files, Utah State Archives and Records Service, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter USARS).

As the latest battle over public health reforms in Progressive Era Utah, the Cox case and the vaccination controversy divided and combined residents in new and complicated ways. During the early twentieth century, middle-class Mormons and non-Mormon “gentiles” worked with reformers nationally to establish sewers, water mains, hospitals, dental clinics, and laws to advance their communities, physical welfare, and claims to white racial and patriotic superiority over dark-skinned immigrants from southeastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America, as well as African Americans.² While often successful, the Mormon-gentile alliance remained small and somewhat precarious due to longstanding tension between Mormon and non-Mormon communities. Cooperation among Mormons was perhaps more unstable, attributable in large part to competing class-based perceptions about gentiles, civil governance, and medical care. A Mormon in good standing, Cox came to represent working and lower middle-class churchgoers who remained dubious about official state interference in the realm of public health and who continued to rely on health regimens and folk cures popular in Mormon medicinal culture. Many Mormon church leaders came to disagree with Cox, siding instead with Doxey—also a Mormon—as well as medical doctors, health professionals, and other middle-class Mormons and gentiles who embraced vaccination and modern medical science.³

Besides inflaming and complicating religious divisions between and amongst Mormons and gentiles, the vaccination controversy reflected competing legal arguments about the role of the state in community health and safety issues. In the Cox case, city defendants deployed liberal legal arguments to challenge the plaintiff’s

view of personal liberty and power of the state. Community health and safety were top priorities, they argued, making “the police power of the state . . . large and expansive enough to meet and satisfy all demands upon the government in this respect. The power is only restricted by the limitations of government.”⁴ Judge Alfred N. Cherry, a strict constitutionalist, believed in the efficacy of vaccination but ruled on January 29 in the plaintiff’s favor, disputing city health and education boards’ authority to create and enforce health laws. Cox and his supporters, including the church-owned *Deseret News*, did not celebrate long, however, since three months later the city, with help from state secretary of health Dr. Theodore Beatty, successfully appealed to Utah’s supreme court.⁵

That the higher court’s decision frustrated many Mormons was not unexpected. Mormons, like other populist sects of the nineteenth century, remained suspicious of elitism in the developing field of scientific medicine. As late as the early twentieth century, some church leaders accused doctors of pecuniary interests and of intentionally providing harmful or ineffective medical cures. Others encouraged ordinary people to rely on their own sense and experience to adjudicate bodily matters. In the weeks leading up to the Cox trial, church circulars criticized vaccination while advising Mormons about botanical and faith healing, and dietary health. Churchgoers were counseled to receive the anointing of oil, and priestly blessings by church elders. The *Deseret News* published information about folk therapeutics, including dried onions, rumored to be a prophylactic, as well as tea made of sheep droppings.⁶

2 Ben Cater, “Segregating Sanitation in Salt Lake City, 1870–1915,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 82 (Spring 2014): 92–113. Good books on this topic include Suellen Hoy, *Chasing Dirt: The Pursuit of Cleanliness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Alan Kraut, *Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes, and the “Immigrant Menace”* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); and Natalia Molina, *Fit to be Citizens? Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879–1939* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006). “Gentile” is a historical category used by and against non-Mormons in the nineteenth century, although it is no longer an acceptable term to delineate religious identity.

3 Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing Company, 1913), 847.

4 *State of Utah ex rel. John E. Cox, Respondent, v. the Board of Education of Salt Lake City and Samuel Doxey, Appellants*, 21 Utah 403 (1900).

5 “Reports of Cases Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Utah, including Portions of the October Term, 1899, and February Term, 1900,” vol. 21 (Chicago: Callaghan and Company, 1901), 421–28.

6 *Deseret News*, December 13, 1900; November 13, 1900; January 15, 1900. “Take two ounces cream of tartar, one ounce of Epsom salts and one lemon, sliced. Pour one quart boiling water over these ingredients and sweeten to taste. To be taken cold, a small wine (glassful) three times a day, or in a little larger quantity night and morning. That is for adults; smaller quantities for children according to age, and not enough to act as too much of a purgative.” N. Lee Smith, “Herbal Remedies: God’s Medicine?” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (June 1979): 52.

Such advice seemed dubious to some Mormons, but to many gentiles it appeared as further evidence of Mormons resisting assimilation and acting in unison to exploit and magnify their political power in the public sphere.⁷ The most vocal critic of Utah's majority religious establishment, the *Salt Lake Tribune* (which was owned by a Roman Catholic) and its editor Charles C. Goodwin, upbraided the *Deseret News* and the Mormon community:

The [Deseret] News has been fighting the matter (vaccination) covertly from the first. It has taken the ground that there is no authority to compel the doing of what all the scientific authorities agree should be done. . . . But last evening [the *Deseret News*] threw off its thin disguise and said:

'There are many elders in this city, the writer of the article among the number, who have laid hands upon persons afflicted with the malignant as well as the mild form of smallpox, and the patients have recovered, while the elders administering have escaped the contagion.'

Charles Penrose, *Deseret News* editor and professor of theology at Brigham Young Academy, remained silent about the *News*' "covert" opposition but criticized Goodwin for his "blasphemous utterance" against "one of the sacred principles of the gospel introduced by Christ in his ministry and enjoined upon the Saints by him."⁸

In some respects, the debates over vaccination in Utah mirrored that across the nation. At the turn of the twentieth century, populated urban centers saw high rates of infectious and communicable disease. Laws requiring children to be vaccinated in order to attend school

provoked serious concerns about the role of the state in policing and promoting medical welfare.⁹ Most health professionals, including doctors and nurses, as well as academics, government officials, and businessmen regarded antiviral drugs as the surest and most hygienic means of preventing disease. Variola, the virus that causes smallpox, could be repelled by receiving small injections of cowpox microbes, a technique promoted by the British physician Edward Jenner. But citizens of libertarian and anti-government views criticized compulsory vaccination as invasive, tyrannical, and un-American; patients and practitioners of alternative medicine questioned the safety and efficacy of vaccines, the profit motive of the pharmaceutical industry, and the soundness of medical science. Some individuals refused vaccination on the basis of their religious beliefs, protected by the First Amendment. Through various channels—courts, newspapers, and clubs—critics worked to outlaw state-sponsored vaccination programs for smallpox and, later, for diphtheria and polio.¹⁰

In other respects, however, Utah's vaccination controversy departed from national patterns by revealing the power of religious thought and practice to influence public health. While other religious groups rejected vaccination for theological and political reasons, none were as large, coordinated, well-funded, and outspoken as the Mormon church. Few others also received as much national attention. The historian Michael Willrich has argued that in Utah anti-vaccination sentiment expressed far western "libertarian radicalism" rather than religious thought, but as I argue here medical self-determination and folk therapeutics countenanced by Mormon leaders existed in relation to historical attempts by state authorities to legislate and enforce policies considered by many Mormons to be inimical to their religion.¹¹ Local

7 As the historians Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton have noted, in the mid-nineteenth century "there was still a basic assumption of Mormon political unity, an assumption that would not be finally abandoned until the early 1890s, when church members, in the interests of gaining Utah statehood, were allowed and even encouraged to divide their votes between the national parties." Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 53.

8 "Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," January 17, 1900, reel 96, image 22, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

9 John Duffy, "School Vaccination: The Precursor to School Medical Inspection," *Journal of the History of Medicine and the Allied Sciences* 33 (July 1978): 344–55.

10 For information on the political economy of vaccination in the Progressive Era, I have relied heavily on James Colgrove, *State of Immunity: The Politics of Vaccination in Twentieth Century America* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 1–16, 45–80; and Arthur Allen, *Vaccine: The Controversial Story of Medicine's Greatest Lifesaver* (New York: Norton, 2007), 70–111.

11 Michael Willrich, in *Pox: An American History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011), 277, wrote, "There is little



Immigrants from a smallpox ship, held in custody for observation, behind wire fence, Hoffman Island, New York, ca. 1901.

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and national newspapers portrayed Utah's vaccination politics to be mainly religious in nature; according to the *Deseret News*, Mormons resisted vaccination in order to signify their church membership, besides their embrace of conservative populism and concern for public health. Meanwhile, the *Tribune* reported that gentiles perceived vaccination as medically superior to Mormon therapeutics—a perception politically valuable for further publicly eroding the legitimacy of the church.¹² News-

evidence to suggest that most Mormons viewed anti-vaccination as a Mormon cause." Eric Bluth, "Pus, Pox, Propaganda, and Progress: The Compulsory Smallpox Vaccination Controversy in Utah, 1899–1901" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1993). According to Bluth, "the religious factor played a minor role in this controversy" (129).

¹² Newspapers provided the most complete coverage of the vaccination controversy, and thus serve as the main source of information for this article. Court proceedings

papers emphasized the religious dynamics but failed to observe the socioeconomic cleavages among Mormons and gentiles in debates over vaccination; such negligence threatened freedom, health, safety, and religious reconciliation in the state. By 1901, however, a tenuous rapprochement had appeared to leave a shaken but intact cross-religious, middle-class demographic committed to vaccination and other Progressive Era health initiatives.

While the vaccination controversy would center in Utah's capital, it originated eighty miles

were slightly less valuable, Salt Lake City Council Minutes were curiously silent on the controversy (perhaps suggesting it was handled almost entirely by the Salt Lake City Public Health and Education departments), while pertinent school board meeting minutes, records of the Salt Lake County Medical Society, and the Utah Anti-Compulsory Vaccination League do not exist.

south in Sanpete County. Directed by Brigham Young in 1849, settlement of the county originally consisted of about two hundred Mormons spread across several small ranching and farming villages. By the new century, Sanpete had grown to more than sixteen thousand people in a half-dozen towns connected by roads, trails, and the Salt Lake and Salina Railroad and had transformed into a productive agricultural zone—"Utah's granary."¹³ Population growth and improved transportation also increased Sanpete's susceptibility to contract, host, and spread diseases. Since the completion of the transcontinental railroad at Promontory, Utah, in 1869, white Americans traveled in unprecedented numbers to resettle, work, and recreate. Travelers exchanged illnesses that sometimes grew to full-blown epidemics. As a powerful "chain of infection," the railroad facilitated the "westerly movement of disease along with its human hosts."¹⁴ In response, public health departments across the nation standardized measures to prevent and cure diseases, including removing "nuisances" and "filth," quarantining victims, and fumigating their belongings. In Sanpete County, a physician attended to victims and oversaw medical officers who patrolled public health districts.¹⁵

Although vaccines became more available in the late nineteenth century, in the United States health officials still struggled to keep a ready supply on hand. Increased demand, especially in densely populated cities, meant that supplies often ran out, while in rural areas like Sanpete vaccines were usually scarce or nonexistent. A sense of unease thus seemed natural when in November 1899 county health officials received complaints from residents in the town of Sterling suffering from similar symptoms—headaches, backaches, muscle pain, malaise, nausea, and fever. Several days later, small reddish spots appeared in their mouths, throats, and tongues, followed by rashes on their heads, faces, chests, and appendages. While causing discomfort, the symptoms were mild, prompt-

ing the county physician to delay action. When the symptoms worsened to include white pus-filled lesions, the physician investigated and confirmed the infection to be variola. Allegedly a man traveling by train to escape quarantine in Butte, Montana, had brought the virus to Sanpete.¹⁶ Several days later, more than twenty more cases appeared in Sterling, in addition to others in the adjacent towns of Manti and Ephraim. In an effort to control the spread, county health officials contacted state health secretary Beatty who placed Sterling under police quarantine and instructed doctors to vaccinate as many residents as possible. County residents initially complied, lowering the infection rate. But by the first week of December, more than two hundred cases had appeared in twenty-four towns across southern Utah, with new victims emerging north in more populated areas. On December 15, an itinerant painter from Gunnison brought the variola virus to Salt Lake City, unwittingly infecting more than a dozen residents.¹⁷ Given the rapidity by which the virus spread, as a precaution Beatty declared a general epidemic and planned an emergency meeting at the state capitol with state and local health officials and the Salt Lake City Board of Education.¹⁸

At the meeting, public health officials recommended vaccination for the general public but proposed requiring the same or proof of immunity (e.g., professional documentation indicating previous infections of variola) for school children. City health commissioner Patrick Keogh asserted that "in no way could the imminent danger of a smallpox epidemic be reduced to a minimum in Salt Lake better than by compelling the vaccination of every person in the public schools."¹⁹ The city educational system included twelve thousand students and teachers—an enormous number for a small health department—but Beatty assured the committee that all persons could be vaccinated during the Christmas and New Year holidays. Moreover, the city health department could keep the cost

13 Gary B. Peterson, "Sanpete County," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 489.

14 Donald R. Hopkins, *The Greatest Killer: Smallpox in History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 284, 239, 269, xi.

15 George Thomas, *Civil Government in Utah* (New York: D. C. Heath, 1912), 96.

16 Joseph R. Morrell, *Utah's Health and You* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1956), 99; *Deseret News*, December 19, 1899; *Pacific Reporter*, vol. 60 (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1900), 1014.

17 *Pacific Reporter*, 1014.

18 *Salt Lake Herald*, November 20, 21, 22, December 15, 20, 1899; *Deseret News*, December 16, 19, 1899.

19 *Deseret News*, December 16, 1899.

to a minimum by providing vaccines for twenty-five cents apiece or for free to indigent students.²⁰

To most at the meeting the proposal seemed reasonable. For nearly a century after Edward Jenner demonstrated that exposure to cowpox triggered antibodies to variola antigens, doctors in the western world had regarded vaccination as an effective medical practice. Doctors and statisticians credited vaccines with reducing smallpox's morbidity rate in the United States, while the mainstream press heralded vaccination and the germ theory in general as evidence of human progress and Anglo-Saxon superiority. Although vaccination often had unpleasant side effects like sore arms and nausea, they were mild in comparison to an outbreak of smallpox. Moreover, when practiced on a large enough scale, it could yield "herd immunity," or the protection of an entire community.²¹ At the end of the nineteenth century, doctors thought that smallpox spread through tiny respiratory droplets from the nose and mouth that came into contact with everyday objects, such as food and clothing. In Utah, medical professionals believed that "utter immunity" was unlikely unless antiviral shots became common throughout the community and required for school attendance.²²

As the public health authorities who supported vaccination, Beatty, Keogh, and St. Mark's hospital surgeon James Critchlow were orthodox medical doctors educated at the country's first generation of modern medical schools. After the Civil War, medical students matriculated according to a standardized curriculum that included human physiology, the germ theory of disease, and the prevention and cure of sickness through sanitation, invasive surgery, and therapeutics. Acquiring knowledge gained through testable and reproducible research, students came to embrace an empirical philosophy that regarded clinical intervention as sometimes necessary for the promotion of health.²³

20 Ibid.; *Salt Lake Herald*, December 16, 1899.

21 Colgrove, *State of Immunity*, 3–4.

22 *Deseret News*, December 16, 1899; *Salt Lake Herald*, December 16, 1899; *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 16, 1899.

23 The best book on medical authority in Victorian America is John Harley Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective: Medical Practice, Knowledge, and Identity*

Interventions could be private or public, and because compulsory vaccination, sanitation, and hygiene laws fell under the latter category, professional doctors frequently supported state regulation. In Salt Lake City, this prospect boded poorly—more so than elsewhere in the antigovernment American West—given the widespread distrust of outsiders by Mormons: not only did they typically view most gentile state officials as harming or interfering with Mormonism, most orthodox doctors were also non-Mormons raised outside of the state and occupationally distinct from Mormon "medicos," or "quack," doctors.²⁴ Following the transcontinental railroad's completion, many regular doctors arrived to take jobs with the Salt Lake City and state health departments. Many supplemented their incomes by working at hospitals that were built and run by the Roman Catholic or Episcopal churches. Many also worshipped and became members of these congregations.²⁵ Adherents of ancient creeds that largely regarded miraculous healing in the Bible as confined to the apostolic era, Catholic and Episcopal churches reinforced regular doctors' theological and cultural separation from Mormonism.

Before the Civil War, American medical practice was highly tribal, lacking a standard organizing principle, course of study, and clinical protocol. Many doctors performed "heroic" techniques, such as bloodletting and administering doses of mercury, while assenting to the miasmatic thesis (which held that poisonous vapors transmitted diseases). Many did not embrace either of these, however, creating a vacuum of authority in which Americans inserted their own judgments. Personal health regimens, popular theories, and medical sects proliferated. In this context, restorationist sects like the Mormons claimed the supernatural power of faith healing, the laying on of hands, and the ministration of oil.²⁶ Many churchgoers embraced the botanical movement, which emphasized herbal remedies, especially those promoted by

in *America, 1820–1885* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), esp. 83–232.

24 *Salt Lake Herald*, January 5, 1900.

25 Secretary Beatty, Augustus C. Behle, and the emeritus director of St. Mark's Hospital Daniel S. Tuttle all attended St. Mark's Episcopal Cathedral in Salt Lake City.

26 4 Nephi 5; *New York Times*, December 19, 1872.

New England farmer-turned-charismatic-healer Samuel Thomson (d. 1843). Believing that diseases emerged due to an absence of body heat, Thomson prescribed cayenne pepper, lobelia, and similar flora. In the 1830s, Thomsonianism's appeal spread to Joseph Smith Jr. whose "Word of Wisdom" published dietary advice—consuming herbs, fruits, vegetables, and meat in moderation, while refraining from coffee, tea, and alcohol—similar to Thomson's.²⁷ Although Smith never explicitly endorsed Thomsonianism, many church leaders, including Frederick Williams and Willard and Levi Richards (the latter Joseph Smith's personal physician), did.²⁸ In Salt Lake City, the Council of Health promoted "the superiority of botanic practice," in contrast to the medicine of orthodox physicians who, according to Brigham Young, would "kill or cure to get your money."²⁹ Such skepticism and cynicism would die hard, as Mormons commonly preferred alternative medicine—much of it dubious—well into the late twentieth century.³⁰

27 Lester Bush, *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Crossroads, 1993), 69–100; Robert Divett, *Medicine and the Mormons: An Introduction to the History of Latter-day Saints Health Care* (Bountiful, UT: Horizon Publishers, 1981), 120–28; Claire Noall, "Superstitions, Customs, and Prescriptions of Mormon Midwives," *California Folklore Quarterly* 3 (April 1944): 110; Thomas J. Wolfe, "Steaming Saints: Mormons and the Thomsonian Movement in Nineteenth-Century America," *Disease and Medical Care in the Mountain West: Essays on Region, History, and Practice*, edited by Martha Hildreth and Bruce Moran (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998), 18–28. The Princeton University historian Paul Starr writes, "More than a qualified analogy links religious with medical sects; they often overlap. The Mormons favored Thomsonian medicine and the Millerites hydropathy. The Swedenborgians were inclined toward homeopathic medicine. And the Christian Scientists originated in concerns that were medical as well as religious." Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of Medicine: The Rise of a Sovereign Profession and the Making of A Vast Industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 95.

28 Shortly before converting to Mormonism, the Willard brothers apparently studied herbal preparation—a forerunner to pharmacology—at the Thomsonian Infirmary in Boston.

29 Bush, *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints*, 90; Linda P. Wilcox, "The Imperfect Science: Brigham Young on Medical Doctors," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* (June 1979): 26–36.

30 In 1983, Norman Lee Smith, a stake missionary and medical doctor practicing in Salt Lake City, analyzed Mormons' aversion to orthodox medicine by asking, "Why Are Mormons So Susceptible to Medical and Nutritional Quackery?" *Journal of the Collegium Aesculapium* 1 (1983): 30–34.

Given these longstanding medical-cultural differences between gentiles and Mormons, the response to smallpox contagion at the turn of the century promised to be contentious. In fact, at the December 1899 meeting, attendees remained ambivalent about requiring vaccination. On the one hand, one school board member rejected the proposal since it extended state power at the expense of personal liberty and privacy. James Moyle, a Mormon and former city attorney, suggested that the city persuade rather than force citizens to be vaccinated.³¹ On the other, doctor Critchlow asserted that parents were free to keep their children at home, even if they needed to be vaccinated to attend school. Given the emergency, this policy was prudent and correlative with those in Boston, New York, and Atlanta where variola also emerged. Yet this argument proved futile, as Critchlow failed to appreciate regional politics. "By and large," writes historian Donald Wilcox, "persons living in Atlantic coast states in the United States accepted vaccination more readily than did residents of central and western United States."³² Unpersuaded by Critchlow, Moyle and other education board members rejected vaccination as a condition of school attendance on constitutional grounds and asserted that only voluntary—not compulsory—vaccination was legally plausible; paradoxically, however, school principals were instructed to report all cases of "suspicious eruption or illness in schools" to the state.³³ Since state and city ordinances said nothing about school vaccination, school officials offered surveillance as the best response to the outbreak.

Health officials pushed back. Their department charter granted them explicit authority to police community health. Smallpox, one of the most effective killers in human history, threatened "imminent harm" in Salt Lake City and beyond, and anti-vaccinationists, by neglecting a proven medical practice, put others at risk. Relying on the "harm principle," a liberal legal idea formulated by John Stuart Mills which held that individuals who threatened

31 Orson Whitney, *History of Utah: Biography*, vol. 4 (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, Publishers, 1904), 564; *Deseret News*, December 16, 18, 1899.

32 Hopkins, *The Greatest Killer*, 31.

33 Betty Brimhall, *A History of Physical Education in Salt Lake City Schools* (master's thesis, University of Utah, 1953), 18.

others must be restrained, Beatty portrayed compulsory vaccination as legally and ethically justified. It was also practical, as unvaccinated individuals would overcrowd the city's small quarantine hospital, or "pest house," in Emigration Canyon. At the meeting's end, Beatty assured the Board of Education that he would "issue the [vaccination] order and depend on the board . . . to enforce it. Teachers [would] be required to send home all children not vaccinated, and if the parents object[ed], they [would] have to seek redress through the law."³⁴ Teachers, however, would be able to exercise their own judgment and decide whether to receive vaccinations.

Although teachers, as adults, might have been more responsible than students and therefore deserving of choice, many of them belonged to the Mormon church whose circulars and leadership, as well as editorials in the *Deseret News*, condemned vaccination of any kind, especially compulsory vaccination. On December 16, *Deseret News* editor Charles Penrose criticized the "smallpox scare" as nothing more than a menacing conspiracy designed to "force upon the people of Salt Lake, and ultimately all of Utah, the repulsive and oppressive system of compulsory vaccination. . . . We warn its promoters it will be vigorously resisted."³⁵ Two days later, Penrose bemoaned the growing reach of the state by appealing to family privacy and sovereignty, central components of the Mormon doctrine of eternal marriage and kinship: "Allow parents who are opposed to the system to exercise their judgment and protect their little ones from that which they abhor, and let school boards and health doctors keep within the lines which define their official authority."³⁶ Then on December 20, after learning of the board's decision, Penrose applauded school officials for voting the public sentiment and avoiding the criticism that would have befallen them for supporting vaccination:

The action taken by the Salt Lake City Board of Education, as to compulsory vaccination, is quite satisfactory and will be commended by nine-tenths of the people. As the *Deseret News* has already



Charles Penrose, 1912. As the influential editor of the *Deseret News*, Penrose railed against compulsory vaccination and questioned "the orthodox school of medicine."

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pointed out, the Board of Education is not endowed with authority to force upon the school children and teachers something that is not required by law. . . . The virtues of vaccination are by no means a settled question. We are aware that a very large number of reputable medical men and women have satisfied themselves that vaccination is a preventive, to some extent at least, of smallpox. Most of them have drifted with the tide of accepted theory. It is orthodox. That, however, does not prove it to be correct. . . . We are aware that in the orthodox school of medicine [the benefit of vaccination] is considered a settled thing. Properly graduated doctors have been trained to view the matter in this light. They are like graduates in orthodox theology in this respect.³⁷

34 *Deseret News*, December 20, 1899.

35 *Ibid.*, December 16, 1899.

36 *Ibid.*, December 18, 1899.

37 *Ibid.*, December 20, 1899.

QUESTIONING THE EFFICACY OF VACCINATION AND LINKING IT TO ORTHODOX MEDICINE BESIDES ORTHODOX RELIGION, CHARLES PENROSE REINFORCED THE RELIGIOUS DIMENSION OF PUBLIC HEALTH WHILE INDIRECTLY POINTING TO THE ALLEGED SUPERIORITY OF MORMON THEOLOGY.

Questioning the efficacy of vaccination and linking it to orthodox medicine besides orthodox religion, Penrose reinforced the religious dimension of public health while indirectly pointing to the alleged superiority of Mormon theology.

Born in London in 1832, Penrose converted to Mormonism in 1850 and migrated with four thousand other British converts to Salt Lake City in 1861. In the 1890s he assumed the editorial chair of the *Deseret News* and during the smallpox controversy he taught part-time at the Brigham Young Academy. In 1904 he joined the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles (another high governing body of Mormonism) and the First Presidency to help shape church opinion about issues, including vaccination. At the time of his conversion, England had made smallpox vaccination compulsory, as had other European nations. Mortality rates in England climbed to 35 percent, influencing Parliament to pass the Vaccination Acts of 1853, 1867, and 1871, which required infants to be vaccinated within three months of their birth. Because vaccination carried limited risks of bodily harm, anti-vac-

cination groups emerged to negotiate “the safety of the body and the role of the modern state,” writes Nadja Durbach. In Salt Lake City, Penrose broadcasted historic English anxieties about state-led vaccination to gain for himself, his church, and church-owned newspaper a local, national, and even international reputation for opposing public health and scientific medicine.³⁸

At the end of December, following the Board of Education’s decision, state and city health officials met again to reconsider their strategy. Foremost, they thought about the continued spread of smallpox and the persistent “general opposition” to vaccination, particularly after the *Deseret News*’s “bitter attack.”³⁹ On December 19, feeling pressure to substantiate their enumerated medical responsibilities, Beatty, state health society president Francis Bascom, and Mormon medical doctor Martha Hughes Cannon agreed to query state attorney general A. C. Bishop. Cannon, a faithful churchgoer who practiced regular medicine after matriculating at the University of Michigan, supported Beatty who persisted in his claim that the health board has “power to compel vaccination . . . as it might designate wherever it [is] necessary for the public health. These duties and powers were granted the board by the Legislature.”⁴⁰ Without elaborating, Bishop concurred with Cannon, and by January 1900 the Salt Lake City and state health departments had agreed to order school officials to require vaccination as a prerequisite of school attendance in communities where smallpox was known to exist. Critics would have the option of homes-

38 Edward Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1886), 144; Nadja Durbach, *Bodily Matters: The Anti-Vaccination Movement in England, 1853–1907* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 5–6.

39 *Report of the State Board of Health of Utah for the Years 1899–1900* (Salt Lake City, 1901), 16–17. In this report, Beatty wrote: “The *Deseret news* [sic], a paper of extensive circulation in the State, bitterly attacked vaccination, the only means by which it could be hoped to confine the disease within its original limits or prevent its invasion of the entire State. The effect of the flood of unfounded assertions against this measure, which were persistently published was to create an unreasonable prejudice in the minds of the people, which soon rendered it impossible to control the spread of the disease by general vaccination.”

40 *Utah Senate Journal*, 1899 (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing Company, 1899), 188, 239.

chooling their children or seeking recourse in the courts.

They could also enlist local newspapers for support, as health officials surely anticipated. During the Christmas and New Year holidays, much of the Mormon community inundated the *Deseret News* with pseudo-medical, political, religious, racial, and socioeconomic arguments against vaccination. In late December, John T. Miller, a phrenology enthusiast and a teacher at Brigham Young Academy, asserted that vaccination was nothing short of a tyrannical intrusion, or an “assault against healthy bodies” that inspired the “right of resistance.” Vaccination “forb[ade] perfect health,” he continued, by transmitting life-threatening ailments such as “crysipeas [sic], jaundice, scrofula, [and] leprosy.” Better “to have more confidence in nature and less in drugs” than to rely on vaccination—a “mere experiment”—which could be fatal.⁴¹ In another instance, a reader repeated hearsay that a botched vaccination (somewhere in the United States) had led to the amputation of the patient’s arm. Offering one thousand dollars for proof of this claim (which was never claimed), Secretary Beatty scoffed at the credulity of the people who believed it.⁴² Not content to remain on the sidelines for long, Penrose enjoined readers with an appeal to martial self-defense and child innocence: “There are hosts of people who . . . would stand with a shot-gun, as ready to use it upon a person attempting to put vile matter from a diseased bovine into the bodies of their healthy children, as if he were trying to make them swallow a dose of poison.”⁴³ G. W. Harvey, a self-proclaimed medical doctor, appropriated the Republican Party platform of 1856 by calling vaccination—instead of plural marriage and African slavery—a “relic of barbarism.”⁴⁴ Most peculiar, however, was the newspaper’s claim that vaccination existed as a “Jewish theory” that required a “blind faith which the average citizen repose[d] in the doctors.” Vaccinations were not clinically effective, but like scheming Jews doctors promoted them anyway to profit and to “pose before the people

41 *Deseret News*, December 30, 1899; *Salt Lake Herald*, January 14, 1900; Davis Bitton and Gary Bunker, “Phrenology Among the Mormons,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 9 (March 1974): 56.

42 *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 13, 1901.

43 *Deseret News*, December 20, 1899.

44 *Ibid.*, December 21, 1899.

and a consuming vanity to have their names in print.”⁴⁵ To Miller, Penrose, and other *Deseret News* readers, then, vaccination—not simply compulsory vaccination—seemed to presage their worst fears of illness, political intrusion, religious outsiders, conspiracy, and elitism. Although some professionally trained Mormon doctors like Martha Hughes Cannon supported vaccination, most Mormons opposed it and believed that gentiles used it as a tool to rupture, rather than to heal, the historical wounds of religious strife in Utah.

Generally speaking, doctors acquired little wealth in administering vaccinations. Purchasing vaccines in bulk, they normally charged a nominal fee for preparing and administering the serum. Yet during the trust-busting Progressive Era, anti-vaccinationists came to view doctors, nurses, pharmacists, and pharmaceutical companies as constituting a powerful monopoly seeking to exploit the American citizenry. As historian Michael Willrich put it, “Beneath the aura of public service surrounding vaccination policy . . . lay an unholy conspiracy of self-dealing health officials, profit-seeking vaccine makers, and regular physicians bent on monopoly: the ‘cowpox syndicate.’”⁴⁶ St. Mark’s hospital surgeon and Episcopalian layman Augustus C. Behle dismissed the notion that a conspiracy existed in Utah when on January 11, 1900, he told the assembled crowd at the Salt Lake County Medical Society,

The assertion so frequently made by ignorant or unscrupulous laymen that the profession has been influenced in its exertions to maintain the practice by motives of pecuniary benefit is so obviously ungenerous as to only call for a passing notice. The number of doctors who derive any substantial benefit from the practice of vaccination is very small, and those who consider that the bulk of medical men are so inordinately mercenary as to lend themselves to the support of a false system for the sake of a few dollars a year should remember that it is the prevalence of disease and not its prevention which best pays the practitioner.⁴⁷

45 *Ibid.*, February 19, 1900; December 18, 1899.

46 Willrich, *Pox*, 95, 264.

47 *Deseret News*, January 11, 1900.

Rather than focus on the alleged chicanery and material motivation of doctors, Behle argued, critics should examine the scientific evidence that verified vaccination's utility and safety. Citing a handful of peer-reviewed studies, he demonstrated that vaccination diminished the scarring effects of variola, as well as its morbidity and mortality rates. Among children "up to ten years of age," it also produced "almost absolute immunity from smallpox" without requiring a booster.⁴⁸ Moreover, vaccine delivery was much safer than in years past, as pharmaceutical companies concentrated on developing purer strains and the American Medical Association encouraged public health departments to carefully screen pharmaceuticals. This would only improve in the coming years; in 1906 the Pure Food and Drug Act helped to ensure the quality and veracity of drugs and their advertising on the federal level, and in 1911 Utah and other western states began to employ bacteriologists to enforce the 1906 legislation.⁴⁹

At the conclusion of the Medical Society's meeting, Beatty offered—half-jokingly—to pay the *Deseret News* to publish its minutes, since the newspaper "reached a class of readers that no other paper did."⁵⁰ He also encouraged journalists to reproduce its peer-reviewed studies, with the hope of persuading Mormon critics of vaccination to reconsider their medical stances. Yet society members, nearly all of whom were gentiles and professionally trained doctors, thought that these efforts would likely be futile. Penrose, through the platform of the newspaper and his leadership position in the church, had already molded public opinion to inflict "more harm to the vaccination idea than all the doctors could atone for in a thousand years."⁵¹ Mormons were widely spreading the virus wherever they travelled. The *British Medical Journal* reported five cases of the disease at missionary headquarters in Nottingham, England, apparently contracted after missionaries received contaminated letters from Salt

Lake City.⁵² In Scandinavia, Mormon apostle John Henry Smith stated that "some Elders . . . having the small pox [sic]" were spreading the illness.⁵³ An outbreak occurred in New Zealand where health authorities traced the virus to missionaries recently arrived from Utah, while on the other side of the globe, in Juarez, Mexico, Helen and Owen Woodruff succumbed to a "virulent form of smallpox" after refusing to be vaccinated, since, they believed, they were "on the Lord's errand and God would protect them."⁵⁴ Closer to home, in Logan, Utah, Avery Woodruff observed that "few of the students have been vaccinated and they do not seem to inforce [sic] it."⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Englishman Duckworth Grimshaw and his family avoided vaccination only to ride out the disease in home isolation.⁵⁶

Even still, as Medical Society members would realize, by January 1900 opposition to vaccination was directed neither exclusively nor officially by Penrose or any other church leader. If some Mormons like the Woodruffs interpreted vaccination as evidence of weak faith, and anti-vaccination as a testament to Mormon fidelity, some room still existed for churchgoers to negotiate different responses. In addition to Martha Hughes Cannon, Mormon physicians like Ellis Reynolds Shipp, Romania Pratt, Seymour Young (Brigham Young's nephew), and Joseph S. Richards all advocated vaccination and regular medicine. Although their support appeared infrequently in the *Deseret News* and more commonly in the Mormon-owned *Salt Lake Sanitarian* (1888–91), its influence was discernable in the smallpox vaccination controversy. Some church members experimented by combining vaccines with herbs popular with Mormons to produce an eclectic religious and cultural health regimen.⁵⁷ Others, like En-

48 Ibid.

49 Morrell, *Utah's Health and You*, 95.

50 *Deseret News*, January 11, 1900.

51 Ibid.; *California and Western Medicine*, Vol. XXIII (November 1925): 1471; Ward B. Studt, M.D., *Medicine in the Intermountain West: A History of Health Care in the Rural Areas of the West* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1976), 49.

52 P. Boobyer, "Small-pox in Nottingham," *British Medical Journal* 1 (1901): 1054.

53 Jean Bickmore Smith, ed., *Church, State, and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 472.

54 Lu Ann Faylor Snyder and Phillip A. Snyder, eds., *Post-Manifesto Polygamy: The 1899–1904 Correspondence of Helen, Owen, and Avery Woodruff* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2009), 36–37.

55 Ibid., 72.

56 Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, vol. 12 (1969): 265.

57 Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "The Salt Lake Sanitarian: Medical Adviser to the Saints," *Utah Historical Quarterly*



Deseret Hospital Board of Directors. Front row, left to right: Jane S. Richards, Emmeline B. Wells. Middle row: Phoebe Woodruff, Isabelle M. Horne, Eliza R. Snow, Zina D. Young, Marinda N. Hyde. Back row: Dr. Ellis R. Shipp, Bathsheba W. Smith, Elizabeth Howard, Dr. Romania B. Pratt Penrose. A few of these professionally trained doctors would later support public vaccination of smallpox.

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glish convert and self-trained doctor Frederick Gardner, used empirical science to produce, and eventually sell, alcohol-based “tinctures” to (unsuccessfully) ward off smallpox.⁵⁸ John Henry Smith used tinctures and relaxing mineral baths at the Salt Lake Sanitarium, while requesting Richards to vaccinate his son and his four siblings after the former “had broken out with a rash.”⁵⁹ Finally, in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, Mormon stake president Anthony Ivins recommended vaccinations for all missionaries. Compelled by one of their own rather than by gentile physicians, missionaries generally complied, reporting that they were being “protected by vaccination from smallpox, although

[they were] surrounded by Mexicans and Indians who were dying from the disease.”⁶⁰ In this particular instance, then, vaccination appeared to be consonant with Mormon identity.

As public health officials in Utah sought to overcome resistance to vaccination, they faced the simultaneous task of convincing skeptics that a lethal smallpox epidemic did in fact exist. At some point after the Civil War, a new strain of variola appeared and proved to be more mild than the “red death” of the past, which normally killed 20 to 40 percent of its victims. By contrast, this strain—dubbed “variola minor” by medical authorities, in contrast to the more lethal “variola major”—yielded fatality rates of less than 1 to 2 percent. Possessing a higher incidence rate than variola major (which health

57 (Spring 1989): 127.

58 Hugh Gardner, ed., *A Mormon Rebel: The Life and Travels of Frederick Gardner* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah, 1993), xvii, 73.

59 Smith, ed., *Church, State, and Politics*, 478, 479.

60 *Deseret News*, December 18, 1900; Snyder and Snyder, *Post-Manifesto Polygamy*, 152, 157.

authorities would eventually eradicate in the United States by the 1940s), variola minor was commonly viewed as a nuisance more than a crisis and given offensive racialized nicknames, including “Cuban itch,” “Filipino itch,” and “Mexican bump.” Surgeon General Walter Wyman warned Americans of the new strain’s potency, but most citizens chose to risk infection by “the mild type.” Anti-vaccinationists, meanwhile, portrayed vaccines, rather than variola minor, as the chief danger to bodily health.⁶¹

Variola minor first entered Utah in the mid-1890s but went undetected until state health officials diagnosed victims in Sanpete County. The new virus produced symptoms that were so mild that victims commonly went about their daily routines unaffected. Other victims downplayed their illnesses, hid from public health authorities, or broke their quarantines. Lay critics disputed the new smallpox strain, since smallpox generally had high mortality rates coupled with the severe symptoms—fever, vomiting, subcutaneous bleeding, and lesions that became infected before scabbing and falling off.⁶² As several historians have observed, hiding remained a common practice nationwide, especially among African Americans and non-white foreigners who feared nativist medical and immigration officials. Hiding likely occurred in Salt Lake City where the non-white population reached into the thousands, though only one “colored” victim was identified.⁶³ Conversely, poor and middle-class whites exhibited their illness with impunity and broke their quarantines in their homes, the city pest house, and an emergency pest house in Mill Creek, eliciting praise from the *Deseret News*.⁶⁴ Believing the epidemic to be fraudulent, editor Penrose erroneously claimed that “no State in the Union . . . [remained] freer from smallpox” than Utah, and that if a “single case” of the illness did exist, it was likely nothing more than “a simple rash.” Precautionary measures ought to be taken, he warned, but officials’ attempts to “frighten the public” into vaccination were repugnant and unjustified.⁶⁵

Some confusion existed among the medical establishment about the precise nature of variola minor, serving to hinder the vaccination cause and deepen the divides between and among Mormons and gentiles. The study of viruses, or virology, remained a new discipline in the early 1900s, a fact that may help explain in part why eminent physicians such as L. Emmett Holt, professor of pediatrics at Columbia University, confused the new variation for chickenpox.⁶⁶ In Salt Lake City, Henry N. Mayo, director of the isolation hospital, believed that none of the sixty-one cases of “so-called smallpox” “presented the characteristics of genuine smallpox,” while Philo Jones of the Salt Lake County Medical Society felt that victims had contracted a benign rash “closely resembling smallpox.”⁶⁷ This incredulity aside, most doctors believed (correctly) that variola was the source of contagion. They also asserted that Salt Lake City would become more susceptible to a virulent form of variola unless vaccination became widespread. Because Beatty, as one of these doctors, perceived vaccination’s critics as eager to exploit professional disagreements, he and Salt Lake City health commissioner J. C. E. King encouraged solidarity among physicians. At a public meeting of the Medical Society, they enjoined members to confirm the presence of variola and the necessity of vaccination. Beatty also admonished Mayo and Jones for making “unjustified” comments, which he believed added a sense of legitimacy to the critiques of Penrose and other Mormons: “The dictum of one ignorant, bigoted man [Penrose], who sits behind the editorial chair of the *Deseret News*, has been accepted by 15,000 people—No, by 15,000 families in this State as final. . . . The health officers have been telling these parents to have their children vaccinated, and it has not been done.”⁶⁸

Oddly, cleavages within the Medical Society contrasted with near unanimous agreement in the Mormon medical and professional community. Doctors L. W. Snow and C. G. Plummer, future surgeons at the Latter-day Saints Hospital (est. 1905), averred variola’s presence in Salt Lake City, as well as the efficacy of vaccina-

61 Willrich, *Pox*, 41–74; Colgrove, *State of Immunity*, 18–19.

62 *Salt Lake Herald*, November 6, 24, 1901.

63 *Deseret News*, January 28, 1903.

64 On June 21, 1903, the *Salt Lake Herald* admonished citizens: “Stop quarantine breaking.”

65 *Deseret News*, December 16, 20, 1899.

66 L. Emmet Holt, *The Diseases of Infancy and Childhood* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 977.

67 *Deseret News*, May 15, 1900.

68 *Ibid.*

tion.⁶⁹ Doctor Ellis Reynolds Shipp urged her patients to “avail themselves of [vaccination] as a guard against smallpox,” while Governor Heber Wells, the son of the prominent Mormon leader Daniel H. Wells, requested nurses from the Roman Catholic Holy Cross Hospital to help staff the city quarantine hospital.⁷⁰ Seymour Young, a nephew of Brigham Young and a graduate of New York University Medical School, penned an editorial in the *Deseret News* asserting that it remained “proper to vaccinate school children.” Believing that Mormons and other anti-vaccinationists should trust the city’s twenty-five regular doctors, he assured readers that physicians “would not use anything connected with this operation but the best material, accompanied by the proper methods and precaution.” Young added that the *News* should refrain from portraying anti-vaccination as a staple of Mormon religiosity, a sentiment echoed by the Mormon-owned *Salt Lake Herald*:

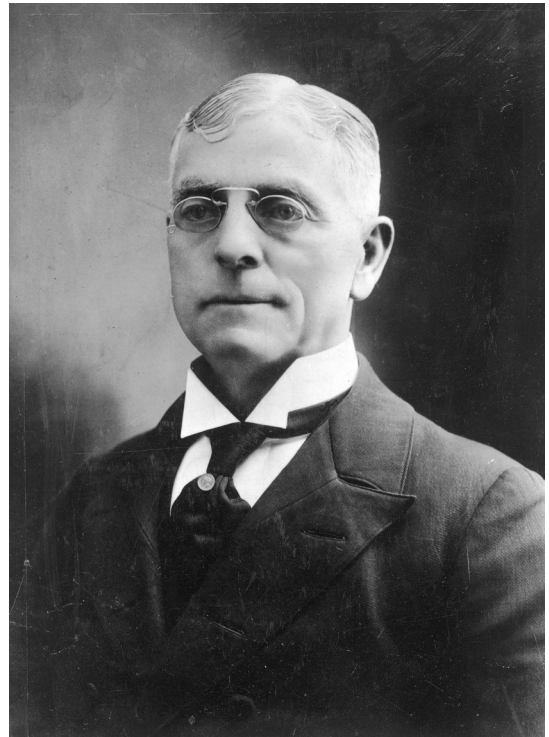
There are a great many people in this city and state who have an impression that vaccination is contrary to the teachings of Mormonism, and that its practice is condemned by the head of the dominant church. This impression has been created unconsciously and unintentionally, no doubt, by the attitude of the *Deseret News*, which, being the official organ of the church, is supposed by many to speak authoritatively upon every topic that it treats. . . . It seems that the *News*, in fairness, ought to correct this prevalent impression that the church or church authorities are making this fight against vaccination, and that it is a religious duty to oppose the board of health.⁷¹

On January 9, 1900, the Salt Lake City municipal council met to draft an ordinance requiring education officials to prohibit students who lacked natural immunity or proof of vaccination from entering public schools. Secretary

69 *Ex Luminus, The Groves L.D.S. Hospital School of Nursing* (Salt Lake City, 1929), 70.

70 Morrell, *Utah’s Health and You*, 100; “Holy Cross Hospital, Salt Lake City,” 6, fd. 710.8, Holy Cross Records, Archives of the Catholic Church in Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter ACU).

71 *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 21, 1899; *Deseret News*, January 17, 1900; *Salt Lake Herald*, January 25, 1900.



Seymour B. Young, a nephew of Brigham Young, a prominent LDS church leader and a Salt Lake City physician, editorialized in favor of vaccinating school children, reflecting divisions among Mormons on this issue.

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Beatty, the representative of the city’s fifth ward, stated that vaccinations should be made available at public expense, particularly since the epidemic seemed to be gaining strength. Councilman George Canning, a Mormon and a sheepherder by trade, however, scoffed at the notion and declared that a “genuine case of smallpox” had been mistaken for “black measles” or “a sort of itch.” He had “lived in Salt Lake [for] thirty-nine years and considered the climate and health of the people to be A No. 1 [sic].”⁷² Failing to persuade the council, Canning worked with Frans Fernstrom, a councilman and a member of the Salt Lake stake’s High Council, to reduce the powers of the city health department and reverse the council’s decision to compel vaccination.⁷³ Failing

72 *Deseret News*, January 10, 23, 1900; *Salt Lake Herald*, January 10, 1900.

73 Stan Larson, ed., *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates,

at these efforts, too, Canning and Fernstrom partially succeeded in opposing the decision of Salt Lake City mayor Ezra Thompson to temporarily close all Sunday schools to help quell contagion's spread. Mormon stakes generally disobeyed and remained open, but Roman Catholic parishes, Protestant churches, and Jewish synagogues acquiesced and closed. Rabbi C. H. Lowenstein of temple B'Nai Israel criticized government officials for "lacking backbone" in enforcing Thompson's orders. He also argued that, in contrast to anti-vaccination Mormons, the "ritualistic and modern Jew has been taught sanitary measures from childhood. Moses has been called the great health officer. . . . During the recent smallpox scare, every one of the fifty children attending the Jewish [sic] Sunday school has been vaccinated."⁷⁴

Faced with coercion and risk at the hands of doctors and government officials, anti-vaccinationists rallied on January 13 to establish a grassroots community of resistance. Led by Thomas Hull, an English Mormon who supported Reed Smoot's bid to take control of the state's Republican Party from senator Thomas Kearns, the Utah Anti-Compulsory Vaccination League (UACVL) consisted of over one hundred working and lower middle-class Mormons and gentiles whose children attended public schools. Most members emigrated from western European countries that had school vaccination laws, and the league existed to prevent the same from developing in Utah. Gathering at Mormon wards, league meetings took on a religious atmosphere. Church elder and league secretary Nephi Y. Scofield introduced speeches that denounced the "evil" of vaccination. Vaccinating children belied the "Christian duty" of parents to protect and provide, since the procedure was a "sin against nature." Moral language such as this served to rally the "troops" of righteousness against "the army of pro-vaccination."⁷⁵ Welsh Mormon Joseph Parry assured the *Deseret News* and its readers that "thousands in [this] city [would] never

submit to the thrusting of a blood-poisoning, disease-breeding virus into their children's system."⁷⁶

By late January, Parry's words seemed to be prophetic as league members pressured vaccination's critics to withhold their children from schools in wake of the league's failure to compel education officials to reverse their course. The *Deseret News* reported that since most parents opposed vaccination, 62 percent of the city's twelve thousand schoolchildren remained home on the first day of school, January 20. Such unified action drew national attention, much of it pejorative. The pro-vaccination *New York Times* asserted that the league lacked "sense and education" but still remained successful at "deluding public opinion," while the *Philadelphia Medical Journal* criticized Utahns who complacently "pass[ed] and repass[ed]" in city streets to spread contagion.⁷⁷

On January 26, the league prodded member John E. Cox to file a suit against the Salt Lake City Board of Education and Hamilton school principal Samuel Doxey for denying his unvaccinated daughter Florence Cox entrance to school. Orlando Powers, a gentile and former state justice who "opposed any attempt to prosecute the [Mormons] on religious grounds," crossed religious lines to serve as the league's counsel.⁷⁸ Agreeing with Powers that school officials lacked authority to make and enforce a medical rule, and that health boards existed merely as "administrative bod[ies]," the judge, Alfred N. Cherry, issued a peremptory writ against the city.⁷⁹ In compliance, the State Board of Health rescinded the vaccination edict. Although Mormon church officials remained silent about the verdict, the church-owned newspaper proclaimed a great victory and then enlisted donations to help recoup the League's \$500 legal debt and help fund future

1993), March 24, 1904.

74 *Salt Lake Herald*, January 29, February 3, 1900; *Deseret News*, January 22, 1900; Juanita Brooks, *The History of the Jews in Utah and Idaho* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1973), 107.

75 *Deseret News*, January 11, 13, 22, February 3, March 5, 1900; *Millennial Star*, vol. 46 (Liverpool: John Henry Smith, 1884): 189.

76 *Deseret News*, January 23, 1901; Joseph Hyrum Parry, *Missionary Experience and Incidents in the Life of Joseph Hyrum Parry, Written by Himself* (1855).

77 *New York Times*, February 14, 1901; January 22, 1900; *The Philadelphia Medical Journal* VII (May 4, 1901), 830.

78 *New York Times*, January 3, 1914.

79 *Deseret News*, January 26, 1900. Originally from Kansas, Cherry was a Unitarian whose theology aligned neither with the Fundamentalists and evangelicals nor with the Mormons. Judge Cherry and his wife Mary Ellen Banks attended the First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City.



Nurses serving on the state Board of Health on the lawn of the City and County Building, August 19, 1915. At the turn of the century, the Board of Health walked a fine line between placating proponents and opponents of public vaccinations.

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efforts against the city's appeal.⁸⁰ The *Deseret News's* exultation proved to be short lived, however, as on April 26 the state supreme court reversed Cherry's decision, citing extant health laws. In its majority opinion, the court argued that while city health officials could not lawfully force individuals to be vaccinated without their consent, they could "exclude from the schools any person suffering with a contagious or infectious diseases [sic]."⁸¹ In his dissent, Mormon critic Robert N. Baskin followed Powers in defending the League, contending that no evidence existed to prove Florence Cox's contamination and that current health laws had never envisioned coercion as a public health strategy.⁸²

80 Ibid., February 17, 1900.

81 Ibid., April 26, 1900.

82 Robert Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah: With Reply to Certain Statements by O. F. Whitney* (Salt Lake City:

Immediately following the court's ruling, Utah's newspapers engaged in a heated debate over the meaning and significance of the court's decision. The *Deseret News*, predictably, saw the ruling as a blow to civil liberties and supportive of "Gentile doctors [who were] trying to force Babylon into the people."⁸³ The *Tribune*, meanwhile, delighted in believing that civil authorities were striking a blow to Mormonism itself: "The Supreme court, in declaring the law of the State in regard to the protection of the public from the contagious and infectious diseases allows the Board of Health to require (among other things) vaccination when an epidemic of smallpox is on or is threatened; . . . therefore the Supreme court has attacked the faith of the 'Mormon' Church."⁸⁴

Signature Books, 2006).

83 *Deseret News*, February 7, 1901.

84 *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 29, 1900.

As they sought to narrate and analyze events, however, both newspapers failed to observe the growing complexity of vaccination politics and progressive reform. While most working and lower-middle class Mormons strongly criticized the state's seeming overreach into private bodily matters, some middle-class gentiles such as Cherry, Baskins, and Powers did the same, in opposition to Mormon and gentile physicians who generally supported compulsory vaccination. While men like Baskins usually welcomed progressive medical reforms to Salt Lake City, they at times disagreed with their fellow reformers, including Beatty, over their scope and content. Local and national newspapers also failed to recognize areas of agreement among citizens. Although progressives nationally viewed "scientific knowledge" more than religion as "a more logical explanation" for bodily wellness during the early twentieth century, as historian John Duffy writes, in Salt Lake City they generally saw the former as informing or at least consonant with the latter.⁸⁵ On November 17, 1900, after the ruling by the state supreme court, Mormon church president Lorenzo Snow urged Mormons to receive vaccinations, which church member John Henry Smith believed manifested the "power of God in healing the sick."⁸⁶ Similarly, at a fall meeting of the Utah State Medical Society, senior pastor Alexander Paden of First Presbyterian Church praised the medical community for serving the common good: "The calling of a doctor . . . commends him to the community, because he is here to assist nature and to redeem from the sickness of the body, as the Christ redeems from the sickness of the soul."⁸⁷

By December 1900, the popular majority had resisted public health sanctions. Hundreds of new smallpox cases had appeared during the summer and fall, with seventy-four in Salt Lake City and almost four thousand in the state by the year's end. Twenty-six deaths resulted, prompting city and state health officials to create new measures. City education officials were required to hire a physician to look for new cases of variola and required all colleges to enforce compulsory vaccination. In compliance, Joseph T. Kings-

bury, president and professor of chemistry at the University of Utah, held an emergency meeting on December 20 to reiterate the need for campus-wide immunity. In front of faculty and students, he "scored the *Deseret News* for its attitude toward vaccination," which incited "a few hisses" from the crowd.⁸⁸ By contrast, Latter-day Saints College president Joshua H. Paul resisted the ordinance, as he claimed it went "beyond [his] jurisdiction to exclude [non-vaccinated] pupils." In response, city health commissioner J. C. E. King, with Mayor Thompson's hearty approval, directed the county attorney to arrest and prosecute Paul who was found guilty of disobeying the Board of Health and fined fifteen dollars. King also arrested city education board president W. J. Newman for failing to enforce the vaccination edict.⁸⁹

Paul and Newman's arrests re-energized the league. Over the Christmas holiday, league members pressured parents to keep their children home from school, resulting in over 60 percent of students failing to attend first-day classes on January 8, 1901.⁹⁰ Moreover, at a "citizen's mass meeting" held in the fourteenth ward assembly hall on January 23, the league reasserted its commitment to opposing state officials who supported school vaccination. Emboldened, league member William J. Silver also urged President Snow to retract the Mormon church's official support of the ordinance:

Dear Brother, I as well as hundreds of others in this City who are members of the Church are opposed entirely and intelligently on principle to the practice of vaccination on us or our children believing it to be a vile practice and one decidedly opposed to religion and commonsense. . . . We left our native countries, and in so doing, we endeavored to leave behind their corrupt practices, and it does seem oppressive in the highest degree to be in any manner compelled to have again such practices forced upon us at the bidding of Gentile doctors and their followers.⁹¹

88 *Ogden Standard*, December 21, 1900.

89 *Deseret News*, January 26, 29, February 18, 1901; *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 31, 1901.

90 *Deseret News*, January 8, 1901.

91 "Letter to Mormon Church president Lorenzo Snow, December 26, 1900," *William John Silver Scrapbook*, vol. 1, 126, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee

85 John Duffy, *The Sanitarians: A History of American Public Health* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 126.

86 *Deseret News*, November 17, 20, 1900.

87 *Ibid.*, October 4, 1901.

On January 25, the league submitted at the state capitol a lengthy petition in support of the Republican-sponsored McMillan Bill, drafted by British Mormon William McMillan, preventing vaccination from becoming a prerequisite to attend public schools.⁹² Nephi Scofield appeared before the House Committee on Public Health to push for a speedy passage, with the aim of suspending present and future proceedings against Paul and Newman. Editor Penrose, following events closely, tried to steer legislation by inciting apocalyptic fear, writing, "If vaccination could be made a precedent to attending school, it could be to voting, and to carry the compulsion further, the scriptural revelation . . . might be fulfilled, and no one would be allowed to buy or sell without having 'the mark of the beast.'"⁹³ Less dramatically, Beatty petitioned the House Committee to reject the bill, claiming that to do otherwise would worsen the smallpox epidemic in Utah.

On January 29 the bill passed after receiving two thousand-plus "petitions from different parts of the State praying for the passage of such a measure." All but one Mormon Democrat and several Mormon and gentile Republicans supported the bill. In the Senate, the senator and assistant church historian Orson F. Whitney reprimanded commissioner King for jailing Paul and Newman before turning to join other Mormon legislators (minus one) in voting for the bill.⁹⁴ However, after receiving telegrams from over twenty state governors who claimed special statutes excluded unvaccinated children from schools, Governor Wells vetoed the bill.⁹⁵ President Snow counseled

Penrose against criticizing the governor, while Robert G. McNiece, dean of the Presbyterian Church-sponsored Sheldon Jackson College (now Westminster College), congratulated Wells for taking a "manly and heroic" stance.⁹⁶ Although Wells believed that compulsory vaccination was an "infringement upon the personal rights of the individuals," he justified the measure in the name of medical emergency.⁹⁷

Because of the veto, many Mormons perceived a growing threat to themselves, their culture, and their spiritual headquarters in the Salt Lake Valley. In the Tabernacle on February 9, Brigham Young Jr., president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, openly challenged President Snow, church policy, and reform-minded Mormons, while encouraging audience members to endure temporal persecution and seek peace in divine sovereignty.

It is nonsense to think that we, as a people living in this free country, should submit to all the various diseases brought here by the different people who have chosen to come and live among us, and that many prevail in the world. . . . Latter-day Saints, do not worry over laws that may be made, but be concerned over your relationship with God. If we are living right before Him He will manage everything to His own glory and our salvation.⁹⁸

The specter of domination by religious outsiders—and insiders—proved to be short lived. During the following week, lawmakers overrode the governor's veto to force the bill into law. Beatty, King, and other health officials, perceiving their medical legal battle a lost cause, shifted their focus to other matters, including assessing the city's ailing sewer and water systems. As with other anti-vaccination leagues across the country, the League in Utah temporarily disbanded. Yet it would not immediately be revived, as the McMillan Act remained in effect through 1933, despite the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in 1905 that compulso-

Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

92 The McMillan family allegedly contracted variola minor, prompting *The Philadelphia Medical Journal* to interpret it as a providential judgment against William. *The Philadelphia Medical Journal*, vol. VII, May 4, 1901, 830.

93 *Deseret News*, January 25, 1901.

94 *House Journal of the Fourth Session of the Legislature of the State of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1901), 86; *Deseret News*, January 25, 1901.

95 See correspondence to Gov. Wells, February 1, 2, 1901, reel 11, Series 235, Governor Heber M. Wells Correspondence, USARS. Letters in support of Wells came from the governors of Nevada, New Hampshire, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming, Alabama, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Idaho, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina.

96 LDS Church History, "Lorenzo Snow, Feb 9, 1901," accessed September 1, 2015, <http://lds-church-history.blogspot.com/2014/06/lorenzo-snow-feb-9-1901.html>.

97 Gov. Wells to the House of Representatives, February 8, 1901, reel 11, Governor Wells Correspondence.

98 *Deseret News*, February 10, 1900.

ry vaccination is a constitutional police power of the state.⁹⁹

More auspicious, however, was the continued existence of Salt Lake City's cross-religious alliance behind health reforms. In the fight over compulsory vaccination, some middle-class Mormons—doctors, attorneys, elected officials, journalists, church leaders, and laity—had prioritized statism over individual freedom in the name of the common good. So had many gentiles who partnered with Mormon professionals in disabusing anti-vaccinationists of all religious backgrounds of their fear and misinformation, while still interpreting medicine and physical healing as divine. Although shaken by adversarial editorials in local newspapers, this alliance would still exist to back measures aimed at improving the overall health, safety, and beauty of Salt Lake City. Critical to the politics of vaccination, religion became less divisive, more unifying, and ultimately less relevant to the health reforms of Progressive Era Utah.

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⁹⁹ *Revised Statutes of Utah 1933* (Salt Lake City, June 17, 1933), 35-3-10; *Jacobson v. Massachusetts* (1905).

WEB EXTRA

At history.utah.gov/uhqextras, Ben Cater answers our questions about the process of researching smallpox at the turn of the twentieth century, as well as the disease's place in the larger narrative of public health history in Salt Lake City.





Staff of the Daily Reporter in Corrine, Utah, spring 1869. This was taken by Timothy O'Sullivan when he attended the driving of the Golden Spike. He was in Ogden as a member of Clarence King's Fortieth-Parallel Survey.

FIFTY YEARS OF LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE NEWSPAPER VIEWS IN OGDEN, UTAH, 1870–1920

BY MICHAEL S. ELDREDGE

The number of non-Mormons in northern Utah Territory spiked with the completion of the transcontinental railroad on May 10, 1869. The Mormon community had braced itself as the gentile “Hell on Wheels”—the Union Pacific and its traveling shanty town—drew nearer across the high plains of Wyoming. For months prior to the arrival of the railroad, Brigham Young tried to keep his closed society intact with a number of defensive moves, such as the founding of Zion’s Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) seven months prior to the completion. Although many Mormons drew paychecks from the Union Pacific, Young encour-



aged his people to spend their wages on Mormon-owned businesses, and not those of gentile merchants.

Mormon leaders also enticed the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific to relocate the Junction City to the Mormon town of Ogden rather than the gentile capital of Corinne, west of Brigham City.¹ To facilitate this, the LDS church granted free property and infrastructure in Ogden to the railroads. Later, the Mormon-owned Utah Northern Railroad bypassed Corinne, eventually providing rail service to Montana. This starved the freight wagon business based in Corinne, rendering it a virtual ghost town within fifteen years.

A third strategy involved how the Mormon position would be portrayed in the press. To

that end, church leaders moved to establish a Mormon-dominated newspaper in Ogden. Since the press represented the single largest media source in mid-nineteenth century America, its importance in the clash of civilizations between the closed society of Mormon Utah and the gentiles of the western frontier cannot be underestimated.

A major difference between the gentile and Mormon-owned newspapers was the underlying motivation to establish a press. Gentile newspapers were motivated primarily by economics; if the profit margins were not there, then it was best the press move on or sell out. By contrast, those newspapers owned by the church or prominent church leaders largely enjoyed a loyal readership. Their motivation was the promulgation of the Mormon image and the truth as they saw it. Prior to 1890, the divide between conservative and liberal news-

1 "Gentile" in Utah history is a Mormon name synonymous with non-Mormon.



Panoramic view of Ogden, spring 1869, taken by Timothy O'Sullivan while a member of the U.S. Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

papers in Ogden reflected religious fissures in Utah Territory. Thereafter, with the migration of Mormons from the People's Party into the Republican Party, two factions arose within the Republican Party—the Mormons with their traditional conservative views and the non-Mormons with their mostly progressive liberal views. This rift climaxed in the 1912 election when the progressives deserted the conservative Republicans for Roosevelt's Progressive Party. This was illustrated by Roosevelt carrying Ogden, where William Glasmann and the Bull Moose Party were in the majority, and Taft carrying the Republican conservatives in Weber County led by Reed Smoot. After the 1912 election, some of the progressives returned to the Republican Party, others joined the Democratic

Party. As the Progressive movement faded, the Republican Party became unified with both conservative and liberal factions represented. By 1920 Utah senator Smoot had become one of the leaders of the new conservative Republicans who hand-picked Warren Harding as Republican candidate for president.

The newspapers that led to today's *Ogden Standard-Examiner* began in December 1869 with the organization of the Ogden Junction Publishing Company. On January 1, 1870, the company began publication of the *Ogden Junction* under the editorship of Apostle Franklin D. Richards and associate editor Charles W. Penrose.² Both

² Edward William Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories Containing the History of All the Northern, Eastern and*



Ogden Daily Standard building, est. 1870. Although established by Frank J. Cannon in 1888, the Ogden Standard had been reincorporated from the Junction and Herald, which began in 1870. Reincorporating was a common method of leaving debt behind and starting over again.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

men were prominent members of the LDS church and planned to confront any negative journalism that accompanied the railroad. At first, *Ogden Junction* was a semi-weekly newspaper, expanding into a daily in September 1872. In 1877, the company was transferred to Richard Ballantyne as publisher.³ In March 1880, the quixotic Swiss immigrant Leo Haefeli was appointed editor-in-chief of the *Ogden Junction*.⁴ Ballantyne hoped the popular writer would liven things up, but on February 16, 1881, the *Ogden Junction* published its last

newspaper, owing to “stagnation of business.”⁵

The Ogden Herald Publishing Company had been negotiating with Ballantyne and the *Ogden Junction* since early February 1881 to take over some of the assets of the Ogden Junction Publishing Company. In the fall of 1880, the *Ogden Junction* had lost its popular editor-in-chief Charles Penrose to the *Deseret News*. This largely killed the paper. After nearly three months of reorganizing with a new slate of prominent members of the LDS church on board, the first issue of the *Ogden Daily Herald* hit the streets on May 2, 1881. Many old faces from the *Ogden Junction* were there, plus new personalities who promised a lively newspaper, much the same as its predecessor.

Another prominent Ogden Mormon, David H. Peery, took on the role of publisher; John Nicholson became editor-in-chief. Like Ballantyne, Peery was a prominent figure in Weber County having served in the territorial legislature

5 “Valedictory,” *Ogden Junction*, February 16, 1881, 2. Richard Ballantyne was a prominent Mormon businessman living in Weber County at the time. Upon arrival in the Salt Lake Valley in 1848, he organized the LDS church’s Sunday School to address the needs of children of the church. Unlike Franklin D. Richards who had experience publishing the *Millennial Star* in Great Britain, Ballantyne was not a prominent newspaperman. He took the *Ogden Junction* off Richards’ hands so that the apostle could attend to organizational matters throughout the territory. Eventually Ballantyne negotiated the sale of the newspaper assets to the Ogden Herald Publishing Company.

Western Counties of Utah; Also the Southern Counties of Idaho, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: The Juvenile Instructor, 1889), 198.

3 Ibid., 199.

4 For an excellent biographical article on Leo Haefeli, see Val Holley, “Leo Haefeli, Utah’s Chameleon Journalist,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 75 (Spring 2007): 149–63.

and, later, as mayor of Ogden.⁶ Leo Haefeli was back as city editor; Joseph Hall, the former city editor of the *Ogden Junction* who Haefeli befriended in Slaterville, was hired as a correspondent. Ballantyne, Haefeli, and Hall were all associated with the LDS Sunday School, and Hall and Franklin D. Richards had served a mission together in Great Britain. Although organized in separate corporations, it did not take a trained eye to see the church's role as the real party in interest behind both papers.

In 1874, the population of Utah Territory was approximately 136,000.⁷ A rough estimate of non-Mormons living in the territory in 1871 totaled 3,500, only 2.6 percent of the population. One thousand lived in Corinne, 600 in Ogden and along the Union Pacific line, 500 in Salt Lake City, and 1,400 in the mining districts.⁸ While the population of Corinne stagnated at roughly 1,000, Ogden jumped from 3,127 in 1870 to 6,069 in 1880, with the major growth spurt between 1870 and 1874.⁹

The strategy of the *Ogden Junction*, to a large extent, worked effectively to keep Corinne newspapers from migrating to Ogden. The *Utah (Corinne) Reporter*, the most successful of the Corinne papers, stayed put because Corinne's population was large enough to support the paper. The *Ogden Freeman*, after an aborted attempt to set up shop in Corinne in 1868, returned to Utah seven years later and tried to compete in Ogden as a gentile press.¹⁰

6 Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories*, vol. II, 207–16.

7 Edward L. Sloan, *Gazeteer of Utah and Salt Lake City Directory* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Herald Publishing Company, 1874).

8 Brigham D. Madsen, *Corinne: The Gentile Capital of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1980), 102. Mormons and gentiles organized politically along religious lines in the People's Party and the Liberal Party, respectively.

9 Richard C. Roberts and Richard W. Sadler, *A History of Weber County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Weber County Commission, 1997), 107. For an excellent discussion on Ogden residents' responses to the railroad, see Brian Q. Cannon, "Change Engulfs a Frontier Settlement: Ogden and its Residents Respond to the Railroad," *Journal of Mormon History* 12 (1985), 15–28.

10 S. M. Pettengill, *Pettengill's Newspaper Directory and Advertisers' Hand-Book for 1878* (New York: Pettengill & Co., Publishers, 1878), 185–86. Legh Freeman had his press destroyed and was nearly lynched in Corinne in 1868 after making disparaging remarks about Credit Mobilier in front of a Union Pacific crowd, a harbinger

Ada Freeman, Legh Freeman's wife, established the *Ogden Freeman* in 1875 and began publishing the first issues. Their business model was to deliver newspapers to nine railroad companies departing Ogden each day to be purchased by passengers. Ada had established the plant that would service the different railways and also seek circulation in Ogden. Most Ogdenites appreciated the conservative, congenial tone of the gentile newspaper. That lasted until her husband Legh showed up. In Legh's words, "the *Freeman* [is] anti-Mormon, anti-Chinese, anti-Indian, and favoring the revivification of the silver industries by urging Congress to remonetize silver."¹¹ Immediately subscriptions were cancelled and the Freemans were shunned. Eventually, after almost four years, Legh fled to Montana. En route, a firearm accidentally discharged, fatally wounding Ada.¹²

About two years later, on April 30, 1881, Edmund A. Littlefield closed the *Elko Post* in Nevada and moved east to Ogden where he started a new paper, the *Ogden Pilot*. A seasoned journalist, Littlefield had first entered the newspaper business on November 23, 1870, when he and H. H. Fellows founded the *Nevada State Journal* in Reno, Nevada.¹³ He remained there only nine months when he sold his interest and moved on, eventually founding the *Elko Post* on September 11, 1875. While in Ogden, like many before him, Littlefield could not resist baiting the Mormons, who were in the midst of transferring their loyalty from the *Ogden Junction* to the *Ogden Herald*. But Littlefield's anti-Mormon slant received little support in Ogden. The *Ogden Pilot* struggled on for three years. Fortunately for Littlefield, he was able to capitalize on a scandal involving the Ogden postmaster Nathan Kimball, a Civil War hero who took up residence in Utah and enjoyed patronage appointments from Ulysses S. Grant. On March 17, 1882, an employee on the postmaster's staff embezzled approximately \$1,400 from official funds while Kimball was home ill. Kimball was blamed for it and faced federal criminal charges.

of the coming scandal that rocked the Union Pacific Railroad.

11 Ibid.

12 Haefeli and Cannon, *Directory*, 62.

13 Richard E. Lingenfelter and Karen Rix Gash, *The Newspapers of Nevada: A History and Bibliography, 1854–1979* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984), 175.

Littlefield set about convincing officials that he was the Republican man for the job due to his anti-Mormon record in the press. Littlefield was nominated by President Chester A. Arthur on January 2, 1883, and he was sworn in as Ogden's postmaster the following month. Kimball fought the ruling for years and was finally exonerated and reinstated as postmaster on June 17, 1889.¹⁴

Meanwhile, Littlefield sold the *Ogden Pilot* but stayed on as business manager. The newspaper eventually folded in 1884. In 1885, Littlefield announced the formation of the *Ogden Daily News*, featuring as editor the once-popular Leo Haefeli, who had quit the *Ogden Herald* and had since been writing anti-Mormon articles and letters. The *Ogden Herald* hired Charles W. Hemenway, a feisty non-Mormon journalist from Utah County, to do battle with Haefeli. Commencing in spring 1885 and continuing for nine months, Haefeli was pummeled by Hemenway. After a brief resignation, Haefeli returned to the *Ogden Daily News* in early 1886 and continued on until the paper's demise in mid-1887.

It appeared that non-Mormon journalists in Ogden paid little heed to British explorer Richard Burton's observation when he visited Utah in 1860: in Utah three perspectives dominated, "that of the Mormons, which is invariably one sided; that of the Gentiles, which is sometimes fair and just; and that of the anti-Mormons, which is always prejudiced and violent."¹⁵ The anti-Mormon press seemed to stubbornly persist with anti-Mormon rhetoric without ever accomplishing any meaningful dialogue.

In midsummer 1887, Frank J. Cannon replaced Hemenway as editor of the *Ogden Herald* and announced that it would switch to a morning paper. After six months, however, the strategy did not work and Cannon opted to form a new paper commencing on January 1, 1888, called the *Standard*, named after his father's publication, the *Western Standard*, started in 1856 at San Francisco. In its final epitaph, the *Ogden Herald* editorial page remarked that "from the

beginning the aim of the owners and directors of the paper has been to have it just and fearless. Wherein it has failed at this, they have been as much betrayed as has been the public."¹⁶

The *Standard* picked up where the *Morning Herald* (previously the *Ogden Herald*) had left off. It took up offices at the identical location and it was still a Mormon-biased newspaper. The new directors and officers of the *Standard* Corporation were prominent Mormons in Weber County and several of the same owners and directors who had bemoaned the *Ogden Herald's* betrayal on the editorial page. In reality, however, the *Standard* was a Cannon family journalistic effort. The patriarch, LDS apostle George Q. Cannon, had previously served as managing editor of the *Deseret News*. In addition to Frank J. Cannon, who was editor-in-chief, John Q. Cannon, another son of George Q. Cannon, was an associate editor. John Q. Cannon later served as editor of the *Deseret News* from 1892 to 1898. A third son, Abraham H. Cannon, who became an apostle in 1889, was editor of the LDS church publication *Juvenile Instructor*. All of them would play a part in the corporate governance of the *Standard* during its first five years of existence.

When the *Standard* organized on January 1, 1888, it faced bigger content problems than the Haefeli-Hemenway feud in the press. The year before, Congress had passed the Edmunds-Tucker Act.¹⁷ In addition to disincorporating the LDS church and the Perpetual Immigration Fund, the legislation required an anti-polygamy oath from all prospective voters that barred polygamists from voting. For the first time since the Utah Territory was organized, the Mormon plurality faced the distinct possibility of losing the Ogden municipal elections in 1889, even though they far outnumbered gentiles. The unthinkable for Mormons in Ogden became a reality on February 12, 1889, when Fred J. Kiesel and his entire Liberal Party ticket swept into office.¹⁸

Abraham H. Cannon was called as an apostle

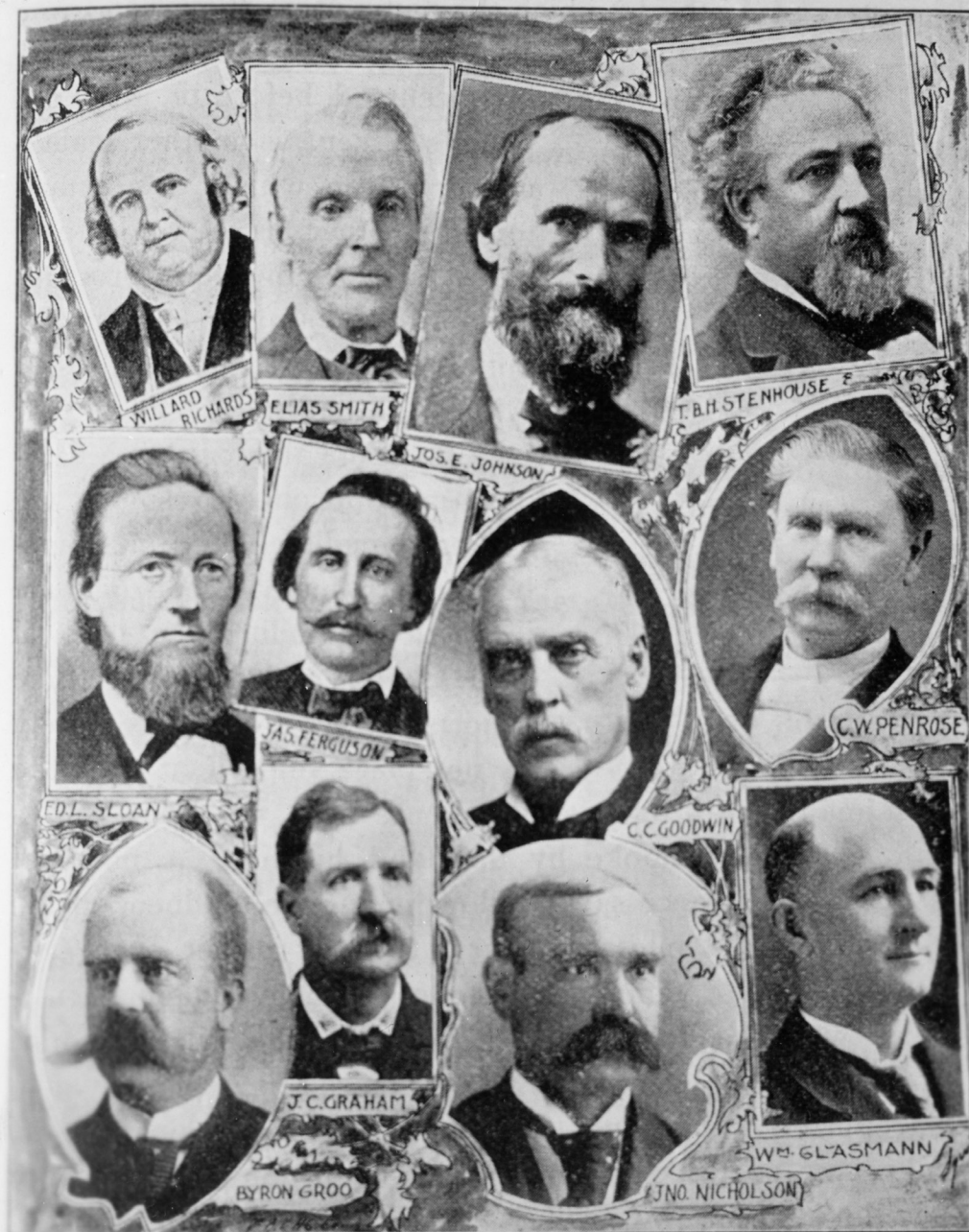
14 House Committee on Claims, *Report on Nathan Kimball*, 51st Cong., 2d sess., 1890, H. Rept. 3649.

15 Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1862), 197.

16 "Farewell," *Ogden Morning Herald*, December 31, 1887, 2.

17 24 Stat. 635 (1887).

18 "Mayor Kiesel," *Ogden Semi-Weekly Standard*, February 13, 1889, 1.



EDITORS OF UTAH, PAST AND PRESENT.

(The first six of the group have passed away; the others are very much alive.)

Nineteenth and early-twentieth century Utah newspaper editors. Among the editors in this undated image are William Glasmann of the Standard, Charles W. Penrose of the Deseret News, and John Nicholson of the Ogden Daily Herald.

eight months later in October 1889, and from his journal it was evident that he was cognizant of the political situation in Ogden and business affairs of the *Standard* from the outset of his calling. He made occasional visits to Ogden to speak with his brothers, being careful not to disclose the subject of their discussions in his diary. Although he lamented the Liberal Party's control of Ogden, he did not reportedly offer suggestions to solve the problem.¹⁹

On September 25, 1890, however, some of the troubles facing the LDS church began to dissipate after President Wilford Woodruff's Manifesto announcing the intention to abandon the practice of plural marriage. No longer would the Mormons cling to their millennialist doctrines and policies that had prevented statehood for so long. Whatever strategies the church had for the *Standard* became moot. Several meetings were held after the Manifesto concerning the *Standard's* finances and personnel. On April 2 and 3, 1891, the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve considered the appointment of Apostle John Henry Smith as president of the *Standard*, with George Q. Cannon, Frank J. Cannon, and Abraham H. Cannon participating in these conversations. President Woodruff opposed the idea, and in further discussions the apostles talked of holding themselves aloof from politics and considered selling the *Standard* on the basis that "the paper can do a vast amount of good if controlled by our people even if ostensibly managed by Gentiles."²⁰

By 1892, Frank Cannon was riding a wave of popularity for his editorial skills and the *Standard's* circulation was up. Since its inception, however, the newspaper had been losing approximately \$1,000 a month.²¹ In late 1892, John Q. Cannon left to assume the editor-in-chief position at the *Deseret News*. The paper's board of directors invited William Glasmann to assume the position. Glasmann was from Tooele County where he was selling his failing Garfield City real estate project. Caught in the real estate bubble of the late 1880s that ruined

many real estate investors, Glasmann was hanging on. He had a reputation as a good but austere businessman, having come to Utah from Montana in late 1885.²² A non-Mormon, he had learned to get along with Mormons and gentiles alike. Most importantly, he could afford to buy the *Standard* and, like Frank Cannon, was a Republican. The two met at the state party convention in 1892.

In January 1893, Glasmann purchased controlling interest in the Standard Corporation. As the elected general manager of the *Standard*, he immediately started balancing the budget, proposing a 20 percent cut in pay across the board, which everyone except the Ogden Typographical Union accepted. Glasmann accused the union of having bankers' wages and made his fight public.²³ In the end, Glasmann used non-union workers to break the ensuing strike and implement his cuts. But despite Glasmann's handling of the newspaper crisis, most observers did not give the *Standard* a chance to survive the full-scale depression of 1893. In response, Glasmann infused much-needed liquid capital by entering into a factoring arrangement with H. T. Brown and Company.²⁴ Through it all, Glasmann and Cannon maintained their alliance, fighting to stay afloat during the depression. In the midst of the crisis on November 26, 1893, however, Frank Cannon resigned his

22 Originally from the German community in Davenport, Iowa, Glasman apprenticed as a saddle maker in Avoca, Iowa at the age of 13. He later worked in various saddle shops in the territories of Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana before ending up in Helena where he partnered in a successful saddle shop. After marrying Elizabeth Gamer, Glasman relocated his family in Ft. Benton, east of Great Falls, where he purchased a saddle shop. Glasmann later decided to make his fortune in Utah, but Elizabeth would have nothing to do with it and returned to Helena. William and his baby daughter Ethel journeyed on, arriving in Utah in the fall of 1885. For more on Glasmann, see Michael S. Eldredge, "William Glasmann: Ogden's Progressive Newspaperman and Politician," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 81 (Fall 2013): 304–24.

23 "Why The Standard Closed," *Ogden Standard*, February 19, 1893, 2.

24 "The Standard Sells Its Circulation," *Ogden Standard*, January 25, 1894, 2. Factoring is a means of financing using illiquid accounts receivables that are sold at a discount for cash. When the accounts come due, the factor collects the face amount of the receivables, making his money on the spread between the discounted purchase and the face amount of the receivable when it comes due.

19 Edward Leo Lyman, ed., *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle: The Diaries of Abraham H. Cannon, 1889–1895* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books and Smith-Peterson Foundation, 2010), 15–16, 24–26.

20 Ibid., 196, 197.

21 "The Standard," *Ogden Standard*, March 4, 1893, 8.



Newspaper editors standing in front of the Utah State Journal's offices.

JASON RUSCH COLLECTION

position as editor-in-chief to run for congressional representative for the territory of Utah, an office he ultimately won. As a replacement, Glasmann shuffled the staff and, along with other non-Mormons, invited the anti-Mormon Edmund A. Littlefield to take the position of managing editor.

One thing that united Cannon, Glasmann, and Littlefield was their belief in the need to remonetize silver as a means of pulling the West out of the depression. Cannon and Littlefield were emotional supporters of bimetallism without considering the inflationary effects of re-monetizing silver; Glasmann took a more intellectual approach focusing on the economic consequences of the international abandonment of silver. For Glasmann, the 1896 election was the make or break time for silver; the 1900 election would be too late. As 1896 approached, Glasmann, Littlefield, and Cannon were silver Republicans, members of the Republican Party

who supported Democrat William Jennings Bryan because of his stance on bimetallism. For the different reasons mentioned, all three abandoned McKinley, the Republican candidate for president in 1896. Glasmann's position enabled him to claim he never left the Republican Party; he merely supported Bryan. Cannon and Littlefield, however, had embraced the Democratic view that stood for bimetallism now and forever, making a break with the Republican Party inevitable.

In August 1896, a new Ogden paper was announced—the *Utah State Journal*—with Edmund A. Littlefield as editor-in-chief. The fact that it would be published in *both* Salt Lake City and Ogden was of no consequence to Glasmann who prepared to head east to Nebraska and Iowa to campaign for Bryan. While most people were unaware of the fine distinction between the *Utah State Journal* and the *Standard*, both of which supported William Jen-



Inside the offices of the *Morning Examiner* in May 1905.

—
OGDEN UNION STATION COLLECTION

nings Bryan. The *Utah State Journal*, although professing to be a silver Republican, was solidly Democratic, and the *Standard* was silver Republican. After McKinley won the 1896 election, Glasmann insisted that he remained a republican, having only supported Bryan due to the silver issue. That was as far as he went. On the other hand, Senator Frank J. Cannon, an avowed silver Republican, never returned to the Republican Party. In 1900 Cannon officially became a member of the Democratic Party.

From its inception, however, the *Utah State Journal* had two close allies in Cannon and Littlefield. Even though Cannon was not on the masthead at first, people knew that the paper was the unofficial mouthpiece of Frank J. Cannon. As time went on, the rift between Glasmann and Cannon grew wider. In the legislative election of 1898, Glasmann felt the sting of competition when Cannon mounted a suc-

cessful fusion ticket of silver Republicans and Democrats that intentionally did not include Glasmann who was the Republican nominee for his district's seat in the Utah House of Representatives.²⁵ The *Utah State Journal* was, in part, responsible for defeating Glasmann on his own turf, a bitter lesson Glasmann did not soon forget. The fusion ticket blindsided many other candidates who resented the fact that the fusionists claimed only to be interested in the silver issue, but in reality it gave a boost to many Democrats who otherwise would have lost the election.²⁶ On April 9, 1898, in a colorful article in the *Broad Ax*, the African-American editor Julius F. Taylor ripped into the Republican camp for its racist attitude. He alleged that Republican cronyism, including Cannon's

25 "Well Satisfied with the Results," *Ogden Standard*, November 9, 1898, 4.

26 "City and Neighborhood," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 11, 1898, 8.

“personal organ,” the *Utah State Journal*, combined to form a racist barrier in Utah, lumping Cannon, Littlefield, and the paper into one cabal. What was not acknowledged by the *Utah State Journal*—that it was Frank Cannon’s personal mouthpiece—was, nevertheless, generally known.²⁷

In the 1900 election, the Republican Party sought Glasmann’s influence in northern Utah to elect McKinley and defeat Bryan and the silver Republican ticket. Glasmann readily agreed to the arrangement. Again, as far as he was concerned, he had never left the Republican Party. Glasmann saw it as ratification by the Utah party that he was, indeed, an important member of the Republicans, although he still had enemies who had not forgotten the defection to Bryan in 1896. Cannon, on the other hand, who had made his break with the Republican Party in 1900, claimed that Glasmann had “made a new league with death and a covenant with hell.” He characterized Glasmann indirectly as a “subsidized editor and spoils-seeking politician that [has] gone back to Hannaism [referring to McKinley campaign manager Senator Mark Hanna] during the past few months.”²⁸ Soon thereafter Cannon appeared on the masthead of the *Utah State Journal*.²⁹

The *Utah State Journal* became an acknowledged organ of the fusion between silver Republicans and Democrats in the state. With Glasmann’s influence and the *Standard* solidly in the Republican camp, going head to head with the *Utah State Journal* was just the fight that Glasmann relished. McKinley carried Utah, and Glasmann was elected to the Utah State Legislature. Later in 1901, Glasmann was elected mayor of Ogden but careful not to underestimate the power of the *Utah State Journal*, even though it continued as a weekly paper. After its drumming in the 1901 Ogden municipal elections, the Democrats knew they would need a larger influence than a weekly paper, so they began floating rumors that the *Utah State Journal* would become a daily Democratic paper, hopefully in time to resist Glasmann’s reelection as mayor.

27 “United States Senator Frank J. Cannon’s Personal Organ,” *Broad Ax*, April 9, 1898, 1.

28 “Silver Republicans,” *Salt Lake Herald*, March 11, 1900, 12.

29 Alter, *Early Utah Journalism*, 179.

In July of 1902, Glasmann obtained the Associated Press franchise for Ogden under a purported new morning paper, the *Morning Sun*. Founded in 1846, the AP was, and is, a nationally syndicated news service providing local franchise newspapers stories to copy and republish. AP franchises were only given out to local papers sparingly to preserve the integrity of the news service and insure franchise loyalty.

Glasmann’s move accomplished two basic stratagems: he deprived the Democrats of the franchise, and he created a publishing option in case he was unsuccessful in gaining complete control of the *Standard*. Glasmann had purchased a controlling interest in the *Standard* in 1894; now he made a bid to control all of it. When shareholders refused to sell their shares of the highly successful newspaper, Glasmann announced the acquisition of the AP franchise for the proposed *Morning Sun*. Shareholders were left with two options, either sell their shares at Glasmann’s price or run the risk of owning a declining newspaper that no one could afford to buy. In short, the shareholders were checkmated. While the shareholders desperately explored their limited options, Glasmann went ahead with his plans for the *Morning Sun* while still offering the new paper and AP dispatches for sale to all comers. He knew that no one could match the capital outlay that would be required to establish a new paper in Ogden, least of all the struggling *Utah State Journal*.

Finally, on August 18, 1902, Glasmann acquired absolute control of the Standard Publishing Company and all its subsidiaries and affiliates. The shareholders received \$50,000 in gold bonds issued by the publishing company in return for the surrender of all but a token amount of stock. Glasmann announced in the *Standard* that “[T]he differences between the stockholders are satisfactorily adjusted.”³⁰ With Glasmann committing his heart and soul to the *Standard*, he lost the AP franchise, and the *Morning Sun* died before publishing its first issue.³¹

While Glasmann was taking control of the *Standard*, another rumor started circulating that

30 “Glasmann Gets Complete Control of the Standard,” *Ogden Standard*, August 18, 1902, 5.

31 “The Morning Sun,” *Ogden Standard*, August 18, 1902, 4.

a Democratic morning paper was coming to Ogden, promoted by businessmen from Illinois and Utah. Glasmann assured his readers that it had nothing to do with the *Morning Sun* and the AP dispatches, but he said nothing more. In late July 1903, Frank Francis, managing editor of the *Ogden Standard*, had approached Frank Cannon about supporting a Democratic newspaper in Ogden. Cannon was noncommittal, and less than a month later, he announced that “arrangements have already progressed so far that they could no longer be kept secret.” On August 20, the “new paper” was announced as the old *Utah State Journal*, this time as a daily paper.³² Apparently, the visit by Francis was taken by Cannon to mean that the AP dispatches were again in play, although Glasmann discouraged everyone, saying that the AP was not amenable to another false start by an Ogden paper. The *Utah State Journal* had an outside chance because it had been in publication for eight years. For Frank Cannon to have a chance at winning the AP franchise, he would have had to expand his paper to a daily. Francis, on the other hand, had the full support of Glasmann and the Standard Publishing Company. On September 23, Francis laid out his well-organized plans for a morning paper, and stated that it would all depend on who obtained the AP franchise.³³

Cannon had a dilemma. To impress the AP he had to show the economic wherewithal to publish a daily paper in Ogden. His backers, however, conditioned their support on his obtaining the AP dispatches. Accordingly he talked fast, restating articles of incorporation for a new Utah State Journal Company of Ogden as a bona fide daily paper, even though he was running on a shoestring. In the end, all of Cannon’s efforts did not matter. On November 5, two days after Glasmann was elected to his second term as Ogden mayor, Melville E. Stone of the Associated Press met with Francis in Salt Lake City. Stone told Francis that the board of directors of the Associated Press had decided in September to award Francis a franchise for a morning paper in Ogden. When queried what it would be called, Francis announced, the *Ogden Morning*

Examiner.³⁴ As if to add insult to injury, in an election which saw Democratic wins in virtually every city or town in the state, Ogden was a landslide for the Republicans. Cannon’s municipal ticket had lost, along with his bid for the AP dispatches.

The *Morning Examiner* got off to a less than successful start. By the end of April 1904, the Standard Publishing Company stepped in and bought the *Morning Examiner* for the debt that was owed. In spite of the *Morning Examiner* raising 2,300 new subscribers in four months, more than any new startup paper in Ogden, including the *Utah State Journal*, efforts by the Salt Lake press to discourage subscriptions prevailed. Cannon and the *Utah State Journal* hoped to possibly inherit the *Examiner*’s AP franchise. It became clear in April that Glasmann would purchase the *Morning Examiner* and continue publication. *Standard* subscribers received the Sunday morning *Examiner* free of charge, and both *Standard* and *Examiner* subscribers could receive both papers for an extra \$0.25 a month.

In the fall of 1904, Cannon became editor of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, leaving Ogden behind. Thomas Kearns and his partner David Keith had purchased the *Tribune* in 1901 and ran it as a Republican paper. However, after harsh criticism of the LDS church by the *Tribune*, the church’s withdrawal of support for Kearns’ second term as U.S. Senator enraged the multimillionaire, prompting him to form the American Party as an avowed enemy of the church and the Salt Lake Republicans. The American Party was in existence from 1904 to 1911 and tried to bring back the old Liberal Party. Although it won important municipal elections, the American Party never succeeded in revitalizing the old Liberal Party.

By January 1906, the *Utah State Journal* was near bankruptcy with debts totaling \$23,000. The paper was forced to lay off two-thirds of its workforce, with no prospect of ever recovering. On March 19, the *Utah State Journal* was sold and the stock put into a trust pending reincorporation. On April 6, the semi-defunct *Utah State Journal* reincorporated under new own-

32 “New Daily Paper Rumored for Ogden,” *Ogden Standard*, August 20, 1903, 5.

33 “Democratic Morning Paper Assured for Ogden,” *Ogden Standard*, September 23, 1903, 6.

34 “A Morning Paper for Ogden,” *Ogden Standard*, November 5, 1903, 6.

ership headed by Brigham A. Bowman and Willard Snyder of Ogden. The reincorporation was calculated to erase the huge debt amassed by the newspaper while still preserving the name. Bowman declared the paper's political preference was Republican.³⁵ Within a few months, however, it became clear what the motives were behind the purchase of the *Utah State Journal*.

In an interview with the *Inter-Mountain Republican* in early September, Glasmann spoke about the possibilities of being appointed U.S. Postmaster in Ogden and the misrepresentations published by the *Salt Lake Tribune*. As an aside to the conversation, Glasmann said that

a man by the name of T. R. Tingle, from Kansas City, called upon me Saturday and said he had come West to buy a paper and that he wanted to buy the State Journal and The Examiner in order to consolidate them; but learning that the State Journal was not for sale until after the election, he wanted an option on the Morning Examiner until he could make a deal to buy the State Journal. Whether the Examiner gave him an option or entertained his proposition is nobody's business, excepting the shareholders of the Standard Publishing Company.³⁶

Members of the American Party state organization were apparently behind the effort, not the Republican Party as the purchasers had represented to Glasmann. Tingle was used to mask the true intentions behind the acquisition. Glasmann viewed all the subterfuge as nonsense and wanted the transaction to go forward regardless of who the buyers were. He would not take anything for granted, knowing full well that the employees of the *Utah State Journal* were as confused as anyone and denied the terms of the acquisition.³⁷ In the end, the proposed Tingle acquisition of the *Morning Standard* fell apart, and on January 14, 1907, the *Salt Lake Herald* reported that the deal had "blown up," and though the reasons were not disclosed,

the price was believed to be at the root of the problem.³⁸

In October 1907, Glasmann was again approached by potential buyers, this time two relatively young newspapermen, J. F. Thomas and Ernest T. Spencer, who claimed to have been studying the Ogden market for almost a year. The shareholders immediately offered to sell the buyers their stock in the *Utah State Journal* for even less than bargain prices. The *Morning Examiner*, they claimed, was nothing more than a "white elephant" that Glasmann was desperate to unload.³⁹ The absurdity of the comparison between the two papers was not lost on Thomas and Spencer. The AP franchise alone was worth more than the entire *Utah State Journal*, and the *Examiner's* circulation was growing monthly. Stories began running in the *Salt Lake Tribune* that the *Morning Examiner* was to be a Republican paper, to confuse prospective Democratic investors. Glasmann was interested in selling the *Morning Examiner*, but at a price that was fair. He was also interested in a paper that would be a worthy and professional adversary. But Glasmann would not lower the sales price. A sharp businessman, he did not become one of the richest men in Ogden by being careless in his decisions.

In November 1907, talk of the proposed purchase suddenly disappeared from the pages of the *Ogden Standard* and did not resurface for eight months. In July 1908, *The Ogden Standard* ran a cryptic editorial:

The paper known as a "Rich Man's Folly" says "wise ones" announce a big political sensation is to be sprung in the immediate future that the Morning Examiner is to become a Democratic paper. The best manner in which to nail a deliberate lie of that kind is to demand the authority, and we now demand to know who is one of the wise ones? The writer of such a falsehood knew he was penning an untruth when, under instructions, he wrote it.

The "Rich Man's Folly" can be kept busy

35 "Journal Reincorporates," *Inter-Mountain Republican*, April 7, 1904, 5.

36 "Glasmann Was Not Turned Down," *Inter-Mountain Republican*, September 4, 1906, 1.

37 "Newspaper Deals," *Ogden Standard*, November 13, 1906, 4.

38 "Deal Seems to Have Blown Up," *Salt Lake Herald*, January 14, 1907, 2.

39 "New Daily Paper in Ogden," *Ogden Standard*, October 15, 1907, 8.

... writing up its patron saint's crusade against vice without indulging in fabrications directed at the *Examiner*.⁴⁰

The editorial was obviously aimed at the arch enemy *Salt Lake Tribune*, but the reference to "Rich Man's Folly" satirized the fact that Glasmann's price was too much of a risk for a startup venture, especially in Ogden where the *Ogden Standard* had been entrenched firmly for over twenty years. All potential purchasers wanted the *Morning Examiner* for the Associated Press franchise. But Glasmann had his price, and he was not about to shoulder the risk and expense of a new venture.

Ten months later, on May 9, 1909, an article appeared in the Sunday edition of the *Morning Examiner* and *Ogden Standard* announcing that A. R. Bowman, brother of the well-known president of Wasatch Printing Company, Bert R. Bowman, had purchased the *Utah State Journal* lock, stock, and barrel. The Monday edition was to be the first under Bowman's stewardship. Moreover, less than three weeks later, Bowman also purchased the *Morning Examiner*, accomplishing what many newspapermen had been trying for years. He combined the *Utah State Journal*, with its Scripps-McRae Service and Publishers' Press Service and subscription base, with the *Morning Examiner* and its AP franchise and subscription base. Ogden had a new viable morning paper retaining the *Morning Examiner* name to compete with the *Ogden Standard*. Though the new *Morning Examiner* was a Democratic paper, relations between the two papers were competitive yet cordial, the kind of professional atmosphere that Glasmann had sought for over a decade.

Four months later, Bert Bowman bought out his brother, who was replaced by Alex C. Young as editor and manager. No one, it seemed, knew who Young was.⁴¹ Young had the financial support of Samuel Newhouse—Utah's millionaire who had invested in the new paper—to acquire the *Morning Examiner*.⁴² Meanwhile, Bert R. Bowman and Paul M. Lee appeared on the

masthead as publisher and manager. Again, in mid-December, Charles Meghan, fresh from a stint as city editor of the *Daily Herald* in Fremont, Nebraska, and newspaperman Ernest T. Spencer from the 1907 attempted purchase of the *Morning Examiner* were installed as the new editors. Spencer appeared to have money to make a credible offer for the *Morning Examiner*, but at the last minute the purchase fell through.

On July 11, 1910, Bert Bowman and Paul Lee voluntarily turned over the affairs of the *Morning Examiner* to a receiver, W. D. Brown, and Pingree National Bank of Ogden—the largest creditor of the morning paper. On paper, with \$4,400 in assets against \$2,409 in liabilities, the *Morning Examiner* did not appear to be in financial trouble.⁴³ Bowman admitted that he had plenty of offers for financial assistance to carry on, but he disclosed that his health could not take the stress of newspaper work anymore. He went on to complain that the general assumption, albeit incorrect, was that Glasmann was in control of the policies of the *Morning Examiner*, even though at the time he was serving his third term as Ogden City mayor. The effects of the *Salt Lake Tribune* smear campaign were responsible for some of the misconception. Glasmann's almost legendary stature in the community as a powerful newspaperman and politician accounted for the flawed reasoning as well. His aggressive style led to an image that was sometimes distorted but nevertheless helpful for the progressive cause.

Representatives from the *Salt Lake Tribune* journeyed to Ogden to "kick the tires" and feign interest in the morning paper, but in the end it had no interest in the *Morning Examiner*. A month went by without any bids to purchase the paper out of receivership. With the majority of the liabilities that Pingree National Bank held in favor of real property leases belonging to the Standard Publishing Company, Glasmann ended up with control by default. On August 15, the Examiner Publishing Company dissolved, and with it the *Utah State Journal* succumbed to an inglorious death. The *Ogden Morning Examiner* transferred to the Standard Publishing Company and would continue publication

40 "Rich Man's Folly," *Ogden Standard*, July 8, 1908, 4.

41 "The Examiner's New Editor-Manager," *Ogden Standard*, September 22, 1909, 4.

42 "New Blood Will Tell," *Ogden Standard*, December 27, 1909, 4.

43 "Official Papers of Assignment," *Ogden Standard*, July 14, 1910, 6.



Joseph ("Jody") Underwood Eldredge, Jr., general manager of the *Morning Examiner* (1911–1920) and the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* (1920–1933).

as a weekly Sunday paper only. The publication of the morning paper would be known as the *Morning Standard*. On August 21, the masthead for the Sunday paper shifted from *Ogden Morning Examiner and Successors to the Daily State Journal* to the *Morning Standard and Successors to the Daily Morning Examiner*. Finally, On December 11, the Sunday morning paper reverted to the *Morning Standard and Ogden Morning Examiner*. Glasmann had intended for the *Examiner* only to be kept on life support to preserve the AP franchise, while the *Standard* assumed the bulk of publishing duties.⁴⁴

Since the conservatives of the Republican Party had grown under the leadership of Reed Smoot over the last decade and a half, the conservative wing of the party had been mulling over the possibilities of a split in the party for some time, ever since the Taft-Roosevelt break back in October 1911. One glaring sore spot was in Ogden. Drawing on their experience in the

1908 election, the Republican leadership realized that they did not have a strong enough voice in Ogden for the 1912 campaign. True, the *Herald-Republican* had an office in Ogden, but the party required a local voice. Although the progressive Republicans, like Glasmann, continued to support the party, the conservative Republican hierarchy had made its move. In early December 1911, Jody Eldredge showed up on Glasmann's doorstep and announced his intention to buy the *Morning Examiner* with its AP franchise. What separated Eldredge from the other suitors for the *Ogden Morning Examiner* was simple: Glasmann knew Eldredge was backed by Republican money. Glasmann also knew Eldredge, the U.S. Assayer for Utah, was one of Senator Reed Smoot's political associates. The press had dubbed all of Senator Smoot's political friends and allies that he appointed to federal patronage positions as the "federal bunch," and Glasmann knew they were behind the purchase.⁴⁵ Later, Glasmann would lament the bargain price at which he sold the morning paper, enough to pay the debts of the *Morning Examiner*. But Eldredge had the potential to be the worthy adversary Glasmann had always longed for.

Glasmann sold the *Ogden Examiner* to a "group of Utah businessmen" on December 11, 1911.⁴⁶ On Monday, April 1, 1912, with the new plant finally installed in the new office 2439 Hudson, the new general manager took the reins.⁴⁷ An editorial on the fourth page announced: "Without a doubt, this will be a clean and progressive newspaper, carefully seeking to serve the best interests of the best people of the community. . . . In politics, the Examiner will be independent. That means just what it says."⁴⁸ It wasn't long

45 Though the "federal bunch" was behind the acquisition of the *Morning Examiner*, Senator Smoot had his misgivings about acquiring the newspaper as far back as April 20, 1909, when the federal bunch discussed moving a printing plant to Ogden to take advantage of the Associated Press dispatches owned by the *Morning Examiner*. See Harvard S. Heath, ed., *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot* (Salt Lake City: Signature Book and Smith Research Associates, 1997), 15.

46 Roberts and Sadler, *A History of Weber County*, 377; "Morning Examiner Sold to Eldridge," *Ogden Standard*, December 11, 1911, 3.

47 In 1923 Hudson Avenue was renamed Kiesel Avenue in honor of former mayor Fred J. Kiesel, who died April 23, 1919.

48 Editorial, *Ogden Examiner*, April 1, 1912, 4.

44 "Ogden's Newspapers Are Consolidated," *Herald-Republican*, August 17, 1910, 3.

after that that the editorial page began carrying the masthead, "THE REPUBLICAN TICKET - For President William Howard Taft - For Vice-President James Schoolcraft Sherman."

As the new general manager, Eldredge's marching orders were simple: be an alternative Republican voice to the progressives, in or out of the party, and neutralize the Roosevelt vote in Ogden. At first, this was a temporary political assignment for Eldredge, and he commuted to Ogden from his home in Salt Lake City.⁴⁹ But the more he worked at the newspaper, the more enamored he became with Ogden.

On August 29, Senator Smoot and Congressman Joseph Howell stopped in Ogden en route from Washington to confer with Eldredge and a number of Republicans at Union Station. They discussed the strategy for the upcoming Republican state convention to be held the following week at the Salt Lake Theater in Salt Lake City. Afterward, Congressman Howell stayed on in Ogden, while Eldredge and Senator Smoot, accompanied by *Ogden Examiner* editor-in-chief LeRoy Armstrong, continued to Salt Lake City. They discussed more of the political situation, and Senator Smoot "gave Armstrong an interview for the *Ogden Examiner*."⁵⁰

The next day, the *Ogden Examiner* carried the interview on page one. Senator Smoot said that he was not alarmed at the Bull Moose Party and that the eastern part of the country was not paying much attention to the Progressives. He reported that "President Taft feels that the business men of the country, and informed people generally, will thoughtfully study the situation, and in the end will give their support at the polls to the Republican ticket."⁵¹ Though Senator Smoot kept a confident public outlook for the Republicans, privately he knew Taft would

probably lose. A hint of that was nonchalantly reported later in the article: "The plans of the senator are not entirely perfected. He has a good many business interests at Provo claiming his attention, but he probably will be heard in the campaign."⁵² In short, the Republicans were in trouble. It was obvious that Ogden was going to be difficult to hold for Taft in view of Bill Glassman's popularity coupled with the expected appearance of Theodore Roosevelt at the Ogden Bull Moose convention. But Republicans needed only to cut into the margin of victory expected for the Bull Moose Party in northern Utah and leave the rest of Utah to carry the Republicans to victory.

Theodore Roosevelt made his appearance at the Bull Moose Convention in Ogden at the corner of Twenty-Fifth Street and Grant Avenue on Friday, September 13. He spoke to a crowd of over 5,000 enthusiastic supporters. He immediately attacked the two party system, claiming that "both of the old parties are rotten at heart . . . (cheers and applause). Each of them is boss controlled and privilege ridden, and each is so organized that it is incapable of facing in a serious spirit the serious problems of today."⁵³ The indirect insult may have stung Senator Smoot, but he had to be more chagrined because the Bull Moose ticket for state office "was made up mostly of distinguished Republicans."⁵⁴ The list of candidates included his close friend and former member of the federal bunch, C. E. Looze, as candidate for Congress. After the convention, Roosevelt motored to the Hermitage in Ogden Canyon and posed for photographs, which included, "Weber County Sunday drivers, a narrow road, a rocky canyon, and a presidential candidate."⁵⁵

The Bull Moose Party predicted that it would carry Utah in the election.⁵⁶ Although some speculated that Glasmann would be nominated by the Bull Moose Party as a candidate for Congress or other high political office, by the close of the convention he had not appeared on the Bull Moose ticket. *The Ogden Standard and*

52 Ibid.

53 "Roosevelt Delivers His Only Speech Here," *Ogden Examiner*, September 14, 1912, 1-2.

54 Heath, ed., *In the World*, 161.

55 Roberts and Sadler, *A History of Weber County*, 204

56 Heath, ed., *In the World*, 161.

49 In 1896, Eldredge entered politics as a McKinley republican under the tutelage of Dennis Eichnor. Upon Eichnor's untimely death in 1904, Eldredge became the Salt Lake Republican Chairman at the age of 29. After serving a term as Salt Lake County Clerk, Eldredge was appointed U.S. Assayer by Sen. Reed Smoot and became an *ex officio* member of the federal bunch. He remained chairman of the Salt Lake City and County Republican Party until the beginning of the 1912 campaign when he moved to Ogden to take over the *Morning Examiner*.

50 Heath, ed., *In the World*, 157.

51 "New Party Is No Cause for Alarm," *Ogden Examiner*, August 30, 1912, 1.

Ogden Examiner traded jabs throughout the rest of the campaign, reaching a climax on the weekend before the November 5 election. The *Ogden Examiner* lambasted Glasmann with a barrage of personal attacks and innuendo, claiming that a Bull Moose Party vote would only benefit Glasmann locally. The *Morning Examiner* article chided the alleged claim that Glasmann was the originator of the third party movement in Weber County and called him a politically corrupt blackmailer who controlled Ogden because men feared him. The article closed with a rhetorical challenge for anyone to disprove it.⁵⁷

That evening, the *Ogden Standard* replied with less than a lukewarm response. Glasmann, as was his typical practice, was unruffled by the *Examiner's* attacks on him personally. He deflected the vitriolic challenge, pointing out the inconsistency in the *Examiner's* argument that all along "Colonel Roosevelt is all there is to the Progressive Party, and now it says Glasmann is the whole party." The article ended with "Poor old Examiner. It must have a very bad case of Glasmannitis," a favorite valediction that Glasmann used in personal attacks.⁵⁸

But in reality, the adjournment of the Bull Moose convention was an anticlimax to the November 5th election. In the end, Ogden City went for Roosevelt, attesting to the influence of Glasman. Weber County stayed Republican.⁵⁹ Nationwide, Taft carried only two states, Utah and Vermont, with a total of eight electoral votes. Roosevelt fared much better, tallying six states with 88 electoral votes. New Jersey governor Woodrow Wilson was swept into the White House in a landslide, carrying forty states with 435 electoral votes. Republicans and their progressive counterparts had to live with the realization that Wilson only commandeered 41 percent of the vote, while the progressive and Republican and Bull Moose parties combined to garner almost 51 percent of the ballots cast.

The *Ogden Examiner* offered its postmortem on the election the following day. Alluding to the

57 "A Vote for the Bull Moose Ticket Is a Vote for Glasmann," *Ogden Examiner*, November 2, 1912, 4.

58 "Calls 'Liar' and Throws Mud," *Ogden Standard*, November 2, 1912, 4.

59 Roberts and Sadler, *A History of Weber County*, 204.



President Woodrow Wilson visits Ogden on September 23, 1919, just one week before his debilitating stroke. Jody Eldredge, who was in the midst of merger talks with Abe Glasmann, can be seen in the background as part of the welcoming dignitaries of Ogden.

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argument that Roosevelt had appeared on the streets of Ogden not quite two months earlier, Armstrong argued that the American electorate had clearly chosen progressive ideology by voting for the two most liberal candidates: "We believe the forward march was disturbed somewhat by the defection of Colonel Roosevelt and his friends, because it seems clear that reform, wherever needed, was certain to be accomplished by and within the Republican party."⁶⁰

By sticking to the Republican Party line that it was important to follow procedures, however, the editorial still played into the hands of the chief complaint of the Bull Moose Party; too many party bosses and hacks prevented the people's obvious choice from being nomi-

60 "The Progressive Movement," *Ogden Examiner*, November 6, 1912, 4.

nated in June. One thing was certain, however: Republicans were deeply divided and it would take time for wounds to heal. With the election over, the mission of the *Morning Examiner* was complete. Now it only remained for Eldredge to decide what to do with his future. On January 30, 1913, the outgoing Taft administration appointed Eldredge to his second term as U.S. Assayer for Utah, retroactive to January 20. The Democrats had been calling for the closure of the Idaho and Utah U.S. Assayer's office for some time.⁶¹ Now with the Democrats solidly in power, it appeared Eldredge's days as U.S. Assayer were likely numbered, even with the appointment. For eight years previous to the 1912 election, Eldredge had served as Salt Lake County Republican Chairman and a term as Salt Lake County Clerk. He had been at the forefront of many political squabbles to the point that he had just about as many enemies as friends in the Republican Party. The Republican elite had tailored the *Morning Examiner* job for Eldredge at the outset, offering him a change of scenery. The 1912 election outcome cemented his decision. In the late spring of 1913, Eldredge announced that he would resign as U.S. Assayer for Utah. He moved his family to Ogden and continued as general manager of the *Ogden Examiner*.

By early 1916, Glasmann was back in the Republican fold, planning to run for Congress. His long, elusive dream appeared to have a high probability of becoming reality. Ironically, the very reason that had kept him from conservative Utah Republican Party favor so many years now proved to be his strongest appeal. Glasmann, who had never wavered from his progressive ideals, was believed by many to be the best chance to defeat the likely Democratic candidate, Milton H. Welling, in the 1916 elections. Eldredge was back in politics as Weber County Republican Chairman and had become good friends with Glasmann. The *Morning Examiner* solidly backed Glasmann's candidacy. The former three-term mayor had been trying for the previous five years to see the South Fork Dam built, to no avail. Glasmann needed the distraction that the U.S. House of Representatives offered to boost him into his old form again. But

it was not to be. On Monday afternoon, May 12, 1916, Glasmann died of a sudden heart attack while resting at his home. He was 57.

Glasmann's widow, Evelyn, and his second oldest son, Abe, took over the *Ogden Standard* with support and assistance from the managing editor Frank Francis and the *Morning Examiner's* general manager Jody Eldredge. In the summer of 1919, talk of merging the two newspapers became serious. The two papers would merge into one under Evelyn Glasmann as publisher, Abe Glasmann as editor in chief, and Jody Eldredge as general manager. On Monday, April 5, 1920, the first edition of the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* hit the streets.

Frank Francis took a hiatus from managing editor to serve two terms as the mayor of Ogden from January 1920 to January 1924. Later in 1924 he ran unsuccessfully for Congress. He served a third term as mayor of Ogden from 1928 to 1930 and went on to be a highly successful nationally syndicated columnist with his *News and Views*. He died after a short illness in 1945.

Eldredge remained active in Republican politics, and was invited often to the White House. After another strike of typesetters in late 1932, he became ill shortly after Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected and died on January 20, 1933. Abe Glasmann remained with the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* until his death in 1970. In 1993, the Glasmann family sold all of its interest in the newspaper to Sandusky Newspapers of Ohio that owns other newspapers as well. Today, the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* continues to publish daily as it has for the last 125 years as Utah's third largest newspaper.

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61 In "New Party is No Cause for Alarm in U.S.," *Ogden Examiner*, August 30, 1912, 8, Congressman Joseph Howell reportedly claimed that "[t]he Democrats favored free wool and free lead and abolished the assay office."



At history.utah.gov/uhqextras, we publish Timothy H. O'Sullivan and William Henry Jackson photographs of Ogden and Utah. O'Sullivan was photographer on the U.S. Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel under Clarence King, on Lt. George M. Wheeler's western survey, and for the U.S. Geological Survey and the Treasury Department. During his long career, Jackson joined the Hayden Survey and other geologic surveys of the West and the Southwest.

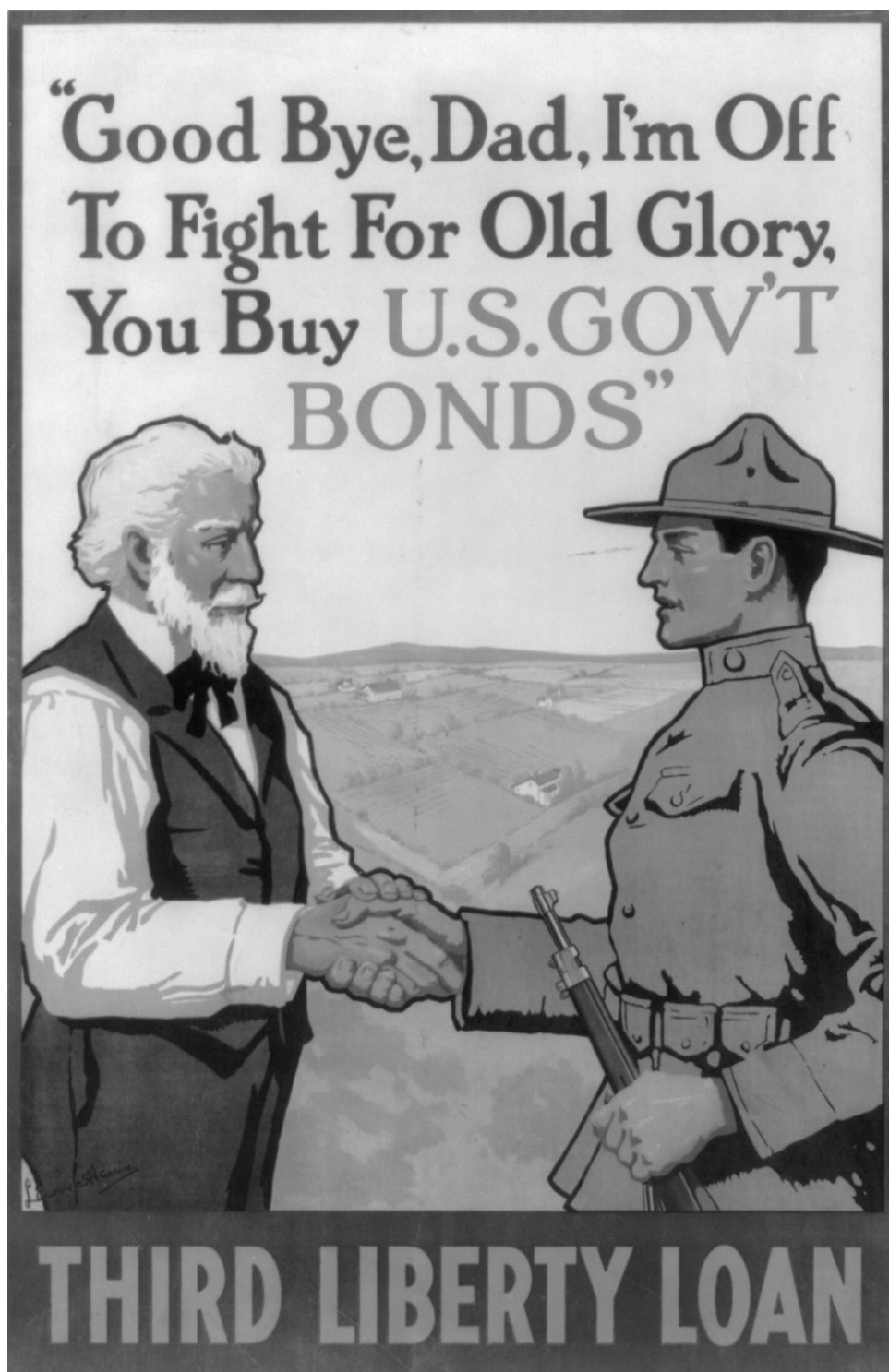
APPENDIX 1. SELECTED OGDEN NEWSPAPERS, 1870–1920

DATES	NEWSPAPER	EDITOR & PUBLISHER
1868–75	<i>Frontier Index</i>	Legh and Ada Freeman
1869	<i>Ogden Telegraph</i>	T. B. H. Stenhouse (one issue May 11, 1869)
1870	<i>Trans-Continental</i>	
1870–71	<i>Ogden Junction</i>	F. D. Richards, C. W. Penrose, R. Ballantyne
1875–79	<i>Ogden Freeman</i>	Legh and Ada Freeman
1877–79	<i>The Amateur</i>	Joseph West, Richard Ballantyne
1879	<i>Weber County Chronicle</i>	
1879	<i>Ogden Town & Stage</i>	Scipio Africanus Kenner
1879–80	<i>Evening Dispatch</i>	F. B. Millard, Charles King
1880	<i>Ogden Rustler</i>	Charles King
1881–84	<i>Ogden Pilot</i>	E. A. Littlefield
1881–87	<i>Ogden Herald</i>	John Nicholson, Leo Haefeli, Frank Cannon
1885–90	<i>Utah Danske Amerikaner</i>	Carl C. Ericksen
1885–87	<i>Ogden Daily News</i>	E. A. Littlefield, Leo Haefeli
1888–1920	<i>The Standard</i>	Frank Cannon, Wm. Glasmann, Frank Francis
1888–89	<i>Ogden Daily Union</i>	Charles King
1888–89	<i>Ogden Argus</i>	P. J. Barrett, Leo Haefeli
1889–91	<i>Ogden Commercial</i>	A. B. Johnson, A. C. Bishop
1890	<i>Ogden Monday Morning</i>	Intermountain Printing & Publishing Company
1891–96	<i>Utah Democrat</i>	S. S. Smith
1892–98	<i>American X-Ray</i>	S. S. Smith
1892–93	<i>Ogden Leader</i>	Rowe, Barber
1892–93	<i>Ogden Post</i>	L. R. Rhodes, James H. Wallis
1893	<i>Ogden Trade-Review</i>	
1893–97	<i>Ogden Press</i>	E. A. Littlefield, B. F. Thomas
1893–94	<i>Ogden Sun</i>	W. W. Browning
1895	<i>Ogden Advertiser</i>	Matt E. Edsall
1895	<i>Ogden Review</i>	H. L. Grant
1896	<i>Ogden Times</i>	Kate Hillard
1896	<i>Ogden Times</i>	Matt E. Edsall
1896–1908	<i>Utah State Journal</i>	E. A. Littlefield, Frank Cannon, W. W. Browning
1897–98	<i>Ogden Commonwealth</i>	J. S. Boreman
1897–98	<i>Ogden Switch</i>	E. A. Littlefield, A. C. Ivins
1898–99	<i>Utah Home</i>	F. J. Headershot, S. H. Hobson
1899	<i>Ogden Bi-Metallist</i>	W. H. Carleton
1899	<i>Weber County Times</i>	Mansfield L. Snow
1901–04	<i>Industrial Utah</i>	B. F. Thomas
1903	<i>Ogden Morning Sun</i>	Wm. Glasmann (never published)
1904–20	<i>Morning Examiner</i>	Frank Francis, Wm. Glasmann, J. U. Eldredge, Jr.
1912–13	<i>Ogden Advance</i>	F. V. Fisher
1914–15	<i>Japanese News</i>	T. Kameyama

Sources: Leo Haefeli and Frank J. Cannon, *Directory of Ogden City and Weber County, 1883*, (Ogden, UT: Ogden Herald Publishing Company, 1883), 59–66; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States of North America*, Vol. XXI, Utah, 1540–1846 (San Francisco: History Company, 1886), 717; Edward W. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories: Vol. II, Containing the History of All the Northern, Eastern and Western Counties of Utah; Also the Southern Counties of Idaho* (Salt Lake City: Press of the Juvenile Instructor, 1889), 198–200; J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism: A Half Century of Forensic Warfare Waged by the West's Most Militant Press*, reprint (Greenwood, CT; Greenwood Press, 1970), 142–80, 386–87.

APPENDIX 2. CONTINUITY IN LDS CHURCH PERSONNEL

NAME	LDS CHURCH POSITION/STATUS	CIVIC POSITION
OGDEN JUNCTION—JANUARY 1, 1870		
Franklin D. Richards (Pub.)	Apostle	Editor (1870–77)
Richard Ballantyne (Pub.)	LDS Sunday School	Editor (1877–81)
Charles W. Penrose (Ed.)	Missionary, later apostle	Editor (1870–80)
Joseph Hall (City Ed.)	LDS Sunday School, missionary	Former staff, <i>Telegraph</i>
Frank Cannon (Reporter)	Son of G. Q. Cannon	Journalist
Scipio A. Kenner (Ed.)		Lawyer, journalist
George G. Taylor (Ed.)		Journalist
Leo Haefeli (Ed.)	Popular Mormon writer	Editor (1880–81)
OGDEN HERALD—MAY 2, 1881		
David H. Peery (Pres.)	Former president, Weber Stake	Mayor of Ogden
L. J. Herrick (V.P.)	Bishop	Mayor of Ogden
Joseph Hall (Sec.)	LDS Sunday School, missionary	Journalist
Chas. F. Middleton (Treas.)	1st councilor, Weber Stake Pres.	Ogden City alderman
John Nicholson (Editor)	Missionary, seventy, polygamist	Journalist, <i>Deseret News</i>
Leo Haefeli (Editor)	Popular Mormon writer	Journalist
Frank J. Cannon (Editor)	Son of Apostle G. Q. Cannon	Editor (1887)
OGDEN STANDARD—JANUARY 1, 1888		
Lewis W. Shurtliff (Pres.)	President, Weber Stake	Utah Territorial Council
Charles C. Richards (V.P.)	High Priest, son of F. D. Richards	Weber County Attorney
Frank J. Cannon (Sec.)	Son of G. Q. Cannon	Editor-in-chief
Frank A. Wilcox (Treas.)		Business manager, <i>Herald</i>
Charles F. Middleton (Dir.)	1st Councilor, Weber Stake pres.	Police judge of Ogden
David H. Peery (Dir.)	Former president, Weber Stake	Prominent Businessman
Robert McQuarrie (Dir.)	Bishop, Ogden 2nd Ward	Ogden City alderman
Ben E. Rich (Dir.)	Mission president	Businessman
Thomas J. Stevens (Dir.)	Bishop, Ogden 5th Ward	Ogden City recorder



During World War I, hundreds of prints, drawings, and posters were produced to encourage patriotism, the purchase of war bonds, and enlistment in the armed forces. This poster, used in the Third Liberty Loan Drive, suggests that all Americans had their duty to perform; for civilians the purchase of Liberty Bonds would help insure that soldiers had the resources to carry out the fight to defeat the enemy.

UTAH'S WAR MACHINE

The Utah Council of Defense, 1917–1919

BY ALLAN KENT POWELL

America's entry into the Great War in April 1917 called for not only the mobilization of men into military service but also the organization of the civilian home front effort on a scale that was unprecedented in the nation's history and foreshadowed government expansion during the rest of the twentieth century. During the war, the primary vehicles for this expansion of government included the Council of National Defense, state councils of defense, and local councils of defense in the counties and communities throughout the country. This paper will focus on the Utah Council of Defense during World War I: its organization, major activities, and relationship to the Council of National Defense; the opportunities and limitations that it brought for women; and its effectiveness as a means to involve Utahns in the war effort. Important in understanding the war effort in Utah is an examination of the role of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and how effectively Mormons and non-Mormons worked together in Utah in support of the war effort at both the state and local levels. All Utahns were concerned with how their patriotism would be judged by the rest of the country and especially the nation's wartime leaders.

The system of councils of defense represented an expanded experiment in federal, state, and local government mobilization, coordination, and cooperation that also involved most aspects of the diverse private sector.¹

1 William J. Breen, *Uncle Sam at Home: Civilian Mobilization, Wartime Federalism, and the Council of National Defense, 1917–1919* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984), xiii–xvii.

The undertaking occurred in an environment where many individuals were wary of an expansion of the power of the federal government on one hand, yet, on the other, committed to cooperation and support of the federal government, especially during the war. The programs and activities of the state and county councils impacted thousands of Utah residents who gave their support and demonstrated that volunteerism and decentralization could be, and in fact were, strengths in a national effort. They tied Utah even more closely to the rest of the nation and allowed the state to demonstrate competence and commitment in working for greater efficiency and involvement of its citizens in a united cause.

The Council of National Defense was created by Congress on August 29, 1916, with the mandate to coordinate resources and industries for the nation's security and welfare. Six presidential cabinet members constituted the council—the secretaries of war, navy, interior, labor, agriculture, and commerce. The council was assisted by a volunteer advisory commission of experts and a small paid staff.

Following the United State's declaration of war on Germany, Newton D. Baker, chairman of the Council of National Defense, wrote to Utah Governor Simon Bamberger and the other state governors requesting the organization of state councils of defense. Governor Bamberger moved quickly to call a meeting in his office on April 26, 1917, to establish the Utah State Council of Defense for the purpose “of bringing about the speedy and practical mobilization of every resource of the state.”²

At the April 26th meeting L. H. Farnsworth, president of Walker Brothers Bank in Salt Lake City, was selected as chairman of the Utah State Council of Defense and its executive committee.³

2 “Council of Defense Planned for Utah,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 9, 1917.

3 Louis Henry Farnsworth served as chairman of the Utah Council of Defense from its establishment in 1917 until it was disbanded in 1919. A prominent banker and Utah businessman, Farnsworth was at the head of many organizations and a member of important social groups. One of his children, Louis D. Farnsworth, served six months as an officer with the American Expeditionary Force in France. Noble Warrum, *Utah Since Statehood, Historical and Biographical* (Salt Lake City: S. J. Clarke, 1910), 2:200–3; J. Cecil Alter, *Utah, the Storied Domain: A*

Farnsworth oversaw the work of the council's twelve committees and pushed for the establishment of county councils, which included the same local organization as at the state level.⁴ Service on the county councils and their committees was considered a patriotic obligation and opportunity. Typical of the resolve to carry out the service, those attending a meeting at the Piute County Courthouse to organize a council in one of Utah's smallest counties were told, “This is a call from the government. Every man must answer the call. Every man asked to serve as a committeeman should consider it a draft by the Government. There must be no refusals.”⁵ By and large, Utahns accepted the call. In Beaver

Documentary History of Utah's Eventful Career (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society, 1932), 2:579. Historical records show that Farnsworth carried out his assignment as chairman of the Utah Council of Defense with efficiency and effectiveness, a point that Andrew Love Neff made in correspondence referring to him as “unquestionably a splendid executive . . . as the documents prove.” However, Neff expressed dismay at the lack of documents available for writing a history of Utah and the Great War, which Farnsworth saw as a criticism of his administration of the Utah Council of Defense. To this, Neff responded, “you have a poor comprehension of historical values and historical material. The truth is that you and your associates were so busy making history that you had little time to record it. Naturally and properly you were so absorbed in winning the war, and solving the paramount problems of the hour, that the minutes speak all too briefly and modestly of the accomplishment.” See correspondence in box 12, fd. 12, Andrew Love Neff Papers, 1851–1940, MS 135, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter Neff Papers, JWML).

4 All counties, except remote Daggett County with its scattered population of less than four hundred individuals, established county councils of defense. Later, under a request from the National Council, the organization was expanded to include local councils in communities and areas within Utah. For a list of the individuals serving on the county and local councils of defense, see Noble Warrum, *Utah in the World War: The Men Behind the Guns and the Men and Women Behind the Men Behind the Guns* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Council of Defense, 1924), 97–102. Two weeks before the Armistice, M. Larsen, a member of the Daggett County Liberty Loan Committee, did request information about how to establish a Daggett County Council of Defense. M. Larsen to Heber J. Grant, October 28, 1918, box 2, fd. 11, Utah Council of Defense Records, 1917–1919, MS 107, JWML (hereafter Council Records, JWML).

5 *Piute Chieftain* (Marysville, UT), September 20, 1917, copy in Utah State Council of Defense Miscellaneous Correspondence, Utah State Council of Defense, Administrative Records, Series 10335, Utah State Archives and Records Service, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter Council Administrative Records, USARS).

County a heated confrontation occurred when residents from Milford and Minersville in the western part of the county traveled to the county seat in Beaver to protest their lack of representation on the county council of defense. As a consequence, two at-large members, one from Milford and one from Minersville, were added and two substitutions were made to give balance. J. F. Tolton wrote to state officials that the council's action "seems to have been the only solution of the affair to restore harmony between the two towns; and while Milford did not get all that she demanded, they seemed well satisfied and went home quite contented."⁶

The social impact of the war sometimes became evident in the local workings of the councils of defense. In Sevier County, for instance, county council member I. N. Parker requested that J. Arthur Christensen be removed from the council for failing to do his duty, denouncing his conduct and questioning his loyalty. Christensen was a member of the school board and LDS bishop in Redmond but, according to Parker, had not become a member of the Red Cross, had not supported the Welfare Fund assessed for the town, and had only reluctantly subscribed \$100 for a Liberty Bond. Parker concluded his letter, "The time . . . has now come when the pro-German sympathizers must be separated from the red blooded Americans, that their evil influences may not work to the injury of the people."⁷

While the national and state councils of defense were all male in leadership and would most certainly remain so, pressure mounted quickly, especially from voluntary women's organizations throughout the nation, to establish a women's counterpart to the councils of defense. The initiative for a separate women's organization during the war came at the height of female activism on several fronts: suffrage, temperance, child and women labor legislation, and other reforms associated with the Progressive Movement. Many women cast involvement in the war effort as an expression of patriotism that men had to endorse without question and

one that consequently might help win male toleration and recognition, if not outright support, for other causes championed by women.

As the Utah Council of Defense was being organized in late April 1917, the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense came into existence with Anna Howard Shaw, the honorary president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, accepting the invitation to serve as chair of the national committee. She and her committee members moved quickly to develop a structure based on ten departments or subcommittees and to establish a woman's committee as part of each state council of defense. On August 3, 1917, Governor Simon Bamberger appointed eleven women to the Utah Committee on Women's Work in the World War. Clarissa W. Smith Williams, the first councilor in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Women's Relief Society presidency, chaired the committee. The eleven women also joined forty-six men as members of the Utah Council of Defense. Membership leaned heavily toward business and industrial leaders but also included political, education, and religious leaders and women involved in philanthropic and social welfare activities.⁸

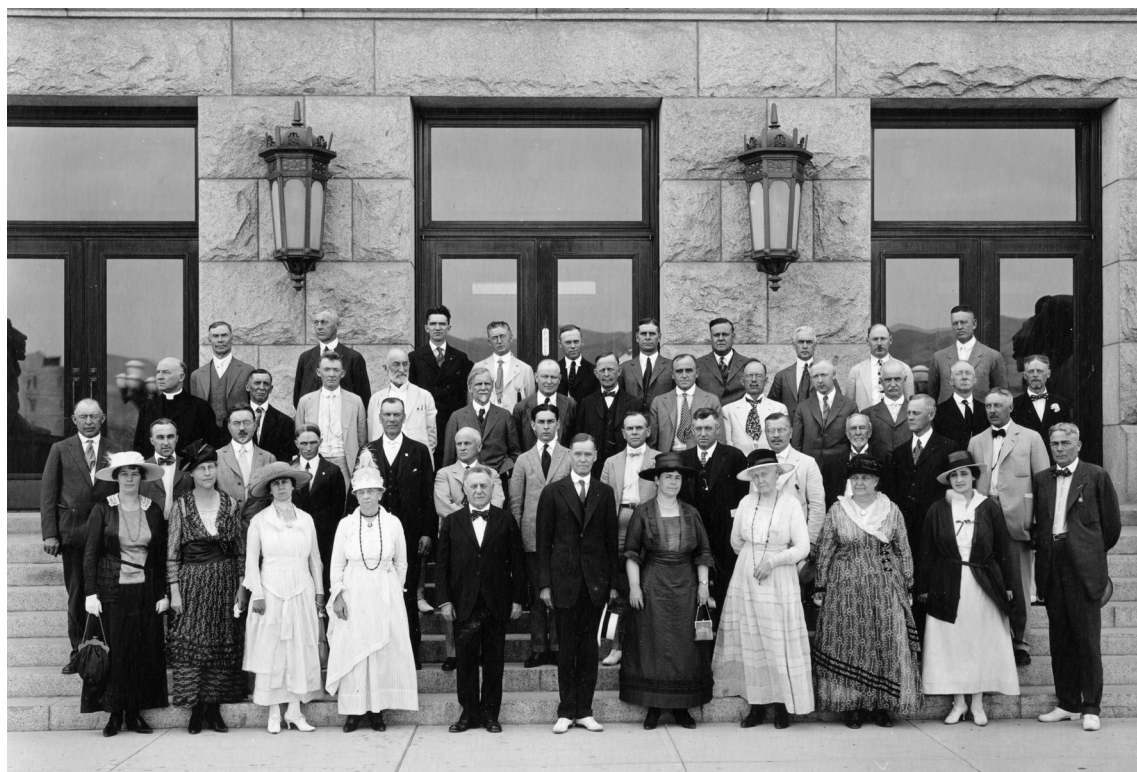
In effect, each state had two councils of defense—one male, one female, but with the inclusion of women members on the male-led state council. The duplication of some committees under the Utah Council of Defense and the Utah Committee on Women's Work in the World War reflected this duality. Both groups had committees on finance and liberty loans, publicity, food supply, and conservation.⁹ Utah followed the suggested model for committees from both the Council of National Defense and the Women's Committee. The national and state organization reflected both a perceived reality of separate spheres of responsibility and a desire by women to have greater control over

6 J. F. Tolton to W. W. Armstrong and W. C. Ebaugh, July 27, 1918, box 3, fd. 1, Council Records, JWML.

7 I. N. Parker to Parley Magelby, January 18, 1918, box 3, fd. 23, Council Records, JWML. Parker resigned from the Sevier County Council of Defense on May 16, 1918.

8 For a list of members of the Utah Council of Defense and their committee assignments see Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, 94–96.

9 Other committees under the Utah Council of Defense included legal, sanitation and medicine, coordination of societies, industrial survey, man power survey, military affairs, state protection, and transportation. The other committees for women included home and foreign relief, health and recreation, general economies, welfare of women in industry, social service agencies, child welfare, education, and registration of services.



This 1918 photograph of the Utah State Council of Defense, taken on the east steps of the Utah State Capitol Building, includes most of the fifty-seven members of the council. Governor Simon Bamberger and Council Chairman L.H. Farnsworth stand in the center of the front row. Clarissa S. Williams, chair of the Utah Committee on Women's Work in the World War, stands next to Farnsworth.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

and independence for their own activities.¹⁰ Yet there were limits as overall leadership in the state and county councils of defense remained a male prerogative. This allowed Heber J. Grant, as chair of the State Central Liberty Loan Committee, to inform Mrs. W. Mont Ferry, the state chair of the Women's Liberty Loan Committee, that the use of women speakers in the theaters to promote the sale of bonds was being discontinued and all speaking assignments would be filled by males "because it is believed that the men can be heard very much better in the theatres and there are many other activities that the women can carry on which they can do better than the men."¹¹

10 For a discussion of women's involvement in the war see, Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 83–116.

11 Undated copy of a letter from Heber J. Grant to Mrs. W. Mont Ferry, box 2, fd. 10, Council Records, JWML.

In Utah, the involvement of women was facilitated by the Relief Society, the organization for Mormon women. The LDS church organizations for girls, the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association, and children, the Primary Association, also became involved. In addition, nearly fifty statewide women's organizations and a host of local women's groups were recruited to work with the Utah Women's Committee.¹²

12 These statewide women's organizations included the United Daughters of the Confederacy; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman's Party; Woman's Republican Club; Woman's Democratic Club; National Federation of Musical Clubs; Young Woman's Christian Association; Order of the Eastern Star; Daughters of the American Revolution; Utah State Nurses' Association; Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Pythian Sisters; Association of Collegiate Alumnae; Woman's Relief Corps; Red Cross; Federation of Labor; Federation of Women's Clubs; National Council of Woman Voters; Jewish Relief Society; Girls'

The United States Army and several federal agencies (including the Federal Food Commission, the Federal Fuel Administration, the U.S. Treasury Department, and the Committee on Public Information) only complicated the coordination efforts by setting up parallel administrative structures in the states for food, fuel, and liberty bonds. This threatened to duplicate, if not hinder, the work of the state council of defense committees. However, Utah was fortunate that W. W. Armstrong, the Federal Fuel and Food Administrator for Utah, also belonged to the state council and its executive committee. So too did Heber J. Grant, whom the Treasury Department had appointed to spearhead the Liberty Bond drive in Utah.

The overall mission of the Utah Council of Defense was to facilitate the nation's war effort in whatever ways it could but primarily through education, encouragement, and effective programs rather than enforcement and punishment. While information, suggestions, and direction were provided by the Council of National Defense and by the National Women's Committee, no orders or funding came from Washington. State governors were responsible for establishing the state councils and, ultimately, for the council's success or failure. Council members were unpaid volunteers, although a small number of employees were hired to handle the day-to-day operations. The state legislature provided limited funding and, in some cases, private businesses and organizations contributed to the operation of the council and specific programs under its direction.

While it is not possible to give a detailed account of all the undertakings for the war effort in

Utah, the remainder of this article will examine four areas of primary activity—military affairs; food production and conservation; loans and fund raising; and the Americanization effort—before concluding with an assessment of the Utah Council of Defense.

The Utah Council of Defense had a varied and extensive involvement in military affairs. It assisted in the implementation of the Selective Service registration and conscription, including the determination of exemptions from the draft for essential industrial and agricultural workers; brought the Utah National Guard up to full strength through an active and ongoing recruitment program; and encouraged volunteers to join the army, navy, marine, and nurse corps. Further, the council provided for home defense and worked to maintain a good relationship with Fort Douglas and the military in Utah. For instance, the council issued calls for young women to register for training in local hospitals so that they could take the place of nurses called into military service. It conducted a survey of military and naval resources throughout the state; this included identifying highways and railways that would help facilitate the mobilization of troops; supporting Utahns in the military service through soliciting donations to the Soldier's Welfare Fund and encouraging citizens to write letters, send packages, and otherwise remind those in the military service that they were not forgotten and their sacrifice was appreciated. The council also assisted the wives and children of soldiers on active duty, looked for ways to help soldiers after the war, collected accounts of those in the military service, and insured that the names of all those who served were recorded in an official history of Utah and the Great War. W. C. Ebaugh, secretary of the Utah Council of Defense, served as an intermediary between civilians and the military. In some cases he requested information from the army in behalf of family members about sons in the military. In another instance, responding to a request of the War Department, Ebaugh asked members of local councils to help locate photographs, maps, drawings, descriptions, and guide books from Belgium, Luxembourg, northern France, and western Germany that might be in the possession of Utah residents.¹³

Friendly Societies; War Relief Work; Relief Work for Allies; National Society Daughters of Revolution; Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic; Florence Crittendon Mission; National Kindergarten Association; Utah State and Parent Teachers Association; Neighborhood House; Orphans Home; Women Trustees of State Universities; Congress of Mothers; Soldier's Club Room Committee; Ladies of the Maccabees; Catholic Women's League; Women of Woodcraft; Rebecca Lodge; Utah Daughters of Pioneers; and aid societies of the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, Christian, Christian Scientist, Unitarian, and Episcopal churches. This list is included as part of a Report of Organizations to the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense. Andrew Love Neff Papers, 1919–1923, MSS B 41, box 1, fd. 11, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter Neff Papers, USHS).

13 "Hendrickson Not Killed," *Gunnison (UT) Gazette*, June 7, 1918; "Council of Defense," *Davis County Clipper*,

After completion of a military census of each county, Governor Simon Bamberger, at the urging of the Utah Council of Defense, sent a letter to each man included in the census asking him to serve his county and state by enlisting in the Utah National Guard. If the National Guard did not reach full strength within thirty days, the governor would resort to a state conscription separate from that of the National Selective Service program. He closed his letter with the admonition, "It is the duty of such young men as you to prove to the country that you are not the degenerate sons of worthy sires."¹⁴ By July 1917, Utah military units were at full strength and the threat of a state induction was no longer necessary.

With the completion of the military census, the War Department asked state councils of defense to complete military reconnaissance reports for their state. The Utah council identified a total of 155 quadrangles, averaging fifteen by fifteen miles in size. The reports provided detailed information for roads, trails, and bridges in each quadrangle. In addition, the reports included information on all industries, cities and towns, transportation facilities, water and fuel supplies, natural forage, the number of buildings and their dimensions, supplies on hand, and any other information that might be of value to the military. By war's end, sixty-three quadrangle reports for the most populated counties—Salt Lake, Davis, Utah, Weber, Cache, Box Elder, Tooele, Juab and Millard—had been submitted.¹⁵

August 2, 1918; "Uncle Sam's Men Need Pictures of Places in Germany," *Mt. Pleasant (UT) Pyramid*, May 31, 1918.

14 Undated letter from Governor Simon Bamberger, in Miscellaneous Correspondence, Council Administrative Records, USARS. In a companion document, "Why Join the National Guard," prospective volunteers were encouraged to join as, "The National Guard is the only organization which will carry the name of the State of Utah throughout the great world war." Furthermore, it would be to the volunteer's great advantage: "In the National Guard you will be a Utah man among Utah men—friends and acquaintances on every hand—surrounded by comrades in whom you will be interested and who will be interested in you. Your officers will be men who know your homefolks. They will feel it their duty to see that you get a square deal at every stage of the game. All the officers and men will be pulling together for the fame of the Utah team. Your officers will know that in your home town you amount to something, and so will your comrades. Your parents will know that you are among friends that you are being well treated and their worry over your welfare will be reduced to a minimum."

15 Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, 112–13.

The Utah Council of Defense sought to help Utah's soldiers and their families in several ways. It solicited donations for the Soldier's Welfare Work Fund, and Utah exceeded its \$100,000 allocation by \$10,000. When it was learned that the library at Fort Douglas was woefully inadequate, with only seven hundred mostly outdated books in its collection, the council found resources to build a library of twenty thousand books. Initiatives were also taken to meet the needs of the families of soldiers in the military. The finance committee recommended the establishment of a special committee to investigate the circumstances for each serviceman, identify his dependents, assess their needs, and take appropriate steps to alleviate the dependents' suffering. The council worked to end delays for wives and dependents to receive allowances and allotments to which they were entitled, and in emergencies, to work with the American Red Cross to provide immediate relief. Attention was also given to securing meaningful employment for dependents of those serving in the military. In Salt Lake County, lawyers were organized to work in conjunction with the county clerk's office to provide needed legal advice to soldiers. To be sure, help for the soldiers and their families was often unavailable at the level envisioned by the Utah Council of Defense, and dependents found what assistance they could through extended families, community, church, and other institutions. In hindsight, had the Council of Defense not been disbanded immediately after the war, its work might have been extended to assist with the postwar transition that proved difficult to many soldiers. While some ex-soldiers returned to their old jobs or secured new places of employment, others who sought work immediately after their return "failed to find it, and began to question the sincerity of all those demonstrations which had marked their going and coming."¹⁶

But it was not the intent of the Utah Council of Defense to forget the soldiers or let their names and deeds go unrecorded. Funding was provided to produce three thousand feet of motion picture film of Utah servicemen and their training at Camps Kearny and Lewis. The films were premiered at a special showing on October 3, 1918, at the Paramount-Empress Theatre in Salt

16 *Ibid.*, 153.

Lake City.¹⁷ County councils of defense were directed to establish war history committees and appoint local historians to record the major activities within their communities, to compile a complete list of all who served in the armed forces, and to collect biographical information on those who served. The county histories were to be submitted to the State Council of Defense for inclusion in the records of Utah's war effort and use in writing a history authorized by Governor Simon Bamberger and the Utah State Legislature. In 1918, the state legislature appropriated five thousand dollars to the Utah State Historical Society for the writing of the history.¹⁸ University of Utah history professor Andrew Neff was initially engaged to compile the history; when he was unable to complete the monumental task, Noble Warrum took on the project, which resulted in the 1924 publication of *Utah in the World War: The Men Behind the Guns and the Men and Women Behind the Men Behind the Guns*. Of the book's 456 pages, more than half include names of Utahns who served, those who died during military service, and those who were recognized for their courage and distinguished service. Although the Utah Council of Defense was disbanded shortly after the war ended, the council was responsible for this history, which stands as a most important record of Utah's involvement in the Great War.

The council's activities to encourage and support food production and those directed at conserving valuable resources impacted all Utahns most directly. The wartime task was clear—produce more and consume less. A parallel objective was to secure the maximum use of what was produced. Farmers and ranchers, as well as citizens who had access to a plot of ground on which to grow a garden, shared the responsibility for food production. The first under-

taking by the Utah Council of Defense was to conduct surveys with farmers and ranchers to determine their production capability and their specific needs for maximizing production. The surveys found that many farmers did not have the financial means to purchase seeds; accordingly, the council made \$60,000 available under a loan program, payable when crops were harvested, for farmers to purchase more than a million-and-a-quarter pounds of seeds. When grasshoppers threatened crops during the summer of 1917, the council provided more than nine tons of arsenic to farmers for use against the destructive insects. In the fall of 1917 when the shortage of apple boxes—essential for shipping Utah apples—threatened the loss of much of the crop, the council supplied two hundred thousand boxes. Efforts were undertaken to secure more storage facilities for the increase in potatoes harvested during the war. At the request of cattle and sheep ranchers, the council worked with the United States Forest Service to allow maximum capacity for sheep and cattle on public lands and to prevent the sale or slaughter of female livestock in order to increase the number of animals. When a controversy developed between an electrical power company and local farmers who depended on an increase in the power supply to pump necessary irrigation water to their crops, the council worked out an agreement with the two sides for the power to be paid for after the sale of crops.¹⁹

The council did not succeed in all of its endeavors related to conservation and food production. It could not reach a consensus on the proposed implementation of Daylight Savings Time in the state. The council polled its members, but the results were “so indefinite that it was not deemed wise by the officers of the Council to place ourselves upon record in this matter.”²⁰ When the council sought to increase the number of farm workers by impressing the unemployed into an agricultural workforce, the police departments in Salt Lake City and Ogden reported an 85 percent decrease in vagrancy in the cities since the war began, noting “that the remaining men are not the type wanted by farmers.”²¹

17 Executive Committee Minutes, October 2, 1918, box 1, fd. 2, Executive Committee Meetings, Council Records, JWML.

18 *Report of the Utah State Historical Society*, Public Documents of the State of Utah, 1919–1920, Part 2, 5; see also, L. H. Farnsworth and Arch M. Thurman, *Report of the Council of Defense of the State of Utah*, (Salt Lake City: F. W. Gardiner, 1919), 50–51. Andrew Neff did leave behind drafts of the history, which are included in box 1 of the Neff Papers, USHS, and box 11 of the Neff Papers, JWML. For a summary of the war history project, see Gary Topping, “One Hundred Years at the Utah State Historical Society,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (1997): 219–23.

19 Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, 103, 125, 126, 128, 129, 130.

20 Minutes, Utah State Council of Defense, July 20, 1917, box 1, fd. 1, Council Records, JWML.

21 Executive Committee Minutes, January 19, 1918, box 1,



Children were enlisted to help harvest crops as part of the wartime effort to increase agricultural production. This September 17, 1917, photograph from the Utah State Historical Society's Shipler Collection shows a small army of school children at work in a Utah field.

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On the other hand, the council successfully urged individual families to grow "victory gardens" to produce fruits and vegetables for their own use. Council officials directed surveys, often through local Mormon wards, to identify lots available for gardens and requested that unused federal lands be made available for agricultural purposes.²² While it was the usual practice for residents on farms and in towns to plant gardens, the practice was less common in cities. As a result of the 1918 victory garden campaign in Salt Lake City, 1,350 acres were utilized for 8,515 war gardens.²³ Classes and

demonstrations were sponsored to teach the art of canning, and a railroad carload of pressure cookers was sold to the public at a nominal price, recognizing that "no Utah household is deemed ready for winter unless it has a cellar full of jellies, preserves and canned fruits."²⁴ Preserving homegrown produce was encouraged but hoarding was not. Saving and careful use of food stuffs in anticipation of times of

fd. 2, Council Records, JWML.

²² "Agricultural Committee," microfilm, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Council Administrative Records, USARS.

²³ "War Gardens," *Deseret News*, August 13, 1918. In Logan,

Old Main Hill at the Agricultural College was plowed and used for victory gardens. At the University of Utah, vacant land was offered to faculty and employees at no charge for growing gardens. Nearby Fort Douglas provided more than enough free manure for the gardens. John A. Widtsoe to Joseph F. Merrill, November 23, 1917, box 2, fd. 14, Council Records, JWML.

²⁴ Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, 138; see also, Minutes of the Conservation and Emergency Committee, July 11, 1917, Council Administrative Records, USARS.



Women, including the six in this picture knitting on the steps of the University of Utah Park Building, were urged to contribute handmade items during drives by the American Red Cross. Women were the frontline soldiers in battles to curtail the consumption of meat and other restricted wartime items. They also became deeply involved in soliciting contributions to the Liberty Loan drives and other efforts to help win the war.

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need, "which could be regarded as a virtue, or at least as an evidence of thrift in normal times, was a menace in times of war. Its logical result would be exorbitant prices, financial injury to consumers and eventual want or starvation for the poor."²⁵

In the realm of conservation, the State Food Commission followed the lead of Herbert C. Hoover, head of the Federal Food Commission, in distributing to housewives and cooks a card with the title, "Win the War by Giving Your Own Daily Service." Directions followed for conserving such basic commodities as wheat and meat: "One wheatless meal a day. Use oatmeal, rye, or barley bread and non-wheat breakfast foods. Order bread twenty-four hours in advance so

your baker will not bake beyond his needs. Cut the loaf on the table and only as required. Use stale bread for cooking, toast, etc. Eat less cake and pastry. . . . Beef, mutton, or pork not more than once daily. Use freely vegetables and fish. At the meat meal serve smaller portions and stew instead of steaks." If Americans followed these guidelines, the Food Administration promised, "there will be meat enough for every one at a reasonable price."²⁶

To help secure women's participation in the conservation program, the State Food Administration organized a Utah Housewives Vigilance League. Women could join by signing a brief application with their name and address and mailing it to the Federal Food Administration

25 Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, 137.

26 Ibid., 133.

offices in the Newhouse Building in Salt Lake City. The purpose of the organization was to provide women a voice in the local food administration by offering commendations or criticisms of the Food Administration. However, no formal meetings were to be held. Members received an official emblem to wear and their names were added to the Federal Food Administration's mailing list to receive special food bulletins, recipes, and garden pamphlets.²⁷

In an attempt to curb the consumption of sugar and unnecessary use of gasoline, the council instructed drug stores and soft drink parlors to close by ten o'clock at night. Hours for the purchase of gasoline were also restricted, with gasoline sales occurring no later than seven p.m. on weekdays, nine p.m. on Saturday, and only between the hours of seven and ten a.m. on Sundays and holidays.²⁸ However, restaurant owners opposed attempts to limit the hours of Salt Lake City restaurants, and the Utah State Council wisely left it to county and local councils to set business hours in their areas.²⁹

Other limitations on business activities followed. The Utah Commercial Economy Board, operating under the Utah Council of Defense, was charged with developing a plan for implementing the federal government's requests for economy measures with attention to specific needs and conditions within the state. W. F. Jensen was appointed commissioner for the board and, with his assistants W. E. Zuppann and E. S. Schmidt, moved quickly and decidedly to issues rules and regulations aimed at curtailing the use of gasoline and construction materials. The work in Utah attracted the attention

of the Council of National Defense, and Jensen was invited to Washington, D.C. to instruct other states about Utah's program. According to Schmidt, "many of the rules which were issued met with a very considerable amount of opposition." With Jensen and his staff unwilling to change the regulations, the Utah Council of Defense stepped in to mollify the business community with the appointment of an advisory board that included B. F. Redan and Thomas Taylor, both members of the state council.³⁰ They worked to secure the support of Utah's business community, as the board had no enforcement authority but relied on voluntary compliance. While an estimated 95 percent of Utah's businessmen gave "instantaneous endorsement," the other 5 percent "were converted by patient effort and in a few instances by the exertion of some pressure."³¹

Commercial deliveries became a primary focus of the board, which asked merchants to restrict deliveries based on a city or town's population. Church leaders, newspaper editors, and special slides shown in movie theaters promoted the system. Merchants reported a total savings of nearly two million dollars a year; further, the number of delivery men was reduced by 550, freeing men and boys for other work. The affected deliveries included not only groceries but also milk and cream, laundry, and ice. For milk deliveries, customers were required to provide one empty milk bottle for each full bottle of milk delivered. The measure was especially necessary as it was impossible to obtain new bottles from the manufacturers. Not all Utahns accepted the changes, and the restricted delivery of ice in Salt Lake City during the hot summer brought complaints. Ice deliveries were restricted to every other day, although ice companies did make concessions for emergencies. Authorities found that the ice shortages occurred not so much because of the delivery restrictions but because there was no one at home to receive the ice and because housewives were too extravagant in using the precious commodity for lemonade and ice water.³²

27 "Loyal Women of Utah Organize Housewives Vigilance League," *Parowan (UT) Times*, May 1, 1918.

28 Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, 132.

29 The decision came down at a July 26, 1918, meeting of the Utah State Council of Defense Executive Committee. Utah officials sent a questionnaire to the other forty-seven states and found that some had restrictions, some did not, some were considering implementing restrictions, and others had implemented then rescinded the restrictions. After reviewing the results of the survey, the State Council of Defense passed a resolution "request[ing] each County and City Council of Defense to take up the question of early and uniform closing in their respective communities and place in operation such regulations as in their opinion will best fit their own communities." Executive Committee Minutes, July 26, 1918, box 1, fd. 2, Council Records, JWML.

30 E. S. Schmidt to A. L. Neff, October 5, 1920, box 12, fd. 14, Neff Papers, JWML.

31 Farnsworth and Thurman, *Report of the Council of Defense*, 24.

32 *Ibid.*, 25.



Groundbreaking for the Pantages Theater at 148 South Main took place on December 3, 1918, less than a month after the November 11 armistice ending the war in Europe. Construction of the theater was delayed because of questions regarding the appropriateness of using scarce material and manpower during the war.

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In an effort to conserve essential construction materials, labor, capital, and transportation, the Utah Council of Defense represented the National War Industry Board in a nationwide conservation program whereby suppliers agreed not to furnish material for buildings unless the War Industry Board or the State Council of Defense had issued a permit certifying that the new building was essential to the war effort. In Utah, the state council asked the appropriate county council for its recommendation before reaching a final decision. Each case received a careful review. For example, construction of the new Pantages Theatre in Salt Lake City was approved because the workmen employed were not subject to military call

and the building supplies had been secured in 1916, before the declaration of war. Nevertheless, the council vote was divided with seventeen for and seven against including Chairman L. H. Farnsworth, who defended his no vote, proclaiming he had "opposed the erection of the Pantages building from the beginning and still considered it as unnecessary."³³

In another case, George M. Hess of Farmington petitioned E. P. Ellison, chairman of the Davis County Council of Defense, for authorization to build a new home in Davis County

³³ Ibid., 26; Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, 111, 132. Nevertheless, groundbreaking for the Pantages Theatre did not take place until December 3, 1918.

because Hess had to return to the county to run the family farm and the only available accommodation was a dark and damp basement.³⁴ Whether or not the construction of the Pantages, the George Hess house, or any number of new buildings in the state threatened the nation's war effort might be debated. But it is clear that the State Council of Defense and the appropriate county councils took seriously the request by the National War Industry Board for a careful review of proposed new construction during the war.³⁵

Utah was fortunate to have Heber J. Grant as the state chairman for the Liberty Bond campaign under the Department of the Treasury and, after January 1918, as chair of the Utah Council of Defense Finance Committee. In his leadership positions, Grant oversaw essentially all war-related fund-raising efforts in the state. With experience in insurance, banking, business ventures, and his leadership in stabilizing LDS church finances before the war, Grant was connected to nearly all fields of finance in Utah. Furthermore, his ecclesiastical position as president of the LDS church's Quorum of the Twelve Apostles gave him access to the state's

predominant religious and cultural institution.

At least twelve separate fund-raising campaigns were undertaken. Utahns were encouraged to invest as much as a quarter of their income for government securities.³⁶ Each state and county council of defense was given a specific quota for each campaign, which included five Liberty Loan campaigns and the War Savings Stamp campaigns, three Red Cross fund and membership drives, the Soldiers' Welfare Fund, the Y.M.C.A. War Fund, and a United War Work Campaign. Utah women were very active in organizing and canvassing their communities and neighborhoods during the fund-raising drives.

The county councils of defense were given responsibility for the Liberty Loan Campaigns within their counties. The councils were instructed to set up an organization with seventeen separate committees and subcommittees under two major areas of activity—promotion and canvassing. Instructions were provided as to potential committee members, assignments, and suggestions for how the work might be done. The Committee on Capitalists, for instance, should consist of “very strong men of financial, church or state influence.” The Committee on Clubs and Fraternal Organizations was “to go to each club and fraternal organization and endeavor to obtain their support. Have them organize soliciting committees within their own clubs.” The Committee on Churches was to include “presidents of stakes, bishops, and ministers in the various churches . . . [who were] to discuss fully with their congregations and church members the necessity and importance of the Liberty Loan.” The Committee on Women's Auxiliary should include representatives of “the relief societies, ladies' clubs, etc.” who could provide speakers for club meetings, organize teas, and establish booths in department stores, hotels, and at county fairs to promote the purchase of Liberty Bonds. The Committee on Educational Institutions was to encourage school children to contribute twenty-five cents for a war bond that would be held by their school for use in the future.³⁷

34 Geo. M. Hess to E. P. Ellison, October 11, 1918, Council Administrative Records, USARS.

35 After the National War Industry Board program was implemented, the Executive Committee of the Utah Council of Defense reviewed more than fifty applications in October and November 1918. Most were private residences, and most were approved. Other projects included schoolhouses in Kanarra, New Harmony, and Segoe; a library in Salt Lake City; a bank in Woods Cross; a garage and machine shop in Monroe; and a rooming house and store in Bingham. The construction of shops in North Salt Lake for the State Road Commission was initially disapproved, but after officials met with the Executive Committee, approval was finally secured on November 6, 1918. The review at the local and state levels took considerable time as directions from the National War Industry Board were vague and unclear. Finally, in a lengthy letter dated November 12, 1918, from R. D. McLennan, chief of Non War Construction Section, War Industries Board, twelve kinds of construction were identified that did not need approval. The exemptions included farm and ranch buildings; railroad-related facilities; federal, state, or municipal roads and bridges; parks and playgrounds; public utility buildings and facilities; irrigation projects; mines, oil, natural gas, and food production facilities; schoolhouses, churches, and hospitals; and federal state or municipal buildings, not costing over \$25,000. Executive Committee, Utah State Council of Defense, Minutes for October 9, 16, 23, 30, November 6, and 13, 1918, box 1, fd. 2, Council Records, JWML.

36 Executive Committee Minutes, June 29, 1918, box 1, fd. 2, Council Records, JWML.

37 “To County Councils of Defense and Liberty Loan Committeemen, Second United States Liberty Loan,

WORLD WAR I FUND DRIVES IN UTAH

FUND DRIVE	DATES	QUOTA	SUBSCRIBED
First Liberty Loan	April 17, 1917	\$6,500,000	\$9,400,000
Second Liberty Loan	October 1, 1917	\$10,000,000	\$16,200,000
Third Liberty Loan	April 5, 1918	\$12,315,000	\$12,531,300
Fourth Liberty Loan	September 28, 1918	\$18,570,000	\$19,878,000
Fifth Liberty Loan	April 21, 1919	\$13,890,000	\$15,500,000
First Red Cross Drive	June 18–June 25, 1917	\$350,000	\$520,000
Second Red Cross Drive	May 20–May 27, 1918	\$500,000	\$612,000
Red Cross Membership	August 1, 1917– February 28, 1919	\$49,000	\$67,000
Soldiers' Welfare		\$100,000	\$110,000
Y.M.C.A.		\$10,000	\$10,000
United War Work		\$400,000	\$412,000
War Savings Stamps			\$5,614,540
Totals		\$62,684,000	\$80,854,840

However local circumstances usually reflected a modification of the plan developed by Utah's Executive Committee. The councils of defense also assumed responsibility for warning those who purchased war bonds and stamps against schemers and swindlers who encouraged patriotic citizens to trade their government securities for worthless stock in unwarranted promotion schemes. The council urged citizens to keep the bonds they had purchased and invest in future Liberty Loan drives as "Your government needs all the available money. It is, therefore, your patriotic duty to see that money which should go into government securities is not put into these questionable enterprises."³⁸

1917," included as Appendix 6 in James Scherer, "Confidential Report on Utah," P 1-2, entry 364 (old entry 14-D1), box 784, fd. Confidential Report on Utah, Records of the Council of National Defense, RG 62, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland (hereafter Records of the Council of National Defense).

³⁸ Secretary of the Utah Council of Defense to Dear Sir, August 16, 1918, box 2, fd. 3, General Correspondence, June 10, 1918–September 30, 1918, Council Records, JWML.

Newspaper articles and advertisements accompanied announcements for each of the Liberty Bond and War Stamp drives. The headlines of one article asked "What Have You Given Up?" and then went on to query readers: "Have you given up your job and let your business future take care of itself? Have you said good bye to your family and friends and all you hold dear? Have you begun an entirely new career that may end, if you live, with health impaired, an arm off, a leg gone, an eye out? Have you given up your business future and said good-bye and taken a chance on coming back alive and well, and done it all with a cheerful heart and with a grim determination to do all you possibly can for your country?" With all the sacrifices being made by those in the military, the request for financial support seemed quite small, as the article concluded: "National War Savings Day is June 28, tomorrow. That day gives you the opportunity of showing in a practical way that you do appreciate what it means to the boys who . . . fight and die for you."³⁹ War Savings Stamps

³⁹ "What Have You Given Up?" *Paysonian*, June 27, 1917,

were offered for sale locally in various offices and businesses. Shoppers were encouraged to “ask for your change in Thrift Stamps. . . . Take a stamp instead of a quarter for change.”⁴⁰

Patriotic programs and rallies—with music, parades, speeches, visits by combat veterans, and even the exhibition of a mock trench on Salt Lake City’s Main Street—fueled the drives.⁴¹ Newspapers printed the names and amounts pledged—even when it was only twenty-five or fifty cents. Towns, counties, and states competed with each other to demonstrate their patriotism by the purchase of war bonds. When the initial attempt in Payson to raise money for the Fourth Liberty Loan fell far short of meeting the town’s quota, headlines in the local newspaper lamented, “Payson Has Only 45% of Quota,” and “Will Payson Fail?” Payson did not fail but met and exceeded its allotment of \$125,700 by \$8,500.⁴²

But not all participated, at least to the extent expected. Some Utahns felt the quotas given to communities were unfair and that certain classes and individuals were not doing their share, while others grew weary of the constant demands for contributions. The Iron County Council of Defense explained the difficulty of the per capita assessment when nearly a thousand destitute victims of a homesteading scam were included in county’s assessment. “These people were perhaps as loyal and patriotic as were the rest of the inhabitants of the county, but were in such destitute financial circumstances that the purchase of bonds by them was well nigh impossible.”⁴³ Like Payson and other

communities, Iron County found the fourth loan drive particularly difficult:

The people of the county were beginning to feel the burden of financing the war. Money was not so plentiful, especially the bank accounts of the farmers who were not live stock owners, had been somewhat deflated. This is due to the failure of crops that year in this county. A novel method was introduced in the raising of the loans. The Council decided not only to apportion the communities as formerly, but also to apportion individuals. This met with great resentment by those so apportioned. Many refused to make the full apportioned contribution. Some became so disgruntled as to refuse to make any contribution whatsoever.⁴⁴

The State Committee on Finances was asked to investigate charges “concerning difficulty in securing subscriptions to Liberty Loans from certain wealthy persons.”⁴⁵ At the same time, intense social pressure demanded conformity: those who did not participate were threatened with having a yellow card submitted identifying them as a slacker and one of those who was “against the government and as such should go to Germany and live with those whom you endorse and in whom you believe.”⁴⁶ Despite

Council Administrative Records, USARS.

40 “City Council of Defense Notes,” *Logan (UT) Republican*, March 23, 1918.

41 Farnsworth and Thurman, *Report of the Council of Defense*, 33. Patriotic singing committees were established by the state and county councils of defense. Edward P. Kimball was appointed chairman of the State Committee and under his direction a pamphlet of patriotic songs was printed and distributed throughout the state. Letter signed by Arch M. Thurman, August 30, 1918, with a copy of the pamphlet, box 2, fd. 3, Council Records, JWML.

42 “Payson Goes Over with Big Margin District Oversubscribes by \$8,500 for Fourth Liberty Bond,” *Paysonian*, October 24, 1918, Council Administrative Records, USARS.

43 Iron County Council of Defense, handwritten report, 12, Council Administrative Records, USARS.

44 Ibid., 21. Nevertheless, all of the Iron County communities met their quotas, except for Kanarraville where citizens subscribed \$6,000 of their \$7,900 allotment.

45 Undated letter from W. D. Sutton, Council Administrative Records, USARS. In a letter dated November 25, 1918, from J. W. Hanson, chairman of the San Juan County War Work Campaign, to Heber J. Grant, Hanson reported “that the rich do not respond like the poor” and went on to cite the example of a poor, crippled person who willingly donated twenty-five dollars for the United War Work Fund, the same amount given reluctantly by the richest man in the county. Utah State Council of Defense Correspondence, box 12, fd. 18, Neff Papers, JWML. There were wealthy men who did use their wealth to purchase Liberty War Bonds. The *Salt Lake Mining Review* noted that Colonel Enos A. Wall had subscribed \$500,000; Matthew Cullen, \$125,000; and J. E. Bamberger, \$100,000. Copies of articles that appeared in the May 30 and June 15, 1917, issues of the *Salt Lake Mining Review* in “Utah and World War I—Councils of Defense,” box 11, fd. 26, Neff Papers, JWML.

46 “No Yellow Cards for Utah,” *Piute Chieftain*, June 27, 1918. Millard County residents were told that “The cards go to the Council of Defense and what will be done regarding them no one knows.” “War Savings

the challenges, the state, its counties, and its communities consistently met or exceeded the quotas set for the various fund drives. An estimated 90 percent of Utah's population contributed financially to the war effort, with a total contribution of \$190 for every man, woman, and child in the state.⁴⁷

Americanization, the fourth major area of involvement for the Utah Council of Defense, included publicity, education, preparation of the foreign born for citizenship, and measures to curb any pro-German sentiment among Utah citizens. Three committees took the lead in these areas: the Publicity Committee, chaired by A. N. McKay of the *Salt Lake Tribune*; the Americanization Committee chaired by Harold M. Stephens, state superintendent of public instruction; and the Women's Education Committee, chaired by Leah Dunford Widtsoe, a granddaughter of Brigham Young and the wife of University of Utah president John A. Widtsoe. In a time before radio, television, and computers, newspapers supplied the primary means for the distribution of information. McKay, with his connection to Utah's largest newspaper and the network of other daily and weekly newspapers in the state, was an effective leader, especially for the circulation of the bulletins and circulars issued by the Council of National Defense.

The Women's Education Committee had two priorities directed to both men and women. First, the committee disseminated information through Utah's universities, colleges, schools, churches, and large businesses, directed primarily toward those "whose minds had not grasped the significance of the war . . . who through ignorance and indifference do not concern themselves with the great issues of the war."⁴⁸ The second priority was among Utah's alien population, who were encouraged to attend citizenship classes, night school, and to learn English. The assimilation of the nation's foreign born was deemed essential for several reasons: more effective military service by those who enlisted or were drafted; greater participa-

tion in the various measures to support the war; and a safeguard to insure that the foreign born did not support the enemy as spies or become partakers of anti-American propaganda.⁴⁹

The Utah Defense Council chairman, L. H. Farnsworth, championed the Americanization effort and the anti-German campaign in the state. In April 1918 he traveled to Washington, D.C., at the request of Secretary of the Interior Franklin D. Lane, to attend a special meeting to discuss implementation of a national plan for Americanization to be undertaken jointly by the Council of National Defense and the Department of the Interior. At the Washington meeting, Farnsworth supported the adoption of several resolutions: asking Congress for an adequate appropriation for the Americanization effort, including federal aid to the states for their Americanization work; requesting industries employing large numbers of non-English men to cooperate in the national plan; and enlisting school boards throughout the country to adopt rules requiring that elementary subjects be taught in the English language only.⁵⁰

Upon his return to Utah, Farnsworth submitted a detailed report to the State Council of Defense. In the report Farnsworth reviewed the strength of the pro-German faction in the United States, which stood in opposition to Liberty Loan and Red Cross drives, and all campaigns to aid the army and navy. He sounded the anti-German alarm, reporting that New York City was the third largest German-speaking city in the world and the home of some thirty German-language newspapers. Farnsworth warned of the threat of German-language newspapers in the United States, whose circulation reached nearly 3.5 million readers. He noted that in some areas of the United States "considerable sums are expended yearly in teaching German—in some instances six times as much is being appropriated to teach German to Americans as is spent to teach Americanism to German immigrants." The State of Nebraska, he reported, was a hotbed of pro-German activity, with between two hundred and three hundred parochial German schools. Repeating rumors gleaned from the national Americanization meeting, Farnsworth

Certificate Drive Now Under Way," *Millard County Chronicle*, June 6, 1918.

47 Warrum, *Utah and the World War*, 34.

48 Ibid., 121–22; Farnsworth and Thurman, *Report of the Council of Defense*, 29.

49 Farnsworth and Thurman, *Report of the Council of Defense*, 44.

50 Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, 105.

described alleged conditions in Nebraska, where “elementary subjects are taught in German. German patriotism is taught and the German national hymn is sung as part of the school routine. American national songs are never sung in one hundred of these schools and the American flag is never flown. It is said that in some of these schools the children are whipped for speaking English.”⁵¹

Farnsworth ended his report with a stirring call to action: “A grave and critical condition now confronts our country and its Allies. We are called upon to make every sacrifice, our lives and our property, if need be, to forever crush the imperial government and military power of Germany, whose only standard is world dominion and the exercise of a brutal power. Ours is a righteous and just fight for humanity and victory, with the help of God, will be our reward.”⁵² After discussion of the Farnsworth report, the council appointed a special committee on Americanization and adopted a resolution urging “the superintendents of public instruction, the State University, the Agricultural College, and all other institutions of learning within the State of Utah, that they forthwith discontinue, where they have not already done so, the teaching of the German language and the German ideals.”⁵³ Subsequently, the University of Utah and the Utah Agricultural College in Logan reported to the council on their adherence to the directive, though “in . . . one instance . . . that problem was solving itself, because students were refusing to take the language, anyway.”⁵⁴

Farnsworth extended the anti-German and pro-Americanization initiative with a visit to the office of Anthon H. Lund, a native of Denmark and member of the LDS church’s Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, who oversaw the publication of Utah foreign-language newspapers including the German-language paper, *Der Salt Lake City Beobachter*. Farnsworth conceded that the non-English language newspapers could continue to be published but that the church should do as the Council of Defense had advised and cease publication of *Der Beobach-*

ter. Lund took the matter to church president Joseph F. Smith who decided to continue publication of all of the foreign-language newspapers, including *Der Beobachter*.⁵⁵

The Americanization Committee, under Harold M. Stephens, sought to coordinate Americanization activities throughout Utah. It surveyed the state to assess the number of immigrants who could not speak English or were illiterate, immigrant school attendance, and the educational facilities available for English and citizenship classes. The committee also worked to implement the federal Americanization program, as provided by the Division of Immigrant Education of the Bureau of Education and of the Bureau of Naturalization. At the local level, the county councils of defense directed the Americanization program and appointed a committee for each school district, which would include the superintendent of schools as chairman, civic authorities, employers of foreign labor, labor unions, naturalized foreigners, and representatives of societies and organizations interested in Americanization work.⁵⁶ The goals of the Americanization effort were clear—to help immigrants learn English, understand American government, jettison the ideas and traditions from the Old World that were not in harmony with American ideals, support the war effort in every way, and become United States citizens.

The work carried out by the Speakers’ Bureau, which included the Division of Four-Minute Men, represented the most visible undertaking for publicity and education. The Speakers’ Bureau cooperated with other organizations to schedule national and international speakers touring the country in behalf of the war effort. The bureau also handled the scheduling of the volunteer Four-Minute Men, who spoke in

55 John P. Hatch, ed., *Danish Apostle: The Diaries of Anthon H. Lund, 1890–1921* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006), 708, entries for October 21 and 22, 1918. For an account of other pressures to stop publication of the *Salt Lake City Beobachter* during World War I, see Thomas L. Broadbent, “The Salt Lake City *Beobachter*: Mirror of Immigration,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (October 1958): 340–46; and Allan Kent Powell, “Our Cradles Were in Germany: Utah’s German American Community and World War I,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58 (Fall 1990): 370–87.

56 Farnsworth and Thurman, *Report of the Council of Defense*, 45–46.

51 Ibid., 106.

52 Ibid., 107.

53 Ibid.

54 “Schools Adhere to Ruling on German,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 4, 1918.

theaters, churches, and other venues to carry, “night after night . . . the official message of the Government and of the State Council of Defense to the audiences who assemble at these places of amusement and of worship.”⁵⁷

When James Scherer visited Salt Lake City in September 1917 at the request of the Council of National Defense to assess the status of the war effort in Utah, he was impressed and reported that “without a doubt Salt Lake City is the most patriotic place I have visited, not even excepting New York or Washington.” Scherer attributed the positive conditions in Utah primarily to the involvement of the Mormon church in the war effort. Puzzled by why Mormons were “so zealously at war,” Scherer determined that it was because of the rough treatment of Mormon missionaries in Germany; now they “have an opportunity,” he decided, “to get even.”

57 Ibid., 48–49. The National Committee on Public Information sent out nearly fifty bulletins for dissemination to the thousands of Four Minute Men in the nation. These bulletins covered such topics as food production, liberty loans, the Red Cross, dangers to the nation, the meaning of America, and whether or not the income tax was a tool in a capitalist’s war. Each bulletin insisted that speakers adhere strictly to the four-minute time limit and assisted speakers with several different outlines for handling the topic, along with a couple of sample speeches. Other sections designed to help the speakers included “Drive Home One Thought,” “Points for Every Speech,” “Suggestions for Opening Words and Other Phrases,” and “Important Points for All Speakers.” Copies of some of the bulletins are in box 5, fd. 9, Council Records, JWML.



A Red Cross recruitment and fund-raising parade along Salt Lake City's Main Street on May 20, 1918. Parades were an important way to encourage contributions to Liberty Bond and Red Cross drives and an effective way to demonstrate community patriotism and support for the war.

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Scherer concluded his assessment of Utahns by stating, “That they are genuinely American I do not doubt; this added incitement to patriotism, however, seems to me to account quite logically for the extraordinary manifestations of loyal support of the Government that I found on every hand in Utah; while the superb organization of the church enables its authorities to give practical expression to their zeal.”⁵⁸

58 Scherer, “Confidential Report on Utah,” Records of the Council of National

Mistreatment of Mormon missionaries in Germany might have been a minor reason for Utah's support of the war; however, Mormon missionaries had been mistreated in England as well. Utah and Mormon support for the war was a part of the "Americanization of Utah" that came after statehood in 1896. Support for the United States war effort was one of many ways by which Mormons could demonstrate their patriotism, Americanism, and the fact that Mormons were moving into the mainstream of the nation's political and economic life. B. H. Roberts, an LDS church general authority and historian who served as a chaplain for the Utah National Guard during World War I, explained in his history of the LDS church that "had Utah failed as a state in filling up the full measure of her duty, the people with the solidarity of church membership possessed by the Latter-day Saints considered, and being so largely in the majority, would have been held—and justly—responsible for any delinquency in duty of the state. If, on the other hand, the state reacts to duty faithfully and well, it reflects the patriotism of her people carrying such responsibility; but this without disparagement to the patriotism and full measure of credit due to the non-membership of that dominant church."⁵⁹

The month after Scherer's visit to Utah, Franklin P. Lane, the secretary of interior and a member of the National Council of Defense, arrived in Utah as an honored guest and spoke to an overflow crowd of more than ten thousand at the Salt Lake Tabernacle on October 5, 1917. Lane reported that some along the eastern seaboard had stated that the level of patriotism in the far West was much less than in other parts of the country. But Lane had found that not to be true. Praising Utah specifically, Lane disclosed, "We have less complaints from the people of Utah back in Washington, than from any of the western states. You do not ask for gifts, but you are always willing to make gifts." Commenting on the patriotic military parade that preceded his address, Lane observed, "I have seen inspiring sights before, but never before has one so touched my heart as did your mag-

Defense.

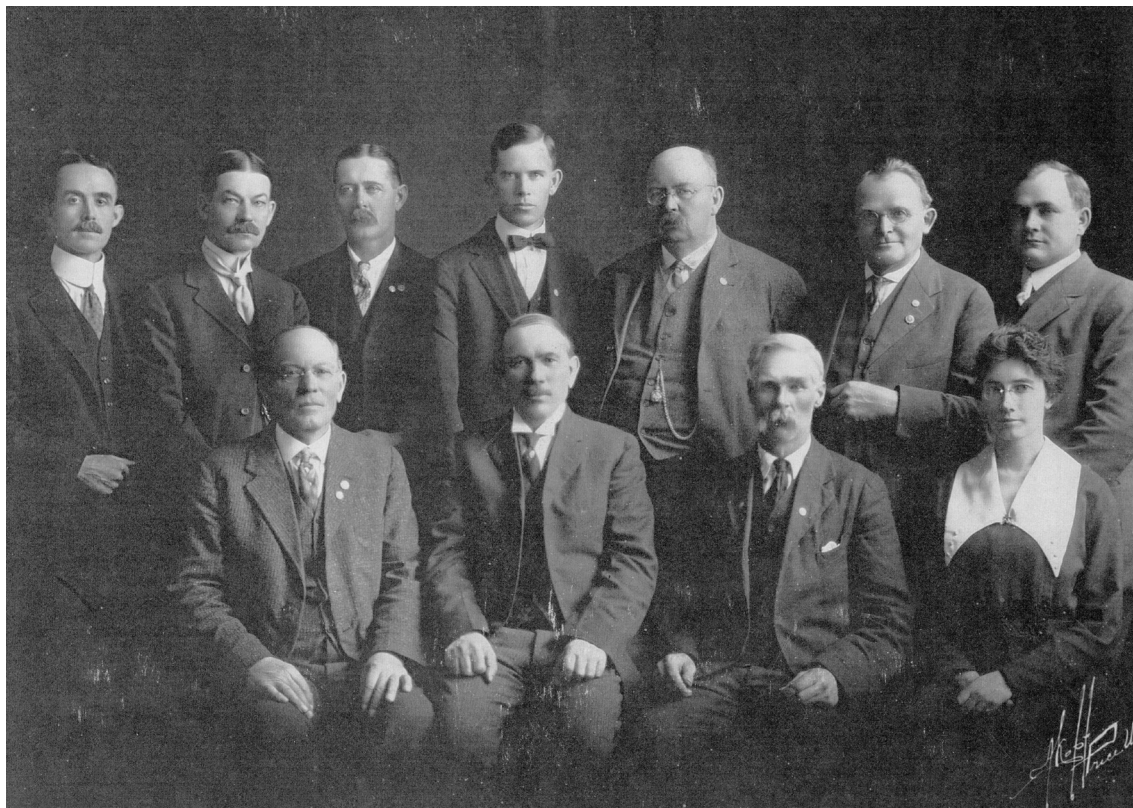
59 B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One*, vol. 6 (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965). 455. The six-volume comprehensive history was first published in 1930.

nificent military parade which I witnessed in the streets of Salt Lake tonight. Oh, how I wish President Wilson himself could have seen it." Lane went on to talk about Utah's citizens, recalling, "We saw the streets of Salt Lake lined with the men and women who are giving their sons in response to the call of war and I saw no tears, only smiles, on the faces of those who are making the greatest sacrifice that can be made and seeking it gladly for the sake of liberty."⁶⁰ Utahns responded to Secretary Lane's visit and his praise by pledging ten million dollars to the Second Liberty Bond Drive.

In May 1918, another representative of the National Council visited Utah. George B. Chandler, chair of the highly successful Publicity Committee of the Connecticut State Council of Defense, toured the western states to review the status of the state councils and to offer ideas for more effective ways to carry out publicity measures in the West. Like others, Chandler gave a glowing report of Utah. "There exists here an organization which, in my opinion, has no superior, and possibly few equals in this country. It is to all intents and purposes the organization of the Mormon Church converted into a war machine. It reaches each individual searchingly and unerringly."⁶¹

60 "Lane Pays Tribute to Patriotism of Utahns," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 6, 1917.

61 G. B. Chandler, "Report of George B. Chandler: Impressions of Western Tour" (June 1918), 11-12, box 25, file E. 39, Council of Defense, 1917-1919, RG 30, Connecticut State Archives, Hartford, Connecticut. Breen, *Uncle Sam at Home*, 71, identifies the Utah Council, along with those in Washington, Colorado, and New Mexico, as the four best state councils in the western United States. One state that did not make Chandler's list and whose war time history contrasted sharply with Utah was Montana, where Governor Sam Stewart assumed chairmanship of the nine-member Montana Council of Defense. In late February the state legislature passed the Montana Council of Defense Act, giving the council broad ranging power "to create orders and rules that would have the same legal force as acts of the duly elected legislature. All state government offices and officials were placed at the council's disposal. . . . Any person violating an order or rule of the council was subject to fine and imprisonment." Michael Punke, *Fire and Brimstone: The North Butte Mining Disaster of 1917* (New York: Hyperion, 2006), 236. In his chapter, "Some Little Body of Men," 235-52, Punke summarizes the Montana experience by explaining that the council voted to conduct its business in private and throughout the remainder of 1918 issued seventeen "orders" that had the force of law. These orders required council permission for all



Twenty-eight of Utah's twenty-nine counties established county councils of defense. Pictured here are members of the Carbon County Council of Defense. Standing: A. D. Sutton, R. W. Crockett (secretary), Carlos Gunderson, Frank T. Bennett, Judge F. E. Woods, Robert McKune, and Carl R. Marcusen. Sitting: Albert Bryner, A. W. Horsley (president), A. Z. Marshall, and Margaret Horsley. Of the twelve members of the county council, all but Neal M. Madsen were present for this photograph.

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The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, its leaders, and members deserved the recognition offered by representatives of the Council of National Defense. Church members were encouraged to volunteer for military service, purchase war bonds, grow victory gardens, serve on county and local councils of defense, canvass their wards and neighborhoods in behalf of the war effort, write to the servicemen, and pray for a quick and decisive victory. Church leaders such as Heber J. Grant and Clarissa Smith Williams volunteered their services on the Utah State Council of Defense

parades and other public demonstrations, restricted newspapers, banned certain books, prohibited the use of the German language in schools and churches, and assumed inquisitorial authority to subpoena witnesses and documents for its investigations. The state council power extended to county and local councils of defense though their decisions were subject to being overruled by the state council.

and mobilized the church network of stakes, wards, and women's relief societies. Mormon leaders made church buildings such as the Salt Lake Tabernacle available for patriotic rallies and purchased Liberty Bonds in the name of the church. The LDS Women's Relief Society made available to the federal food program its precious grain, stored over the years in anticipation of a return of food shortages and famine.⁶² As the Council of National Defense representatives found, there was no shortage of loyalty, patriotism, or commitment to the war effort on the part of Utah's Mormons. But the "Mormon war machine," as identified by George B. Chan-

⁶² The Relief Society made available 6,165 tons of wheat or 205,518 bushels, for which the federal government paid \$1.20 a bushel. The income was used to assist the poor. The LDS church and its auxiliaries also purchased nearly 1.5 million dollars worth of bonds and thrift stamps. Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 6:467-70.

dlar, was not the complete answer to questions about the character and nature of Utah's World War I experience.

As the war ended, some hoped that the system of state, county, and community councils would continue. In a bulletin dated January 17, 1919, the Council of National Defense urged state and local leaders to work with their state legislatures and take other steps for their organizations to become permanent, to include all individuals and groups in the community, to be "truly democratic in character, and . . . bring . . . its forces to bear now upon local and permanent community problems as well as upon the problems arising out of the war."⁶³ Nevertheless, most saw the war emergency as over, were weary of the public and private intensity of the past two years, and were anxious to return to their pre-war normality. The Utah State Council of Defense ceased operations on July 1, 1919.

To be sure, not all efforts by the State Council were completely successful and some were of questionable value. Disagreements, personality conflicts, and rivalries among state and local leaders arose from time to time. But these were of little consequence compared to the unity of purpose that propelled Utahns and their fellow Americans forward in their quest to defeat German militarism, prevent future wars, and preserve and spread democracy. The strength of Utah's war effort, in addition to the role of the LDS church, can be found in a number of factors. Foremost was the leadership of Governor Simon Bamberger. A German-born Jew and successful Utah businessman, Bamberger gave the Utah Council of Defense high priority. He insured that the council was politically bipartisan. He, a Democrat, appointed a Republican, L. H. Farnsworth, as chair. Bamberger made sure that the council membership was religiously diverse, with the appointment of Catholics, Jews, Protestants, and Mormons. He included the leading representatives of business, industry, and communities as members and was quick to appoint women to the council and to encourage their participation in all aspects of the war effort. Once the council began to function, the governor moved to a behind-the-scenes, supportive role.

63 National Council of Defense, Bulletin No. 20, Circular No. 49, January 17, 1919, copy in box 2, fd. 5, General Correspondence, 1919, Council Records, JWML.

Continuing their prominent role in the national suffrage movement, Utah women accepted the opportunity to demonstrate their importance to the economic and social life of the state, justifying, if such was necessary, their qualifications for a greater involvement in the political activities of the state. With such motivation and given a deep sense of patriotism coupled with the desire to do whatever they could to make a difference, Utah women of all faiths stepped into the spotlight of public activity. Ruth May Fox expressed their expectations in a declaration to the LDS Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association: "A woman's world will rise from this war." Other speakers echoed this assertion, claiming "that women are playing as important a part in the war as men and that after the war women's part will increase."⁶⁴

The statewide network of county and local councils was particularly effective in Utah. As a part of that network, small and remote counties were included as equal partners. Local people had a role to play on county committees, just like their fellow citizens throughout the state. Furthermore, the degree of their patriotism could be quantified in their subscriptions to the Liberty Loan drives, in the number of articles they made for the Red Cross, and the number of their young men sent off for military service. Towns and counties competed with each other, especially in the Liberty Loan drives. Closely related to the intrastate competition was the interstate competition, as Utahns were determined to defend their place in the galaxy of states after a nearly half-century struggle for statehood that had only ended two decades prior to the United States' entry into the war. Linked to this outlook

64 "Patriotism Feature of Mutuals Meeting," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 9, 1918. One important area of activity for Utah women was the prohibition of alcohol. In a resolution to the Executive Committee of the Utah Council of Defense, the Women's Committee requested the Utah Council to ask Governor Bamberger to urge President Wilson to utilize the power given him by Congress to immediately enact a nationwide "War Prohibition" on the manufacture and sale of beer and wines. The resolution summarized how prohibition would contribute to the war effort by saving grain, sugar, and working days; increasing efficiency; reducing crime; and freeing up money. In addition it would "release the labor of about 600,000 men now employed in the production and sale of beer, and will release hundreds of thousands of railroad cars now needed for the transportation of coal and necessities." Minutes, Utah State Council of Defense, June 15, 1918, box 1, fd. 1, Council Records, JWML.

was the perception that Mormons were disloyal and anti-American. Indeed, Mormon misgivings about the federal government ran deep. The government had been unresponsive to the persecution of Mormons and the martyrdom of their prophet Joseph Smith. Even worse, the oppressive federal government had sent a substantial occupation army, along with a host of antagonistic territorial appointees to administer the government in 1850s Utah. It had delayed granting statehood for nearly a half century and only after forcing the LDS church to abandon the practice of polygamy. After statehood, government representatives had challenged the seating of duly elected Mormons to Congress. With the exception of southern secession and the long aftermath of Reconstruction, no other geographical region in the United States seemed as disloyal and ripe for rebellion as the Mormon West, particularly Utah.

What better opportunity to demonstrate once and for all that Mormons and Utahns were now one hundred percent American and loyal to the federal government than by complete dedication to the war effort? The statements by Scherer, Lane, and Chandler during their visits validated the idea that Mormons were, in fact and in deed, loyal Americans. The opportunity for Mormons and non-Mormons to work together in the noble crusade was a refreshing change from the bickering that preceded and, to a lesser extent, followed the war.

The councils of defense were intended to be politically nonpartisan so that a large group of patriotic citizens seeking to play an active, voluntary role in the war effort could make a meaningful contribution. As such they brought an intimacy, intensity, and fervor to the mission that government officials and bureaucrats could not match. As Andrew Love Neff, a history professor at the University of Utah, observed, the councils were “something new, something fresh, corresponding to the spirit of the hour for strange and extraordinary developments. The well-established agencies could not begin to command the attention and secure the publicity or the response that was accorded the brand new devices.” From the beginning of the war in April 1917 until their disbandment in July 1919, “the Councils of Defense brought about a merger of the forces that were seeking to advance the war program into an organized

and useful agency which became a chief and effective agent of the government.”⁶⁵

Finally, the relationship between the federal, state, and local governments served to foster goodwill, respect, and cooperation. All aspects of the war effort—from the Selective Service and such things as the Americanization effort to food, fuel, and Liberty Bond work—were carried out at the grass roots level by local Selective Service boards, defense councils, and committees. While the federal government, through the Council of National Defense and other agencies, provided guidelines and suggestions, there was little enforcement by federal agencies that, for the most part, cooperated and coordinated with each other. In Utah, the federal government was no longer the enemy nor the object of distrust or fear but the keystone in a partnership with carefully defined objectives that all should embrace. No other undertaking demonstrates this partnership more clearly than the war time effort in which the federal, state, and local councils of defense worked to secure victory.

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WEB EXTRA



Visit history.utah.gov/uhqextras for an interview with Kent Powell about Utah's experience during the First World War, as well as his years of research on this subject.

65 “Utah and World War I—Councils of Defense in Utah,” typescript, box 11, fd. 6, Neff Papers, JWML.



Women of the Red Cross Canteen Corps serving the community away from the Ogden Canteen. During the Second World War, Ogden, Utah, had a busy canteen driven by female, volunteer work.

FOOD, COMFORT, AND A BIT OF HOME

Maude Porter and the Ogden Canteen, 1942–1946

BY LORRIE RANDS

Gainer Bachman, a soldier from Eden, Utah, remembered fondly how, during World War I, he was met at the docks in New York City by Red Cross Canteen workers who were greeting soldiers as they returned from Europe. He remembered he was “given a large dish of ice cream and raisin [pie], the first we had since leaving American soil. But best of all was the broad smiles and welcome we received. We soldiers, on that memorable day, christened the Red Cross Canteen workers, ‘The Angels of Service Men.’”¹ Many of the returning veterans hoped there would not be a need for canteens in the future, but this hope was futile as another world war was looming. During World War II, not far from Bachman’s hometown of Eden, was the lively, vital Ogden Canteen. This organization served the needs of both resting soldiers and of the women who ran it—women who learned and honed skills through their volunteer service.

The American Red Cross has been offering aid to soldiers in times of war since it was first founded by Clara Barton during the Civil War. During World War I, the Red Cross established the Canteen Corps to create waypoints at railway stations and sea ports to provide meals, comfort, and smiles to the service men and women who were being transported to their final destinations.² When the United States entered World War

1 Gainer Bachman, “News and Views,” *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, September 25, 1943.

2 Much of my research about the establishment of the Red Cross Canteen Corps was based in the Records of the American National Red Cross, 1935–1946, RG 200, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland (NARA).

II after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Red Cross again provided resting places across the country, but it was not alone. Prior to the United States' entry into the war, Franklin D. Roosevelt enlisted six groups—the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), National Catholic Community Service, National Jewish Welfare Board, Traveler's Aid Association, and the Salvation Army—in the effort to provide recreation for members of the Armed Forces on leave.³ In February 1941, these six organizations joined together and formed the United Services Organization (USO). Between the American Red Cross and the USO, over two hundred canteens were organized throughout the United States during the war, with the understanding that the Red Cross would cater to the men traveling under orders and the USO would cater to the casual soldiers. When there was not a USO present, the Red Cross would serve both.⁴

At the start of World War II there were only a few operational canteens across the country and, “the service developed tremendously as it appealed to many women who saw it as an opportunity to serve troops.” Furthermore, “an agreement was made with the Red Cross authorizing canteens as the official feeding agency in enemy action as well as in national disaster.”⁵ Because of this, the Red Cross encouraged all its chapters to organize a canteen, designed to provide food and services to the troops, but whose main responsibility was to the community where it was located and to work closely with the Disaster Preparedness and Relief Committee. This in turn, led to the creation of the canteen courses that provided training for the women who participated.

When the Red Cross originally created canteens during World War I, there was no training required to be a member of the corps. However, during World War II, to be a member an individual had to take twenty-hour courses in both nutrition and “canteening.” The first was the Standard Food and Nutrition Course, which gave practical training on how to select and

prepare food that would meet the nutritional needs of families and individuals. The second was the Emergency Feeding Course, which provided training in how to set up a canteen, from improvising equipment and running the canteen, to preparing and serving large quantities of food with minimal amounts of time, money, and effort. When these courses were completed, certificates were awarded to prove when the class was taken, as a refresher course was required every three years.⁶

Canteens were typically organized in small towns that had “major railroad terminals where train crews were changed, locomotives serviced and freight trains were yarded.”⁷ The major industry was the railroad and at the center of these towns were the small but very busy passenger stations. As troop trains began to pass through, people gathered at the station to see the troops.⁸ Some of them began to wonder what they could do to help the soldiers who were going off to war. Usually, through the efforts of one individual, an idea was sparked, and a canteen was born. The underlying goal of the canteen was to provide the troops who came through their doors with the basic necessity of food. More important than food was the idea that the volunteers at the canteens could help the troops feel the support of their nation.

In order to ensure that a canteen ran smoothly and efficiently, the local Red Cross chapter selected a chairman for the canteen. The appointment typically lasted for one year, with the possible “privilege” of reappointment. It is possible that a new chair was assigned each year, but that seems unlikely. In each of the examples that follow, one woman led the way and took charge of the canteen in her area. These women wanted to be a part of the war effort and found places in their communities where they could do just that.

The busiest canteen during World War II was located in North Platte, Nebraska. It was conceived by one woman, Rae Wilson, who wanted to make a difference and provide care for the troops passing through her small town. Over

3 Scott D. Trostel, *Angels at the Station* (Fletcher, OH: Cam-Tech, 2008), 13.

4 Mrs. Graham Dougherty to Mr. Basil O'Connor, July 26, 1944, box 203, file 140.11, Red Cross Records.

5 Ibid.

6 Volunteer Special Services Canteen Corps, 1942, box 203, file 140.11, Red Cross Records.

7 Trostel, *Angels at the Station*, 13.

8 Ibid., 14.



Annie Maude Dee Porter, circa 1940. Porter was already a busy woman when she took on the leadership of the Ogden Canteen, but she believed that engaging in public service was a way of “paying her rent in the world.”

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a four-year time period, the North Platte Canteen provided services to over six million service members and received volunteers from as far away as Colorado. This canteen succeeded, in part, because of the dedication of the women of the North Platte community who organized and kept it running.⁹

Ohio was one of the busiest states in the nation, with at least a dozen canteens, because of the great number of troops heading for eastern ports.¹⁰ The canteens in Ohio were influenced by one individual, Margaret Clingerman, who, like Rae Wilson in North Platte, wanted to give support, comfort, and food to the traveling soldiers. The stories of these World War II canteens, as well as 125 others, are told in Scott

⁹ See Bob Green, *Once Upon a Town: The Miracle of the North Platte Canteen* (New York: Perennial, 2002).

¹⁰ Trostel, *Angels at the Station*, iv.

Trostel's *Angels at the Station*, which uses interviews with the women who volunteered at and the service members who utilized the canteens.

There was another important canteen during World War II whose story has not been told. This canteen was located in Ogden, Utah, where the major industry for many years was the railroad. In 1941, after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, many people in Ogden wanted to do something to show their support for the country and the soldiers who were going overseas to fight for their freedom. One woman, Annie Maude Dee Porter, a daughter of the prominent Dee family, was already involved with the Red Cross working with the Nurses Auxiliary Corps. She also belonged to the Red Cross Committee for her area, and at the end of December 1941, Porter mentioned in her diary that she spoke with Leah Greenwell, the secretary for the Weber County Red Cross Committee, about organizing a canteen.

As was the case in Nebraska and Ohio, it took just one person thinking of what she could do to help in the war effort to open a local canteen. Maude Porter was that person in Ogden, though she also was encouraged by a request from military authorities that a canteen be established in Ogden.¹¹ Porter was already a busy woman. According to the *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, she was a founder, board member, and treasurer of the Thomas D. Dee Memorial Hospital, and a board member of the Thomas D. Dee Investment Company and the Dee-Eccles Company. She also belonged to many civic clubs, yet still had time to participate in her church activities. Porter believed that “anyone who engages in public work has the satisfaction that this is one way of paying her rent in the world.”¹² With this attitude, it is no wonder that she found time to organize and prepare the canteen at the Ogden Depot, which opened its doors on March 25, 1942.

The Ogden Canteen was one of the earliest such facilities to open and one of the busiest: only a handful of canteens had opened before

¹¹ Weber County Red Cross Scrapbooks, 1942–1943, box 1, Union Station Research Library, Union Station, Ogden, Utah (hereafter Weber County Red Cross Scrapbooks).

¹² “Red Cross Canteen Group Will Honor Chairman,” *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, March 24, 1945.

March 1942, and whereas most canteens served between 500,000 to one million soldiers, the Ogden station served 1.6 million soldiers. Despite all this, the story of this canteen has never been told. What follows is an account of how a community rallied during a time of war and rationing under the leadership of one individual. The Ogden Canteen brought the community together as only a war effort can, as the people of Ogden provided the food and supplies needed to keep the canteen open at the train station seven days a week. The canteen also had a great impact on the soldiers themselves. Many soldiers sent thank you letters to the canteen to show their appreciation for the home-cooked meals and smiles they received from the women who were always there. But ultimately, the final impact was on the women of the canteen. These women joined the Red Cross Canteen Corps to do their part for their country in a time of war and give a little piece of home to the soldiers passing through Ogden. On the way, the canteen became an important part of their lives and personal growth.

The first thing Ogden's canteen needed was a chairman of the Canteen Committee. This was made simple by selecting Maude Porter who, as noted, was already a member of the Red Cross. It is unclear whether Porter volunteered to be the chair or if she was chosen, but on January 2, 1942, she was "appointed chairman of the Canteen Committee."¹³ Porter was reappointed to this position until the canteen's closing in 1946 due in part to her business sense and her desire to do her part in the time of war. According to the canteen's log book, Porter worked closely with Leah Greenwell to develop plans for the canteen and to secure its location at the Ogden Depot. On January 15, Porter had her committee organized with Gertrude Irwin as first vice chair and Lorraine White as second vice chair. Porter worked closely with these two women over the course of the canteen's four-year run to ensure that it operated smoothly.

Once her committee was organized, Porter put Irwin in charge of the nutrition and canteen courses, which were required for all volunteers

who worked in the canteen. These courses, which were advertised in the local newspaper, also became a recruiting tool for the Canteen Committee since not all the women who took the courses signed up to work in the canteen. The instructor for the canteen course was Wanda Matthews, the head dietitian at Thomas D. Dee Memorial Hospital. She created the course using the Red Cross handbook for canteens. The first class was held on February 17, 1942, with fifty-one women in attendance; Matthews taught six more sessions of the class throughout February and March 1942. Catherine Ebert, a dietitian for the Utah School for the Deaf and Blind, and Lydia Tanner, a domestic science instructor at Weber College, taught the nutrition course.¹⁴ The three sessions of this course, also taught during February and March 1942, had a combined attendance of over 115 people.

Both classes helped Porter find initial volunteers, but she never turned people away who wanted to volunteer their time whether they had taken the courses or not. At times, this put Porter at odds with the Red Cross and even led to a reprimand for not having all her volunteers trained; however, not even that stopped Porter from allowing untrained volunteers.¹⁵

The classes allowed Porter to meet another requirement. She created smaller units within the canteen that could be assigned to work with the Subcommittee on Food and the Disaster Preparedness and Relief Committee in case of a disaster. Porter assigned a chairperson for each unit to provide leadership. In the Ogden Canteen these chairmen were known as captains, and Porter followed the direction of the Red Cross by choosing women who had "ability as leaders. They should have resourcefulness, good judgment, self-control, and ease in working with people."¹⁶ Porter designated seven captains, one for each day of the week, who would be in charge of the canteen for that day. On March 20, the final meeting was held before the

13 Weber County Red Cross Papers, book 1, pg. 1, MS 411, Special Collections, Stewart Library, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah (SLWSU) (hereafter Weber County Red Cross Papers).

14 It is unclear if Lydia Tanner is the Mrs. Tanner referred to in the canteen log book; however, using the Polk Directories of Ogden as a reference guide, she is the most logical Mrs. Tanner.

15 Violet Knight to Mrs. R. B. Porter, October 24, 1945, 1944-1946, box 1, Weber County Red Cross Scrapbooks.

16 Volunteer Special Services Canteen Corps, 1942, pg. 5, Red Cross Records.

canteen opened, and Porter announced the captains. They were as follows: On Monday, Grace Leonard; Tuesday, Lorraine White; Wednesday, Bessie Barton; Thursday, Alta Lowe; Friday, Janet Dee; Saturday, Joyce Kerr; and Sunday, Emma Christenson. Each member attending the meeting was able to choose the day on which she would serve, and meetings were held with the captains to organize the first week of the canteen.¹⁷ The formality and businesslike way in which Porter and her associates set up the canteen suggest the seriousness with which they approached the endeavor.

The Red Cross was looking for a specific kind of woman to work in the Canteen Corps. A 1942 booklet designed to help local chapters organize canteens stated that women

enlisted as members of a corps should be citizens of the United States and should be persons of good standing in the community, with good health and high morale. They should have a sincere interest in the food and nutrition problems of the community. Women experienced in the planning, preparing, and serving of community meals, such as church, Parent-Teacher Associations, Home Demonstration Clubs, Legion Auxiliaries, church societies, clubs or other organizations in which women have learned to work cooperatively for community welfare are excellent sources of membership for the Corps.¹⁸

It is possible that Porter saw this booklet as she was organizing the Ogden Canteen, but more likely, because it was written in 1942, she looked to the women around her to find the ones she knew were best suited to work in and run the canteen. From Porter's vantage point as a business woman, she knew many of the more prominent women in Ogden and could encourage them to volunteer their time. She also relied upon the nutrition and canteen classes to find volunteers when the volume at the canteen started to increase. But finding the volunteers and leaders for the canteen was only part of the job; she also needed to find a suitable location

for the canteen and the necessary equipment and supplies.

On January 2, 1942, Porter wrote in her diary that she went to a meeting at the municipal building in Ogden to begin the process of starting the canteen. She and the Red Cross wanted the location to be the Union Station, but they needed to have the approval of the railroad. Initially, the railroad officials refused because they wanted more information. Finally, on February 6, the railroad relented and gave permission for the canteen to operate out of the Union Station. They also offered to build a small room for the canteen's operation. This small room, which became known as the "little brown hut," was located on the south side of the platform and was seen by the service members who came up the stairs on that side of the platform. Over the course of the following months, Porter often stopped at the Union Station to see how the "room" was coming along. She recorded how slowly work on the canteen was progressing, and there is a sense of frustration conveyed in her choice of words. However, she used the extra time to make the necessary arrangements to have all the needed equipment so the canteen would run smoothly once it opened.¹⁹

On February 25, she made arrangements for the canteen to have a phone, and over the course of the next few days she ensured the canteen also had a refrigerator, cupboards, and stools. Porter also managed to get the budget the Red Cross gave to the canteen increased to eight hundred dollars. She used this money to purchase the rest of the items needed for the canteen. As a businesswoman who did the budget for the Dee Hospital, Porter knew how to make her funds stretch and how to obtain the best commodities for the best price. When she realized the canteen needed a stove, she went looking for a used one. Porter soon realized that most of the used stoves she found were a little too used, so she found a way to purchase a new stove from a local business at a discounted price. It is not known how much the original budget was for the canteen, but by 1944, it was \$2,000 a month.²⁰

17 Book 1, p. 7, Weber County Red Cross Papers.

18 Volunteer Special Services Canteen Corps, 1942, p. 2, Red Cross Records.

19 Annie Maude Dee Porter Diaries, 1942, The Thomas D. Dee and Annie Taylor Dee Family History Collection, MS 52, SLWSU (hereafter Porter Diary).

20 Verne Simmons to Vice Chairman in Charge of Domestic Operations, National Headquarters, September 1, 1944, pg. 3, box 203, file 140.11, Red Cross Records.



An interior view of the canteen before it opened its doors to the soldiers. The volunteers here served R. E. Edens, superintendent of the Ogden Union Railway and Depot Company; E. G. Bennett, chairman of the Weber County Chapter of the American Red Cross; Ralph Talbot Jr., commanding general of the Utah Quartermaster Depot; and V. L. Lewis, the depot's public relations officer.

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With most of the equipment purchased, a location for the canteen secured, volunteers available to run it, and the courses prepared and taught, all that was left was to purchase uniforms, arrange for daily records to be kept, and to open the canteen for business. The Red Cross had a uniform for every organization it ran, and the Canteen Corps was no different. The only disadvantage was that volunteers were expected to purchase their own uniforms, which most workers did. No jewelry was allowed with the uniform except a wedding ring, a watch, and the canteen pin. This pin had the letter "C," decorated with heads of wheat and a border of medium blue. It signified that the wearer was

engaged in active service, and all active members were encouraged to wear them.

Most of the pictures taken at the canteen show women wearing their uniforms. The uniforms helped the soldiers and the community know which volunteers belonged to the Canteen Corps and which women were volunteering a few hours of time on a given day. Porter knew that not everyone could afford to buy a uniform, so like the courses, she never turned a volunteer away; however, she did recognize that uniforms were important for certain occasions, so only the women who had a uniform could do certain things within the Canteen Corps, like marching

in parades and taking pictures. The uniforms gave the canteen—and most likely the women who wore them—a sense of respectability and purpose within the war effort.

The last requirement for operating a Red Cross canteen was to compile a record of its activities. Each month, Maude Porter made a record that was sent to the Weber County Red Cross office detailing the number of men served, as well as the number of volunteers and the hours they worked. She also kept track of all donations and how much was spent from the budget to cover costs. This was then sent to the national office to help the Red Cross keep more accurate records on the canteens it had in operation. In order to make this process easier, Porter asked the captains to have the woman in charge of each shift write down its happenings, an accurate accounting of the number of men served, who worked, and the number of hours served. This was done from the moment the idea for the canteen was conceived until the day it closed.²¹

With the groundwork in place, Porter had only to wait for the space at the Ogden Depot to be finished. As mentioned earlier, she went to the station almost every day to see how close the canteen was to completion, and on March 21, 1942, the men working on it promised to have it finished by Monday, March 23. That day Porter wrote in her diary:

At the Canteen from 9:45 to 5:15. . . . Mr. Edens (Superintendent of the OURD) stayed around much of the day directing the RR men in the electric wiring and carpenter work, bringing over of dishes and silver given by the RR, moving things around and getting the room cleaned up by depot janitors. Mrs. Irwin came a while in the a.m. and again in the p.m. Mrs. White stayed while I went home for lunch. The Captains and some oth-

ers came to get instructions. We had the things ordered from various stores delivered. The Army truck took down things from our house. The place still in a mess when we left at 5:15. We cannot serve tomorrow as planned.²²

The next day, March 24, was spent washing dishes, receiving cookie donations, and arranging the supplies in an orderly manner to start service. Finally on March 25, everything was ready to have a “grand opening trying out our coffee making equipment in the p.m. Mr. Edens, Mr. Havenor, and ‘Dave’ the carpenter our guests. Decided to start serving for the 7 p.m. train. The Canteen turned over to Mrs. Barton and her committee for the evening.”²³ Sergeant Butler M. P. was the first serviceman to have coffee at the Ogden Canteen. The following day, March 26, the first full day of service at the canteen, was one of uncertainty, donations, rushes, and ultimately success. The log book records:

We started our day’s work none too well organized and not knowing whether to make coffee for ten boys or one hundred but we were soon so busy that there was no time for questioning. Our first soldiers came at 8:05 and between then and 11:30 am we had served between 125 and 150 boys. We served eight dozen donuts [and cookies] donated. . . . The boys seemed grateful and told us our coffee was really good. . . . A delicious chocolate cake donated by Mrs. John Scowcroft was the ‘event’ of the afternoon. . . . A total of 215 [served] not a bad record for our first day’s work.²⁴

At the end of the day all the workers hoped that as time went on, they would establish a reputation for hospitality and efficiency. It was also noted in the log book that they were so worried about not having enough coffee that many of the workers brought thermoses full of coffee as they came on shift. They were also excited when they figured out how many spoonfuls of bleach were needed per gallon of water to sterilize dishes.

21 Weber County Red Cross Papers. Unfortunately only three log books are currently extant. Book one runs from January 2 to October 9, 1942; books two, three, and four are unavailable; book five runs from December 1, 1944, to August 28, 1945; book six runs from August 29, 1945, to January 3, 1946, the day the canteen closed. The Weber County Chapter of the Red Cross has not been able to locate the three books in question. An interview by the author with Frank Lucas, whose mother worked at the canteen, suggested that even more log books are missing.

22 Porter Diary, March 23, 1942.

23 Book one, 8–9, Weber County Red Cross Papers.

24 Ibid., 11.



One of the only pictures of the outside of the canteen with service men. Note the use of glass cups and plates. By the time the canteen closed its doors, its volunteers had served more than a million members of the U.S. Armed Forces.

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Over the next few days, as each new shift worked for the first time, the volunteers began to see what was required to work at the canteen and how much help they could be to the soldiers. The workers also took notice of the different servicemen visiting the canteen. The first day the most remarkable “boys” were Merchant Marines from Ireland. One boy seemed awfully young and when asked his age, he told the volunteers that he was seventeen and had enlisted at fifteen. On the second day, the workers who came on at 4:30 p.m. said, “This being the first hour of the first day, we approach our new work with anxiety, some worry and more trepidation. However, luckily, there were few boys in the station at the time so we were able to adjust ourselves to our surroundings and put on our best demeanor.”²⁵ This helped prepare them to meet their guests with warm smiles. By Sunday, March 29, servicemen began arriving who had been at Pearl Harbor. The first guest

of the morning had been injured at Hickam Field and was hospitalized for sixty-two days. He asked if they had any tape for his injured hip, “so instead of serving him food, we went in search of tape. We felt we had helped comfort him somewhat.”²⁶ The women began to see that they could provide more than just food for the men and women coming through their canteen.

By the end of the first week the canteen had served an average of 137 servicemen a day, and the volunteers were starting to familiarize themselves with how the canteen ran and what their duties were. Porter was a constant presence, either in person or on the telephone, to ensure that the workers had the supplies and help needed to provide service to the men. She met with her captains at least once a month to listen to their concerns and ideas for the canteen. Even though it was Porter’s responsibility as chair of the Canteen Committee to organize

25 Ibid., 12–13.

26 Ibid., 15.

and run the facility, she took great pains in listening to her committee. She was also known to obtain ideas from the servicemen. There were many times servicemen remarked that more boys would come to the canteen if they knew it was there, so Porter sought out a way to put up signs near the tracks to let them know the canteen was nearby.

One of Porter's first big obstacles was dealing with the shortage of cookie donations due to the rationing of sugar. On May 14, 1942, she noted in her diary that women baked cookies for the canteen using their own sugar rations and then they did not have enough sugar for their own families for the rest of the month. This slowly led to the shortage of cookie donations at the canteen. Porter spoke with her assistants about how to overcome the problem. In the log book for June 1942, a special note was made regarding the sugar rationing issue: "We have the sugar rationing issue well in hand. Receipts are issued to those furnishing cookies, stating the estimated amount of sugar used. These receipts are honored by the local rationing board in issuing permits to donors to purchase additional sugar to reimburse for the amount used."²⁷ With the sugar rationing problem resolved, it was easier to deal with the additional rationing that happened over the course of the war. When the country went to the point system for rationing, Porter obtained a book just for the canteen to ensure there would always be meat, butter, sugar, and other rationed items available.

For the most part, in the beginning of the canteen experience the women were able to help the soldiers with smiles and friendly service. One soldier, Private Connie Olmstead of the Twenty-third Air Depot Group McClellan Field, sent a grateful postcard to the canteen: "This from the last soldier that was in there Saturday night. . . . I want to say thank you all, and will never forget you all and the coffee and cookies. Very best regards and wishes to all on Red Cross."²⁸ This was the beginning of many thank you letters the canteen received over the next three years. The *Ogden Standard-Examiner* wrote many articles about these letters. On October 17, 1943, Walter Mann called the Ogden Canteen a bright spot for traveling servicemen

because of the expressions of gratitude it had received. One soldier wrote asking that the workers not lose the recipe for the rolls he was served.²⁹ Another article shared a letter written from an Ogden soldier who was stationed at Camp Roberts, California. He said that Ogden was becoming well known among many of the soldiers he came in contact with because of the service they received at the canteen. Dorothy Porter, the author of the article, agreed with the soldier, noting Ogden was known around the United States and other countries because of the service and home-cooked meals provided at the canteen. She also mentioned a British sailor who took the time to teach the canteen workers how to make a proper cup of English tea.³⁰ This came in handy as there were many British, Scottish, and Irish sailors who preferred tea over coffee.

The canteen log book also contains little notes of thanks from service members. There were times when the soldiers wanted to help the women out in the canteen, so they were invited into the room to help wash dishes when there was a big rush. The workers greatly appreciated the help, and the service members usually left their names in the log book. The canteen was also visited by many Red Cross workers and private individuals who were interested in how the canteen operated. On April 16, a canteen worker from Iowa wanted to know how the Ogden Canteen operated because the facility she volunteered for in Iowa was portable. She also thought Ogden's canteen was well equipped and efficient. On May 15, a woman from North Platte, Nebraska, visited the Ogden Canteen because she had heard so much about it. She mentioned that the North Platte canteen was not a Red Cross Canteen but was run by a local organization. On July 30, Mrs. Mather, another one of the women who helped start the Community Canteen in North Platte, stopped by because she too was very interested in how the Utah canteen was run. The log book mentioned individuals from all over the country who stopped at the Ogden Canteen to see how it was run, and who mentioned how well known

29 Walter E. Mann, "Travelers Send Thanks Notes to Depot Canteen," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, October 17, 1943.

30 Dorothy Porter, "Reporter Finds Depot Canteen is Widely Known," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, December 19, 1943.

27 Ibid., 141.

28 Ibid., 78.



In this image, volunteers serve refreshments to R. E. Edens, E. G. Bennett, Ralph Talbot Jr., and V. L. Lewis. Though the canteen workers appreciated visits and praise from dignitaries, they especially enjoyed meeting and serving soldiers.

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it had become. An officer on his way home wanted to open a Red Cross canteen in St. Louis and asked the workers about how things were set up in Ogden. According to these entries, the Ogden Canteen became a template for other canteens to follow.

The workers appreciated the praise of the Red Cross and other individuals who stopped in at the canteen, but more than anything, they looked forward to meeting service members. The first log book is full of stories of those who stopped at the canteen. One soldier was meeting his wife at the Ogden Depot with a box of flowers: "he had been carrying them for quite a while as the train was late, we put his box in the refrigerator for him. He later brought in

his wife to meet us, she was very sweet and he was so happy."³¹ The workers were also able to witness two brothers meeting each other in Ogden. "They spent sixteen hours together then one went east the other west."³² In the first few months of operations, the workers had time to sit and visit with the service members as there were only a few hundred coming through every day. This was overwhelming at first, but as time went on and the canteen served more soldiers every day, the first few months became the proving ground for what was to come and helped the workers prepare for what was truly a "rush" on the canteen.

31 Book one, 196–97, Weber County Red Cross Papers.

32 Ibid., 224.

On June 15, 1942, the canteen served 1,114 service members in one day. This was the first time the canteen served over a thousand “boys,” and it did not happen again until September 7 of the same year, when the canteen served 1,360 service members. Porter wrote in her diary that she went to the canteen at three in the afternoon to arrange for supplies and everything was gone by five o’clock. She hurried back to the canteen and found four more workers to come in and help make more food to serve the boys. Porter remarked she was “almost prostrated after the second trip . . . biggest day yet.”³³ The days when a thousand or more were served did not happen very often in the beginning, and it gave the workers and Porter the opportunity to learn how to cope with them when they happened more regularly as the war progressed.

During this learning stage, and after talking with both her committee and service members, Porter also decided to offer more than just cookies, donuts, and coffee. The Ogden canteen gradually added sandwiches, hot biscuits, and cinnamon rolls to the menu at the end of 1942 and throughout 1943. At that point, most of the items were prepared at the canteen; the extra food required time for the women to get used to the extra work. On January 21, 1943, Porter noted in her diary that the workers had to spend their time slicing bread for sandwiches, because “war regulations have eliminated slicing at the bakery.” This did not deter the volunteers; in fact, they noted in the log book how many loaves were used in each shift. Usually it was a practical number, like twenty, but on August 27, 1945, 108 loaves of bread were used. This day also turned out to be the busiest the canteen ever had, with 3,336 service members served.³⁴

The Ogden Canteen was one of the busiest canteens in the Pacific Area of the Red Cross: by January 1943 the canteen had served 103,634 service members, and it had 92 workers who had logged 1,637 hours of service. The log books for 1943 and 1944 are not available for viewing, so it is unknown exactly when the canteen began serving over a thousand troops a day on a regular basis, but by December 1, 1944, this

volume was typical. By this time, it was also common for the canteen workers to make large quantities of cinnamon rolls, biscuits, and rolls on a daily basis. Some days it was 675 cinnamon rolls, others it was eighty dozen rolls, or even eight hundred rolls and cinnamon.³⁵ The workers always wanted to make sure there was enough food on hand to feed the soldiers. Even with access to the train schedules, they did not always know how many that would be on a given day, because the trains were not always on time. This is one of the reasons the canteen workers made so many “rolls” to begin each day. That the women of the canteen met the needs of so many service members—at a fast pace and using volunteer labor—spoke to their great organizational abilities.

Each day brought donations and volunteers from various places. Nellie James, a teenager who volunteered for one day, remembered going with her mother, a member of the Red Cross Motor Corps, to pick up donuts from Topper Bakery and take them to the canteen. James stayed to help serve and recalled the rush on the canteen as service members ran up the stairs from the tracks and straight for the canteen. She served them coffee and cookies, but she was very frightened. She did not remember why she never volunteered again, but thought it was because of how uncomfortable she felt as the men in uniform flirted with her.³⁶ James was one of many volunteers who served for a day or a few days when there was a need. Other women found different ways to help. Mothers whose sons were off fighting somewhere in the world made cakes for them on their birthdays and took them to the canteen for the boys in uniform. The boys always enjoyed the cakes and the workers appreciated them too.

Donations were always accepted at the canteen. It was a way that members of the community could help the war effort. High school students donated money at their respective schools, growers donated fruit, and church organizations donated cookies. In this way, the entire community was involved helping the canteen

33 Porter Diary, September 7, 1942.

34 Book five, August 27, 1945, Weber County Red Cross Papers.

35 Ibid. On the days when the canteen volunteers prepared cinnamon rolls and dinner rolls, it is unclear if they made 800 of each, or a combined total of 800.

36 Nellie James, interview by Lorrie Rands, June 25, 2013, in possession of the author.



A typical day at the Ogden Canteen. By late 1944, the canteen volunteers made enormous amounts of food—such as 675 cinnamon rolls in one day—and regularly served more than one thousand soldiers per day. In return, many service members sent notes of thanks back to the canteen.

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provide the soldiers with a memorable meal in Ogden. The donations continued until the canteen closed its doors, in part because Porter placed notices in the newspaper for fruit and cookie donations. At its height, the canteen always had enough food for the service members, because Porter was always there to manage the donations and ensure the supplies at the canteen were always available.

Porter's dedication made it possible for the canteen to stay open through the worst of times; in fact, the canteen only closed once in its four-year run for personal reasons. That is not to say that the canteen never closed during the day. When there was work done on the room, such as additions or painting, it was necessary to close the facility; on those days, the volunteers still offered cookies outside the canteen. When Franklin Roosevelt died, the women wrote in the log book that "all were plunged into grief,"

but they continued to serve. Those who worked on the day of Roosevelt's memorial listened to the service as they worked, but the canteen remained opened. On the day of Richard Porter's funeral, however, the canteen closed its doors for a few hours so all the volunteers could attend the funeral and show their love and support for their leader, Maude Porter, on the death of her husband.

Throughout the canteen's four years, two days stand out for what they meant to the volunteers. On May 8, 1945, Victory in Europe Day was announced. The volunteers had been waiting with anticipation for this day: "Well, V-E day is here at last and we of the canteen are glad, and although stores are closed our boys are here in large numbers to be served." In the afternoon, Jacob Lambert, the night watchman, brought in lilacs for the women, and the evening shift workers wrote, "Tonight we have earned a

medal for combat service on the home front.”³⁷ On this day, the canteen served 2,047 people, and the volunteers were just as excited as the boys they were serving for the news. When soldiers started returning to the states, the women noticed how sad they were. At first they could not understand why, but as they talked to the young men, the volunteers realized that many of them were going to the Pacific to fight the Japanese; for them, the war was still in progress and a major reality.

The second especially meaningful day was Victory in Japan Day, which truly marked the end of the war. Prior to this event, the news revolved around the Japanese surrender, but nothing was officially announced until August 14, 1945. In the morning the volunteers wrote, “Both boys and ladies were very anxious to hear the glad news that was expected any minute saying the war with Japan was over.” The afternoon shift paused to write the exact time of the announcement: “5:05 PM, Flash! Flash! The whistles are blowing!!! V.J. Day must be here. Jean Fernelius is jumping up and down saying ‘isn’t this wonderful! Now my husband can come home!’ We all feel that way—an unforgettable experience.”³⁸ The news was both exciting and devastating for the volunteers at the canteen. The war was over and the boys were going to come home in droves, but it also meant that the canteen would not be open for much longer. It was sad for many of the volunteers who had given so much of their time.

Once the soldiers started coming home, the canteen began to see even busier days. This was partly because of the many service members throughout the country already knew of the canteen from either personal experience or word of mouth. The volunteers took it in stride, rolled up their sleeves, and kept working, looking forward to meeting the returning troops. At this point, most of the soldiers had their discharge papers in their pockets and wore smiles on their faces. The volunteers also looked forward to meeting the “famous” troops who were designated to go through Ogden. On October 17, 1945, the Third Fleet, commanded by Admiral William Halsey, arrived. The Third Fleet, whose flagship was the USS Enterprise, had

helped carry out the Doolittle raid on Japan and helped win the battle of Guadalcanal. The fleet was also present for the formal surrender of Japan.

Backaches, bumps and burns, but it was fun serving those brave lads who have done so much for us. They sang and shouted, it was noisier than a three ring circus. . . . Many of them wanted to help wash dishes and kept coming in canteen and getting in the dish pan. Finally one of the workers took one by the arm and led him outside and told him we all loved them and were so very proud of them but he couldn’t wash dishes and he laughed and said “that’s ok, I’ll push bottles in the window” and he did. When they left they said, “well, you are through with us, but you won’t be forgotten.”³⁹

The women, through their words in the log book, showed how proud they were to serve these boys who had given so much to them.

As November 1945 approached, the Weber County Chapter of the Red Cross began talking about closing down the canteen at the first of the following year. Leah Greenwell discussed this with Porter, and they established a tentative closing date of January 2, 1946.⁴⁰ Porter and Greenwell continued to meet and talk about the issue, and on November 20, Porter told Greenwell that she was stepping down at the first of the year. This might have influenced when the canteen finally closed its doors, for who could truly fill the shoes of Maude Porter?⁴¹

As Porter’s husband became more seriously ill in the last part of October 1945, she allowed her vice chair to assume more responsibility for the running of the canteen, but she never stopped leading the canteen. Even when her husband was at his worst, she found time to prepare the books or make telephone calls regarding the canteen’s operation. This had happened only once before in 1943 when Porter’s husband spent almost two months in the hospital. She spent most of her days at the hospital with her husband, but still managed the day to day

37 Book five, May 8, 1945, Weber County Red Cross Papers.

38 Ibid., August 14, 1945.

39 Book six, 62–63, Weber County Red Cross Papers.

40 Porter Diary November 9, 1945.

41 Ibid., November 20, 1945.



A crowd in Salt Lake City celebrating Victory in Japan Day, August 14, 1945. The volunteers at the Ogden Canteen described V.J. Day as “an unforgettable experience.” Still, after victory, the canteen remained open and busy until January 1946, serving troops coming home.

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cares of the canteen. Porter saw the canteen as something bigger than herself, and despite her personal tragedies, she still ran the canteen as though it was only her responsibility. When Porter’s husband died on December 11, 1945, the log book notes, “The canteen workers are saddened to hear of the death of Mr. R. B. Porter, the husband of our General Chairman of the Canteen. We extend our sympathy to Mrs. Porter.”⁴² As noted earlier, the funeral for Richard Porter became the only time the canteen closed for personal reasons. “We are closing at noon to enable workers to attend Mr. Porter’s funeral.”⁴³ It reopened at 5:30 p.m. and still served 1,204 people on that day.

⁴² Book six, 126, Weber County Red Cross Papers.

⁴³ Ibid., 129.

As the closing day drew near, and the women were serving their final shifts, they wrote in the log book about how sad they were about the closing of the canteen, and how proud they were to have served so many fine soldiers. On December 28, the workers wrote, “Thanks to the canteen for the opportunity we’ve had of serving our armed forces, what little we have done . . . we would surely miss serving them in the future. We have all enjoyed our work.”⁴⁴

The next day the women wrote, “We of the Saturday forces, as we evaluate the experience of the war time years, feel grateful for the opportunity we have had to serve the boys and girls in uniform. We feel that our lives have been

⁴⁴ Ibid., 146.

enriched as we have worked together baking biscuits and cookies.” This was followed by, “Our last evening at the canteen . . . we will miss this Saturday night recreation very much. It has been work that is fun. We feel that this has been a real opportunity, meeting and serving people.”⁴⁵ These sentiments continued during their final day of service until all the shifts wrote how they felt about their years of service.

On the morning of January 3, 1946, “a group of six workers assembled at 10 am to clear away food and supplies.” Elsie Edens, Thelma Cross, Marie Lucas, Cleona Hedenstrom, Lorraine White, and Maude Porter were those six workers, most of whom had been there at the beginning. They spent most of the day cleaning the canteen and taking the equipment and supplies from the room. It is not known what was done with the equipment. The final entry in the log book takes three full pages, but they can all be summed up in these words:

The Ogden Red Cross Canteen opened on March 25, 1942. Almost four years have passed since that date; Momentous history has been made; a war has been won. As canteen workers, it has been our privilege to serve one million and a half of the service men and women who made that history . . . it is with reluctance that we close our door and contemplate that a pleasant service is ended. A salute to the uniformed friends we have known.

In closing, Our Final will and testament: To the O.U.R and D. Co, one little brown hut—dark and deserted now. Time was that its walls radiated cheer and hospitality and helpfulness and attracted hundreds of jostling, hungry young Americans with its beckoning Red Cross sign, the stimulating aroma of hot coffee and the spicy fragrance of baking cinnamon rolls. To Mrs. R. B. Porter: the love and good will of two hundred canteen workers.⁴⁶

The final numbers for the Weber County Red Cross Canteen, located at the Ogden Depot are as follows: U.S. Armed Forces served, 1,644,798;

⁴⁵ Ibid., 147–48.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 158–63

number of workers at closing, 184; total hours served entire period, 107,132.⁴⁷ By themselves, these numbers are insignificant, but when the volunteers’ and service members’ memories are added, they become much more. The volunteers who gave their time to work at the canteen did so for various reasons, but it is clear from the closing remarks of the Ogden Canteen that the women took away more than they felt they had given. With the dedication of their leader, Maude Porter, the canteen became a well-oiled machine that provided service to the soldiers no matter how many came to the window. It is because of the volunteers, and its leader, that the Ogden Canteen was so successful, and it is awe inspiring to realize that a group of dedicated women came together in a time of war to provide food, comfort, and a bit of home for the men and women of the Armed Forces who passed through their city.

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WEB EXTRA



Visit history.utah.gov/uhqextras to view log books from the Ogden Canteen, as well as other documents.

⁴⁷ 1942–1943, box 1, Weber County Red Cross Scrapbooks.



An exterior view of the Cornell (or Vissing) Apartments, located at 101 South 600 East in Salt Lake City, in November 1908.

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HISTORIC SALT LAKE CITY APARTMENTS OF THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

BY LISA-MICHELE CHURCH

Salt Lake City contains many beautiful examples of early twentieth-century apartment buildings constructed between 1902 and 1940 to house a growing urban population. With whimsical names such as the Piccadilly, the Peter Pan, and the Waldorf, these buildings beckoned to Utahns who were interested in a new approach to residential life. Apartments became places of beginnings and endings. To young couples starting out their marriage, single women leaving home for the first time,

immigrant families finally finding work in America, and others, an apartment provided the right mix of permanency and impermanency. It felt like a home but not necessarily *your* home. As one early resident put in, “You move in with a suitcase; you move out with a truck.”¹

The city’s apartments were constructed in two

¹ Ralph Holding, interview with Lisa-Michele Church, November 15, 2014, in possession of the author.

general phases, with one boom lasting from 1904 through World War I and another flurry occurring from the early 1920s until World War II. Members of Salt Lake City's middle class were generally the occupants of the apartments in those decades, and the buildings offered them modern luxuries they may not have been able to afford previously.² Such amenities included Murphy "disappearing beds," Frigidaire refrigerators, electric ranges, and laundry facilities. The building interiors were also upscale, with their French doors, balconies, chandeliers, and mosaic tile foyers.³ As an advertisement from the newly built Woodruff Apartments boasted in 1908, "the building will be steam heated, you will have hot water ready at all times of day or night, as well as free janitor and night watchman service, telephone and gas range. . . . The amount you will save on coal bills, water, telephone, street car fares and other incidentals, will reduce your cost of living, and you will have all the comforts besides."⁴ Salt Lake City apartment buildings of this era were designed either as a walk-up, with one or two entrances on each landing, or as a double-loaded corridor, with multiple entrances along a central hall. Each style featured decorative brick or stone exteriors and ornate front doorways.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, interest in downtown living was growing. A 1902 *Salt Lake Tribune* article noted that "most of the available sites for houses within convenient distance of the business center are already occupied, and the constant demand of renters for apartments close in has resulted in stimulating the erection of terraces or flats."⁵ The population of Salt Lake City had increased dramatically from 20,000 residents in the late nineteenth century to more than 92,000 by 1910.⁶ By

1940, it had jumped again to 140,000. This was a time of civic improvements in the inner city, including installing streetcar lines, paving sidewalks, and creating grass medians in the middle of the wide streets.⁷ Urban apartments offered the advantages of convenience, comfort, and proximity to jobs.

After the first apartment-building phase of the early century, another boom occurred in the 1920s. Then during the Great Depression, funding for new construction evaporated. After the Second World War, Utahns demanded cozy bungalows in the suburbs, which had become more affordable because of federally subsidized loans. Downtown apartment construction declined further, and the patterns of occupancy changed dramatically as well. The buildings became expensive to maintain. The clientele became more transient and less middle class.

Today, most of these grand old buildings provide low-income housing or are used as condominiums and lofts. Some remain beautifully preserved, their owners taking care to maintain the distinctive architectural features. There are at least seventy-three of these downtown apartment buildings listed in the National Register of Historic Places.⁸ In 2014, Salt Lake City adopted Design Guidelines for Historic Apartment buildings, emphasizing the charm of these structures, as well as their "distinctive urban scale and presence."⁹ The buildings still in use today are a vivid demonstration of the boldness and style with which Salt Lake City entered the twentieth century.

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WEB EXTRA

Visit history.utah.gov/slcapts for an extended essay with contemporary color photographs of these buildings and vignettes about their past occupants, as well as a walking-tour brochure, all by Lisa-Michele Church.

2 Roger Roper, "Homemakers in Transition: Women in Salt Lake City Apartments, 1910–1940," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (1999): 349–66.

3 "Design Guidelines for Historic Apartment and Multifamily Buildings in Salt Lake City," Draft, 4:4, accessed November 23, 2015, <http://www.slcdocs.com/Planning/blog/MFDGsMar14.pdf>; Thomas Carter and Peter Goss, *Utah's Historic Architecture, 1847–1940* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press and Utah State Historical Society, 1988).

4 *Goodwin's Weekly (Salt Lake City)*, September 5, 1908, 1.

5 *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 27, 1902.

6 "Historic Resources of Salt Lake City" MPDF / "Urban Expansion into the Early Twentieth Century, 1890s–1930s" (urban apartment study), available at

Utah State Historic Preservation Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

7 Ibid.; "Design Guidelines."

8 Urban apartment study.

9 Ibid.; "Design Guidelines."

THE PROPHET AND THE REFORMER:

The Letters of Brigham Young and Thomas L. Kane

EDITED BY MATTHEW J. GROW
AND RONALD W. WALKER

New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. xvi + 511 pp. Cloth,
\$39.95

This book left me wondering if the desiccated heart of Thomas L. Kane was enshrined somewhere in the Salt Lake City temple, for, at one time Kane wrote to Brigham Young “I request you to receive my heart to be deposited in the Temple of your Salt Lake City, that after death it may repose, where in metaphor at least it often was when living” (76). It is but one of the fascinating tidbits that awaits the reader of these ninety-nine letters that passed between Brigham Young and Thomas L. Kane between 1846 and Young’s death in 1877.

In a very helpful introduction and a brief epilogue, the editors provide the context in which the governor of the Utah Territory and president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Young, and the “diminutive, sickly, and elite Philadelphian,” Kane, formed a lasting and consequential friendship (1). In addition, each letter is preceded by a short description that provides the context and provenance of that particular missive. The letters were culled from the archives of the American Philosophical Society, the Brigham Young Office Files at the LDS Church History Library, and the Kane Collection at Brigham Young University. Helpful footnotes further elucidate the contents.

No other non-Mormon played such an important role in the history of nineteenth-century Utah and Mormonism as Kane, and the

fact that these two men were usually separated by the vast North American continent made possible the gift of these fascinating epistles. Meeting for the first time when the Mormons were refugees in Iowa, Kane became a sometimes passionate defender of a people whose beliefs he never came to share. As the editors point out, he and Brigham Young were “a study in contrast”: Young was the hard-working son of relatively impoverished New Englanders who became something of a spiritual seeker, while Kane was the son of a federal judge who was well-connected socially and somewhat skeptical as to religion (2).

For the historian, the most important letters in this collection may be those that concern the “Utah War” of 1857 and 1858. Kane’s self-imposed peace-making voyage to Utah has been credited with defusing the tense situation then existing between the Mormons and U.S. Army troops sent by President James Buchanan. The letters exchanged during that time are helpful not only in giving the reader insight into the minds of Kane and Young but also in providing a glimpse into the actions and possible motivations of other actors, such as the federally appointed governor, Alfred Cummings.

Kane, for example, in a letter to Young written on about March 16, 1858, stated that “since my arrival here I have been in constant communication with Governor Cummings. He has made no secret from me of his instructions, and I give my word without reservation that I can reiterate my assurance to you that he is the faithful and determined exponent of the view of yr. friend the President of the United States” (252). On a more critical note, Kane later wrote in regard to Governor Cummings: “I wish poor Cumming’s habits were better . . . I had just received from C. a foolish composition—very drunken indeed” (353).

Another point of interest for historians involves Young’s protestations to Kane that he had no

advance knowledge of the Mountain Meadows Massacre and that “the horrifying event transpired without my knowledge, except from the after report, and the recurring thought of it ever causes a shudder in my feelings” (348).

This work is a very useful companion to two recent biographies, Matthew J. Grow’s *“Liberty to the Downtrodden”: Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer* (2009) and John G. Turner’s *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* (2012).

In reading these letters it is clear that Kane and Young both had their own political, social, and religious agendas; yet it is equally clear that theirs was a remarkably affectionate and tenacious friendship. One senses that Kane is sincere when he closes his letters “Ever yours affectionately,” and Young means it when he writes that “Your many friends here join me in love to you” (379, 457).

This volume never did reveal the current location of Thomas L. Kane’s heart, but it shows how a friendship can survive illness, distance, and even a sort of betrayal over the question of polygamy. Both men are seen in all their human imperfections, yet the relationship revealed in these letters undoubtedly changed the course of history for Utahns, Mormons, and the United States.

— DANIEL P. DWYER, O.F.M.
Siena College

THE MORMON TABERNACLE CHOIR:

A Biography

BY MICHAEL HICKS

Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015. xiii + 248 pp.
Cloth, \$29.99

Michael Hicks’s *The Mormon Tabernacle Choir: A Biography* traces the famous ensemble’s rise from humble beginnings to its place as a hallmark of Mormon—and, indeed, American—culture. True to its title, the book is a biography: Hicks proceeds chronologically through the choir’s history, focusing on its directors, shifts in sound and use of technology, tour schedules, and programs. (Each chapter is devoted, more or less, to the tenure of one prominent director.) Like any good biographer, Hicks begins his story by establishing context and foreshadowing themes and tension that will last throughout his subject’s life. Chief among these tensions is that between music and religion. As the book’s first chapter recounts, religious music was surprisingly controversial in early nineteenth-century America. Hicks notes that during Mormonism’s first years, most churches held that “earthly choirs were a transgression” and some even argued that “sacred music deludes the mind” (3). But unlike these strains of Protestantism, most Latter-day Saints welcomed sacred music, and, in 1836, “after some altercation,” Joseph Smith established a singing school (6). Of course, Mormons had non-theological reasons for accepting music. Even after fleeing to the West, Mormons remained the subject of prejudice and derision. They fought back with music. “The best antidote to the mocking of newspapermen and journalists,” writes Hicks, “was culture” (9).

Using culture as a weapon, however, raises its own questions. The choir allowed the Mor-

mons to broadcast an image of themselves to the rest of America, but what was the message of that broadcast? Or, as Hicks puts it, “was the Choir a missionary enterprise or an artistic one?” (46). Hicks explores this question by examining the power struggles between the choir’s directors and the church hierarchy. Church leader Ezra Taft Benson, for example, objected to the choir’s 1965 album *This Land is Your Land*, which included songs written by Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger. The music of these “two hard-core Communists,” Benson said, would “give aid and comfort for the Communists” and cause the church needless difficulty (129). Though this may now seem almost quaint, Benson was, in a way, bold to criticize the choir: other Mormon leaders did so with less success. In 1898, the choir opened the church’s general conference with a hymn. Shortly afterward, Apostle John W. Taylor angrily accused choir members of various sexual transgressions. But the choir’s popularity was high, only a few years removed from its triumphant performance at the 1893 Chicago world’s fair. In the face of pressure, Taylor soon recanted his unsubstantiated allegations and apologized. The incident, writes Hicks, “showed not only how dramatically unpopular it could be to impugn the Choir, but also the lengths to which an Apostle would double back in his apologies, even putting the Choir’s worthiness above his own” (51).

Hicks treats these conflicts carefully and even-handedly. In rare moments, however, the book shies away from some of the more difficult pieces of the choir’s history. In 1995, the historian Michael Quinn “outed” one of the choir’s earliest and most important directors, Evan Stephens, as gay. Quinn argued that Stephens was sexually attracted to younger men, often members of the choir. Judging from the innuendo that peppers his chapter devoted to Stephens, Hicks apparently accepts Quinn’s argument. He is careful to mention, for instance, that Stephens enjoyed vacationing with “male friends” in San Francisco (46). But Hicks avoids addressing the issue head on: the book only explicitly mentions Stephens’s sexuality in a historiographical section near the end of the book, which describes the controversy caused by Quinn’s scholarship (156). This book will no doubt have a large readership among Latter-day Saints, and Hicks’s sideways glance at

Stephens’s sexuality might be a concession to the more conservative elements of that readership. This is a small criticism of an otherwise carefully composed, artfully constructed, and fastidiously researched book. Considering the great cultural importance of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir for Utah—and the nation—it is a wonder that this group has not attracted more scholarly attention. Hicks provides a welcome correction.

— BENJAMIN LINDQUIST
Princeton University

THE COUNCIL OF FIFTY:

A Documentary History

EDITED BY JEDEDIAH S. ROGERS

Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2014. xlv + 424 pp. Cloth, \$49.95

On March 11, 1844, in Nauvoo, Illinois, Joseph Smith established a secret organization called the Council of Fifty, or General Council, that was to address the political affairs of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Building on earlier teachings, the council grew out of a revelation received by Joseph Smith on April 7, 1842, directing him to establish “the Kingdom of God and his Laws, with the Keys and power thereof, and judgment in the hands of his servants, Ahman Christ” (2). Smith intended this council to assist in organizing the Kingdom of God on earth and to be “a living Constitution” for the eventual establishment of that kingdom (6).

Trusted church leaders made up the council, which was meant to provide leadership and direction as the political situation in Illinois deteriorated and the church sought places of colonization. Thus the records in *The Council of Fifty* provide important information on the earliest efforts of the Mormon leaders to establish a theocracy as part of their millennial efforts to prepare for the Second Coming of Christ. But they also inform us about the earliest

efforts of a people anxious to find an area for settlement (such as Texas) and establish a place of refuge and safety from a country that continually denied their civil rights and eventually murdered their prophet. The records in this volume further demonstrate that the Council of Fifty supplied the Mormons with important leadership during their earliest years in the Great Basin.

In 1958, James R. Clark published the first scholarly essay on the subject of the Council of Fifty in *Utah Historical Quarterly*. That same year, Hyrum L. Andrus published his *Joseph Smith and World Government*, and a number of scholarly monographs followed. All have argued that this secretive council supplied an important key to understanding early Mormon history. Klaus Hansen, who wrote the foreword to the volume under review here, argued in 1967 that the council could best be understood as a manifestation of a Mormon quest for empire—that it was an aggressive millennial organization bent on establishing Mormon world rule. Marvin Hill suggested that what really lay behind this organization was a Mormon quest for refuge, an attempt to provide a defensive response to the rough treatment the Mormons had received in Missouri and beyond. More recently, Michael Quinn has challenged Hansen's thesis, positing instead that the Council of Fifty was a symbol of Mormon thought about the Kingdom of God, and that the council never constituted a separate administrative unit of the LDS church but was rather an extension of the church's First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Quinn further showed that it did not meet regularly after 1840s except to provide support and occasional counsel on political and practical affairs of the church in early territorial Utah. The council gradually ceased to function, was revitalized by John Taylor, and had become a memory by 1900.

The original minutes of the meetings of the Council of Fifty, held by the LDS church, have never been made available to scholars. Until now, historians were left to find puzzle pieces in the journals of individuals who belonged to the council. A few excerpts were copied into various other records, but a complete picture was just not available. Then in 2013 the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day

Saints granted the Joseph Smith Papers access to the minutes kept by William Clayton and permission to include them in the papers series. The parts of volume one (which cover the Joseph Smith era) of the three manuscript volumes of minutes are scheduled to appear in 2016 in the first volume of the Administrative History Series of the Joseph Smith Papers.¹ Until this is published, we must depend on the available journals and other collateral records.

All of this brings us to Jedediah Rogers's valuable volume. He has gathered all the known references to the meetings of the Council of Fifty and organized them into chronological order. Rogers provides a useful introduction to the council's history, biographical sketches of those who were members, as well as useful notes that help place the documents into historical context. Without access to the original minute books, *The Council of Fifty* is the best guide to the ideas, activities, and members of the council. Even after the original minutes are published, this volume will be a valuable reference work for the council via supplemental historical sources and documents.

— DAVID J. WHITTAKER
Orem, Utah

CITIES, SAGEBRUSH, AND SOLITUDE:

Urbanization and Cultural Conflict in the Great Basin

EDITED BY DENNIS R. JUDD AND
STEPHANIE L. WITT

Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2015. viii + 271 pp. Paper, \$34.95

The title of this book reads like an academic label mated with search engine algorithms. The

1 R. Scott Lloyd, "Future Diversity in Mormonism is a Theme of History Conference," *Deseret News*, June 10, 2014.

book deserves better. It's lively, nimble, often unexpected, and informative. Its core theme is the growth of four urban centers around the perimeter of the Great Basin. Two—Salt Lake City and Reno—have significant historic roots. Two—Las Vegas and Boise—are largely postwar inventions. Each has a different story. Each is improbable. All are edge cities in that they are growing on the margins of the largest desert and emptiest landscape in the United States. None fits into traditional narratives. Yet collectively, the editors argue, these cities are possible harbingers of what the future of the American West may become: urban, parched, brazen, unsustainable, implausible.

Cities, Sagebrush, and Solitude is an anthology of thirteen essays from fourteen authors, in various combinations. It has the virtues and vices of all such collections, which dovetail into the question of authorial license and editorial constraint. There is a refreshing variety of topics and voices and the short contributions keep a brisk pace. Yet there is not enough material or interconnection for the book to be comprehensive or even thorough; and not a little of what is included is over-shared. Basic information is repeated. Essays among authors repeat material, essays from the same authors repeat passages, and too often even the same author in the same essay repeats.

The collection makes a lumpy porridge of genres. Some read like extended commentaries and some like briefing papers, while a handful (a few of the best) are cameo histories. The writing is readable throughout, frequently graceful, and occasionally pungent and witty. The basic unit is the epigrammatic sentence that tries to distill large themes. The book is short, less than 210 pages of actual text.

Among its recurring themes are the vastness, ecological tenuousness, and fragility of the Great Basin; the implacable aridity that makes urban life a more plausible successor to mining than does an agricultural economy; the remoteness and alienness of this place, which makes it tricky to fit into inherited narratives, cultural preferences, and institutions; the awkward relationship to social structures, particularly to government, any government, all government; and the sheer momentum of change over the

past forty years. The edge cities are, literally, on the edge equally of imagination and survival.

Or to summarize, the cumulative sense is that the Great Basin is witnessing an unpredictable experiment, careening into a future that might prove as extraordinary and sideways as its past, yet of wide significance. In the concluding words of Dennis Judd, "It turns out the Great Basin is not such a peculiar region after all. Suddenly it finds itself not a place apart; instead it is being inexorably drawn into a sweeping twenty-first-century global narrative" (255). Maybe. But then the entire collection documents a historical cavalcade of fantastical claims of just this sort. Academics might as well join the parade.

I found the most enjoyable reads to be the city portraits, particularly the contrasts between Reno and Las Vegas and between Boise and Salt Lake, and the most surprising revelation the analysis of the politics of county government (especially in Nevada), caught between a federal leviathan and grasping new cities. All in all, consider *Cities, Sagebrush, and Solitude* to be a good introduction to the region, something between a briefing paper and an academic Lonely Planet guide to an exotic patch of western America.

— STEVE PYNE

Arizona State University

LIFE IN A CORNER:

Cultural Episodes in Southeastern Utah, 1880–1950

BY ROBERT S. MCPHERSON

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015. x + 291 pp.
Paper, \$24.95

Life in a Corner: Cultural Episodes in Southeastern Utah, 1880–1950 is a history of Grand and San Juan counties. However, it is not a political history. Robert S. McPherson already wrote that book, *A History of San Juan County: In the*

Palm of Time, as part of the Utah State Historical Society's county history series. This time, McPherson sets out to tell us what life was like by describing the common man's experience as much as possible. He does it by breaking the history down in episodes or, we could say, by subjects. He relates stories of law enforcement, the San Juan River Gold Rush, midwifery, the area's response to World War I, bootleggers, cowboying, predator control, lumbering, the construction of the Blanding Tabernacle, and the settling of the great sage plain of southeastern Utah. In each of these situations, the author is attempting to relate to us the lives of these early pioneers—with all of their difficulties and their successes—and in each instance he comes across as a great storyteller. McPherson has spent his life documenting the experiences of this area. He has spent much time with Native American history and has written many books and articles on them, many of them appearing in this quarterly. He has also received numerous awards for his writings.

Life in a Corner resonates with me because of events that happened to my own grandfather, LeRoy Livingston. He, my grandmother, and two daughters left the safe climes of Emery County and moved to LaSal as homesteaders. A few years later, with his tail between his legs, Livingston returned to Emery County to work in the Mohrland coal mine. He had lost everything. Much of that life he tried to forget, never relating it at least to a grandson. From what I was able to get from my mother, life was hard, and the family always felt that their richer neighbor had forced them out.

McPherson uses every type of documentation possible for this eventful book: oral histories, newspapers, journals, county records, genealogies, and secondary sources. I enjoyed every chapter. I was especially engrossed by the chapter on cowboys, which describes that life thoroughly. The detail might not be interesting to all, but I was fascinated by it: the cattle drives, the range, stampedes, food and cooking, cowboy clothing, horses, saddles, ropes, storytelling, and chasing wild cows. The entire experience was so much different than our modern rodeos. The chapter about the construction of the Blanding Tabernacle is the oral history of George A. Hurst Jr. McPherson must have decided that

there was no other description for the building of the tabernacle that could exceed Hurst's story, not even his own. So Hurst describes the events with rich details about mortar, bricks, and problems that confronted these pioneers in erecting a large building, problems that they had never faced before. I think this was a wise choice by the author. He could not have done it any better.

Are there any problems with this book? Some chapters are longer than others, but that is because of the sources and the author's interests. The chapter on cowboying is the longest, but where else would one find such detailed descriptions of this life? Also, the chapter on "Settling the Great Sage Plain of Southeastern Utah, 1910–1950" is especially heartrending. As moderns we are not used to the backbreaking work that these people went through. I think that everyone in southeastern Utah should have access to this book in order to help them realize how far mankind has come in a couple of generations.

— RONALD G. WATT
South Jordan

THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION:

A History

EDITED BY VALERIE SHERER
MATHES

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015. x + 340 pp. Cloth, \$45.00

In this collection of essays, Valerie Sherer Mathes, Lori Jacobson, Cathleen Cahill, and others unearth the history of a little-researched but widely influential Gilded Age women's organization, the Women's National Indian Asso-

ciation (WNIA). The members of this largely Protestant women's group used their moral authority to help shape contemporary U.S. Indian policy. Drawing from their abolitionist progenitors, the women of WNIA fought for their "Indian friends" by advocating for assimilation policies and denouncing annihilation tactics. They saw allotment, Christianity, single-family yeoman households, and participation in the capitalist market as four interconnected routes toward "civilizing" Native Americans.

This volume is divided into four parts, each containing two to four essays and contextualizing remarks by Mathes. Part one's essays detail the beginning of the WNIA, including how the organization evolved over time and the genesis of the WNIA's periodical, the *Indian's Friend*. These essays do a good job of quickly familiarizing the reader with the organization and serve as a launch pad for the following sections. Part two reconciles the actions of WNIA women with the influential late-nineteenth century notion of the cult of domesticity. Further, this section shows how WNIA members aimed to "civilize" Native Americans in part by "encouraging Indian women's domesticity" (64). In order to square Native Americans with civilization, WNIA members provided home-building and loan programs, preached the importance of single-family homes, and encouraged Native Americans to participate in the market by selling traditional crafts. Part three investigates WNIA auxiliary organizations in Massachusetts, the South, and in southern California. These auxiliaries were "the lifeblood of the organization" and have been ignored by historians (151). The volume's concluding part contextualizes the WNIA within women's history. These sections are particularly powerful, as they "assert that the WNIA, though overlooked until recently by most women's studies historians, offers one of the strongest examples of women's associational and maternalist political power in the nineteenth century" (211–12). Further, these essays demonstrate that Anglo women gained "much power and prestige from their work" at "the expense of the Native peo-

ple the association purported to help" (212). This last section brings readers back to what seems to have been a guiding tenet of some in the late nineteenth century: the advancement of self at the expense of others.

Though the WNIA has been understudied, each of these essays draws off of larger thematic historiographies. Perhaps the most pertinent texts to this volume are Cathleen Cahill's *Federal Fathers and Mothers* (2013) and Margaret Jacobs's *White Mother to a Dark Race* (2011). Cahill, a contributor to this volume, continues to build off her excellent analysis of intimate colonialism, this time by looking at an organization outside of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Though Jacobs did not contribute an essay to this volume, her presence is felt on numerous pages because maternalism blended with insidious colonial policy within the WNIA. Historians interested in women's history, Native American history, imperialism, and late-nineteenth-century America will find this collection invaluable. The historian Jan Shipps has observed that many historians avoid Utah history. Unfortunately, Utah once again is a "donut hole" of history in this volume. Still, readers of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* will benefit from reading this collection, for it illuminates how Victorian womanhood coexisted with and provided crucial scaffolding for imperialism.

— CURTIS FOXLEY
University of Oklahoma

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A Miss Armstrong delivers a lecture at Walker Brothers Dry Goods, Salt Lake City, April 1918.

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TOPAZ STUDENT, C. 1943

The American government built the Topaz Relocation Center near Delta, Utah, to house Japanese Americans it considered a threat during World War II. The camp opened on September 11, 1942, and the population of internees soon reached 8,000. Two elementary

schools and one secondary school were among the earliest and most prominent buildings in the camp. Topaz finally closed in October 1945.

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Outside the Denver and Río Grande Depot, 1910. UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF UTAH HISTORY

BACK COVER

— *Topaz Times* circulation workers at the Topaz Relocation Center, 1940s. USHS

FRONT COVER

— Selling the *Salt Lake Herald*, July 1904. This is likely Walter B. Evans, who made a cross-country trip as a newsboy. See history.utah.gov/uhqextras.



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Newspapers and Politics in Ogden

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