

Socialist Saints: Mormons and the Socialist Party in Utah, 1900-20

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In the early years of this century," observed David A. Shannon, "the Socialist Party of America was a young and virile organization that could not escape notice. Far stronger than any contemporary party on the left, the Socialist party once excited the hopes of thousands and alarmed countless others. However one felt about the Socialists, they could not be ignored.¹

In 1901, a coalition of various leftist groups formed the Socialist Party of America at a convention in Indianapolis. An umbrella organization that appealed to a wide cross-section of people, it ultimately attracted more than 120,000 members and included workers, agrarian radicals, immigrant laborers, and small businessmen, as well as reformers and intellectuals like Jane Addams, Jack London, Helen Keller, and Upton Sinclair. The party elected several thousand of its members to various public offices throughout the United States and boasted legislative representation on both state and national levels. In 1912, at the peak of Socialist political influence, party nominee Eugene V. Debs polled nearly 1 million votes in the fourth of his five campaigns for the presidency. Socialists had a solid base in the labor movement, with some 30 percent of unionized workers at one point supporting socialist policies, and hundreds of newspapers and magazines. One socialist newspaper, the *Appeal to Reason* had a circulation of over three quarters of a million readers.

The development of a socialist movement in Utah paralleled national trends. A number of party locals were organized throughout the state in 1901. Between

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¹ David A. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), p. ix. This book is one of the major studies of socialism in America along with James Weinstein, *The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1919* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967); Ira Kipnis, *The American Socialist Movement, 1897-1912* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952); and Bernard K. and Lillian Johnpoll, *The Impossible Dream: The Rise and Demise of the American Left* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981).

then and the party's decline in the late teens, socialists established organizations in twenty of Utah's twenty-nine counties. Like their comrades in other parts of the country, Utah socialists were active in electoral politics, electing over 100 people to a variety of offices in nineteen communities all over the state, including Cedar City, Fillmore, Monroe, Salt Lake City, Salina, Joseph, and Stockton. In Bingham and Murray, and twice in Eureka, entire socialist administrations were voted into office; and Utah was one of only eighteen states in the country to have socialist representation in its legislature. Not only were many union officials and rank-and-file members socialists, but in 1911, 1912, and 1913 the Utah State Federation of Labor officially endorsed the party. Utah also had nine socialist publications. The *Intermountain Worker* had a circulation of 5,000. Membership was diverse, including educators, clergymen, white-collar workers, small businessmen, skilled and unskilled workers, and farmers, which resembled the pattern of Socialist support nationwide.²

Despite the congruities between the Socialist movement in Utah and nationally, the presence of the Mormon Church and its dominating role in Utah's political, economic, and cultural life was a unique factor. This essay examines the activities and ideas of "Socialist Saints" who combined allegiance for both socialism and Mormonism. A contemporary perspective would tend to assume little relationship between the two; but when we discovered Socialists with names like Joseph Smith Jessop, Parley Pratt Washburn, and Wilford Woodruff Freckleton, we suspected Utah's Socialist movement might have a visible Mormon contingent.

To determine the membership of the Socialist party in Utah, we collected the names of every person who ran for office on the Socialist ticket in Utah between 1900 and 1923 or was active in the party organization in any way. We identified 1,423 such people and assembled biographical information on as many of them as we could. The main sources of the data were the 1900 and 1910 manuscript censuses, obituaries, and Mormon records, including membership records, deceased member records, and family group sheets. Miscellaneous sources included local and family histories, biographical encyclopedias, diaries, and oral interviews. It was not possible to get all the information we wanted on every person, but we obtained at least some information on each one. Briefly we found that the Socialist party in Utah was not the product of foreign influences. It was not a party of people on the fringe of respectable society. Yet, it was not a "party of dentists," as Trotsky derisively charged about the Socialist party in the United States generally.³ Rather, it appealed to a wide cross-section of Utahns, including many Mormons. Specifically, about 90 percent of party members were men, and 90 percent were married. Two-thirds were native-born, and 70 percent of them were born in Utah. Half of the foreign-born came from the British Isles and almost all the rest were from

² See John R. Sillito, "Women and the Socialist Party in Utah, 1900-1920," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Summer 1981): 220-38; and John S. McCormick, "Hornets in the Hive: Socialists in Early Twentieth Century Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Summer 1982): 225-40.

³ Shannon, *Socialist Party of America*, p. 21.

Scandinavia and Western Europe. Ninety percent had been in the United States more than ten years before they joined the party, two-thirds of them for more than twenty years. Four percent were professionals, 8 percent were white collar workers, another 8 percent were small businessmen, one-quarter were skilled workers, one-third were semi-skilled or unskilled workers, and 20 percent were farmers. One in eight worked in the mining industry.

Mormons were attracted to the Socialist party in considerable numbers, even though they always made up a smaller percentage of the party's membership than they did of the state's entire population. In the early twentieth century, about 75 percent of Utahns were Mormons. In comparison, more than 40 percent of the Socialist party members in Utah were Latter-day Saints, many of whom held important positions on the ward and stake level. Alexander Matheson, for example, served as bishop of a Cedar City ward while running for office several times on the Socialist ticket. August Erickson was elected to the Salina town council as a Socialist several months after returning from a mission to Sweden in 1901. Gottlieb Berger, whose family was among Murray's early settlers and had joined the Church in Switzerland, was elected as a Socialist to the Murray City Commission in 1911 and served continuously until 1932. During that period, he was president of the high priest's quorum in his ward and an officer in the Sunday school. When J. Alex Bevan was elected to the Utah State Legislature in 1914 as a Socialist, he was serving as Tooele Stake superintendent of Religion Classes. Following his reelection in 1916, Bevan attributed his talents as a public speaker to his experience as a Mormon missionary in England. Among the most active socialists in Cache Valley was Joseph Smith Jessop. In the 1920s he broke with the Church over the issue of plural marriage and became patriarch to the residents of the polygamous colony at Short Creek, Arizona.⁴

Utah's Socialist party was most successful in the mining town of Eureka where voters elected a socialist mayor four times and a complete socialist administration twice. Mormons were not only active in the party there, but made up a larger percentage of the party's membership than they did of the town's population. More than 40 percent of Eureka's Socialists were Mormons, while Mormons comprised only about one-quarter of the population. In 1905, Daniel Connelly, bishop of Eureka Ward, his first counselor, A. T. Matson, and one of the ward clerks, Michael Tischner, were all active Socialists. In 1907, the voters of Eureka elected Wilford Woodruff Freckleton to the city council as a Socialist. Halfway through his term, Mormon Church authorities called him on a mission to England. Upon his return two years later, he resumed his involvement in the Socialist party and in 1917 was again elected to the city council on the socialist ticket. Mormon women, usually the wives and daughters of socialists, were also active in the Eureka Socialist party. Theresa Viertal, for example, whose husband and two sons were all socialists, combined activity in the Relief Society, the Primary Association, and Socialist party. She was elected city treasurer on the Socialist ticket in 1917 and 1921.

⁴ I. E. Diehl, comp. *Diehl's Legislative Handbook and Manual of the State of Utah, 1916-17* (Mammoth, Utah: Record Publishing Co., [1917]), 90.

These biographical facts are intriguing, but it is important to go beyond them. Four additional Socialist Saints — A. L. Porter, George W. Williams, Jr., Lorenzo Watson, and Lillie Engle — have left sufficient evidence that we can reconstruct their political philosophy, reasons for supporting the Socialist party, and commitment to both Mormonism and socialism.

A. L. Porter was born in Mount Pleasant, Utah, in 1878. According to the *Springville Herald*, 26 February 1942, at twelve he went to the coal camps at Clear Creek, Utah, and worked as a freighter. Four years later, he returned home and worked for several years herding sheep, then, in his early twenties, worked first in the Murray smelter and later in the mines at Eureka. In 1901, he married Julia Ida Boyer in the Salt Lake Temple. During his Eureka years, Porter was active in both the Socialist party and the Western Federation of Miners. After he and his family settled in Springville in 1908, he held a variety of party offices and was the Socialist party candidate for the state supreme court in 1928 and the governorship in 1936, while serving simultaneously on the campaign committee.⁵

During those years, Porter worked for the Springville school district as a janitor and, at the 1913 dedication of the Springville High School gymnasium, placed several items in the building's cornerstone, including genealogical information about himself and his family, photographs of Springville, drawings of various mining tools, copies of Socialist party platforms, socialist and labor pamphlets and newspapers, and a statement addressed "to my posterity who might be living at the time of the destruction of this building." It read in part: "Our political faith is Socialism, our religious faith is (Mormon) the Latter-day Saints. We are living under capitalism and the wealth of the world is privately owned by individuals, . . . but this building is collectively owned by the community and is to be used for high school gymnasium purposes. It is built by wage slavery as all labor at this point in history is. . . ." ⁶

Similar evidence concerning Mormons who combined Socialism and church activity emerged in 1981 when researchers opened the cornerstone of the Gila Stake Academy in Thatcher, Arizona, and found a variety of Socialist documents, including personal statements, party platforms, periodicals, and newspapers. George W. Williams, Jr., and Lorenzo Watson, the contractors for the building, and active Mormon Socialists, had placed them there.⁷

Williams was born in Tocquerville, Utah, in 1871, worked as a youth in his father's brick and lime business and as an apprentice carpenter, and from 1899 to 1901 served a mission to the Southern States, leaving his wife, Hattie Josephine Thurston, and their four children behind. After his return he and his family moved to Clifton, Arizona, where he served as presiding elder of the

⁵ *Salt Lake Tribune*, 5 July 1936.

⁶ Copies of this material are in the possession of the authors. For them, we thank Margaret J. Thorsen of American Fork, Utah, who donated the original materials to members of the Porter family.

⁷ Betty Graham Lee, ed. *Cornerstones of the 1908 LDS Academy: A Research Guide* (Thatcher, Ariz.: Eastern Arizona College, 1981), pp. 25-27, 42-50. Melvin Bashore helpfully brought this material to our attention.

Clifton Branch after its organization in 1902.⁸ Two years later the Williams family settled in Safford, Arizona, where Williams, who had previously been a Democrat, joined the town's Socialist party local. He embraced socialism, he later wrote, because he had "lost faith in the old parties and their methods" and sought to protest against "the prevailing political order and its institutions." For the next several years, he was active in the Safford Socialist local and was the party's candidate for the state legislature in 1904 and the city council in 1905.⁹

Williams based his support for socialism on the belief that someday "the power of gold would be supplanted by the power of God," a shift that would come through the establishment of a socialist society, the cooperative commonwealth. The personal statement he placed in the academy cornerstone further amplified his socialist commitment:

This year 1908 witnesses the most intense struggle in the whole civilized world, on the part of the money kings, or the Capitalist Class, to stay the awakening of the working class. The latter downfall of their industrial and commercial system. Their financial institutions are failing and going to pieces. Their industrial institutions are ceasing operation for lack of market for their products and . . . millions are walking the streets of our large cities seeking employment. The capitalists who own the machinery of government are using every means under their control to hold in check the rise of the workers who are beginning to show their strength. . . .

The cause of Socialism or the working class movement is gaining ground rapidly. I am member in good standing in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and among the few workers in that organization who comprehend the class struggle, and are fighting and working for the education of our people along these lines. But so effective [have] the great money kings done the work of deception among the people that even the Church of Christ is permeated with its pernicious doctrines.¹⁰

Williams continued by criticizing the belief that "those who have the ability to corner the world's wealth and appropriate it to themselves are entitled to it." In his view, those who supported such a viewpoint were advocates of a system that led to "the enslavement of the masses and the destruction of humanity." He concluded his statement optimistically, however: he believed in the eventual victory of socialism and expected those who read his statement in the future to "be living in the light of a better day."¹¹

William's partner, Lorenzo Watson, held similar views. Born in England in 1850 to John Webster and Mary Hutchinson Watson, he traveled to Utah in 1862 with two Mormon missionaries a year before the rest of the family emigrated. As a youth, he worked as a carpenter and cabinetmaker, married Helen Eliza Vandenberg in 1868, and obeyed Brigham Young's call to settle in the cotton mission at St. George. Later the family moved to Luna, New Mexico, where he was a carpenter and shopkeeper, served as Luna Ward's first

⁸ Andrew Jenson, ed. *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1914), 2:740.

⁹ George W. Williams, Jr., "Biographical Sketch," no date; Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹⁰ Lee, *Cornerstones*, p. 43.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

bishop, and directed the ward choir. Eventually the family settled in Arizona where Watson joined the Socialist party.

In an article he wrote for the *Graham County Worker*, 10 October 1904, and subsequently placed in the cornerstone, Watson criticized those elements of society who failed to realize that "there was unrest in every quarter" on the part of the working class. Calling socialism "the hope and faith" of the world's workers, he urged "toilers" to support the Socialist party at the ballot box and fulfill their historic mission by freeing themselves from exploitation.

Those sentiments were expanded in his autobiographical statement for the cornerstone:

I am a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and am looking fondly toward the day when we and all the inhabitants of the earth will be able to live in accordance with the principles that this church has suffered to establish. But, Capitalism is so entrenched today that the Governing class, the Idle Few . . . have acquired private possession of almost all the resources of nature, all the means by which life is sustained.¹²

American society, Watson said, was divided into two groups, "the rich, who have all the comforts that wealth can buy," and the workers, who live in a world of "hunger, want, and crime." Such a situation was intolerable and "sickening to those whose natures are attuned to the principles of justice, truth, and love." Watson also suggested that the principles of capitalism were opposed to the principles of religion, and he expressed the hope that ultimately the influence of religion would "have the effect of educating the young [to] grasp the wrongs of the capitalist system" and realize the "injustice" of the competitive approach so that "within the next decade" they might usher in the cooperative commonwealth.

Also of interest are the views of the fourth Mormon socialist, Lillie Engle. In an undated biographical sketch, she recounts that she was born in Huntington, Utah, in 1883, "the second child and oldest daughter of my father's second wife." Her parents had settled in Huntington after the demise of Orderville's United Order, but the move had not brought prosperity. "My home was a small shanty which served as a shelter from the sun but not the rain and dusty winds. The bare earth was the floor, a worn out quilt the door. My childhood days, indeed my life to the present, has been one in poverty's row."

At the age of fifteen, she married Joseph Dumayne, but the marriage was a "source of much sorrow and dissatisfaction"; and in 1908, following his excommunication, she divorced him and took back her maiden name. Engle remained in Huntington, an active member of the Mormon Church all her life. In the 1950s, she served a mission in California. When she died in 1972 at age eighty-nine, the *Price Sun-Advocate* referred to her in effusive terms as a revered pioneer, student of the scriptures, and faithful church member who had "the wisdom of Solomon, the patience of Job, and the sweet spirit of the Saviour."¹³

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 44

¹³ *Sun-Advocate* (Price, Utah), 6 and 13 Jan. 1972.

Engle first affiliated with the Socialist party, a fact not mentioned in her obituary, the year she was divorced. In 1908 she was the Socialist party candidate for Emery County Recorder. In the *Emery County Progress* (2 March 1912), she identified herself as an advocate of "scientific socialism . . . born of thought and investigation."

Her autobiographical sketch in the LDS Genealogical Society lists the factors that brought her to socialism:

My own indignant financial condition and that of the majority of the working class in general has caused me to think seriously and study about economic and social questions, and having concluded that socialism is the only political movement that offers a solution and remedy for social ills, political corruption, undue wealth for the capitalist and unjust poverty for the workers, I have embraced socialism for my politics . . . and now hold the office of secretary of the local branch of that party.

My occupation has always been that of domestic duties. Having buried a mother and two children and in a general way experienced the few joys and many sorrows that only the domestic servant, the mother, the widow, the "Mormon," the unpopular socialist, and the poor, oppressed workers of the world know. . . .

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Socialist Party of America sank deep roots in Utah and among members of the Mormon Church, but no trace of that remains today. What happened? Why, after a promising start, did socialism lose its appeal, both among Mormons and among the larger population of the state? Though it is not yet possible to give a full answer, three points must be considered.

In the first place, the Mormon Church has a strong communitarian tradition. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, it tried to establish a cooperative and self-sufficient system in which economic objectives would be implemented by and through the Church. Moreover, briefly in the 1830s, again in the 1850s, and once more in the 1870s and 1880s, the Church tried to establish local units of an economic system called the United Order that was designed, as Hugh Nibley recently observed, to see that everyone got what he really needed, no one kept more than he really needed, and all were equal in temporal as well as spiritual things.¹⁴ In some places, that simply meant cooperative community projects. In others, it meant that people "consecrated," or deeded, their property to the community and agreed to receive wages and dividends according to the amount of property and wages they contributed. A few places carried things one step further with communal dining and living arrangements. By the mid-1880s the United Order movement had run its course, "leaving an occasional sore spot in the tissue of Mormon society but generally passing into the church's honored tradition."¹⁵

Mormonism's cooperative tradition was an important reason some Mormons were drawn to the Socialist party in the early twentieth century, though

¹⁴ Hugh Nibley, "How Firm a Foundation! What Makes It So," *One Hundred Fifty Years: Sesquicentennial Lectures on Mormon Arts, Letters and Sciences* (Provo, Utah: Harold B. Lee Library Forum Committee and Friends of the Library, Brigham Young University, 1980), p. 11.

¹⁵ Charles S. Peterson, *Utah, A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), p. 60.

the exact nature of the attraction is difficult to define and measure. There are, however, instances of direct connections. Some Utah Socialists had been involved in United Orders. For example, the Saints who founded Kingston in the 1870s as a thoroughgoing United Order were active in its Socialist party thirty years later. In the 1904 presidential election, 65 percent of Kingston's votes went to the Socialist candidate, Eugene V. Debs.¹⁶ Similarly, at the October 1903 General Conference, Apostle Matthais F. Cowley reported his conversation with an active church member who had organized a Socialist local in his community and believed that all Mormons "ought to be socialists for the reason that socialism, he said, is the United Order."¹⁷

Second, religious division weakened Utah's Socialist party and ultimately drove many Mormons from it. The party, to a large degree, was divided along Mormon-gentile lines, which reflected a similar division in the population as a whole. Until the 1890s, Utah politics featured none of the national political parties and few national issues. Instead there was a "church" party, known as the People's Party, and an "anti-church" party, known as the Liberal Party. Two school systems operated, a predominantly Mormon public system and a mainly non-Mormon private one. Fraternal and commercial organizations generally did not cross religious lines. Sometimes Mormons and non-Mormons even celebrated national holidays like the Fourth of July separately. By the early twentieth century, hostility between Mormons and gentiles had moderated considerably but still existed, as it does today, and still affected almost every public issue.

Non-Mormons in Utah's Socialist party voiced a widespread (though by no means unanimous) feeling that the Mormon Church was an authoritarian and reactionary institution that posed an obstacle to progress in general and to the advance of socialism in particular. William Thurston Brown, for example, Salt Lake City's Unitarian minister between 1908 and 1910, and one of Utah's best-known and most outspoken Socialists, regularly criticized the Mormon Church for what he saw as unjustified interference in politics.¹⁸ Murray B. Schick, a local newspaperman, wrote a lengthy article entitled "Mormons and Mammon" for a national socialist publication, *The Coming Nation*, in which he characterized the Mormon Church as a defender of the most reactionary aspects of American life and particularly criticized the Church for its connections with emerging corporate powers in the United States.¹⁹

William S. Dalton, editor of the socialist newspaper, *The Crisis*, was particularly critical of the Mormon Church and in 1906 left the Socialist party and joined the anti-Mormon American party. He did so, he explained, because though he had been a socialist for ten years and intended to remain one "so long as I am sane," socialism could not advance in Utah, and the state would

¹⁶ *Report of the Secretary of State, 1903-04* (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Co., 1904), p. 62.

¹⁷ *Conference Report* (Salt Lake City, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1904), Oct. 1903, p. 53.

¹⁸ *Salt Lake Tribune*, 5 Nov. 1909, p. 14.

¹⁹ Murray B. Schick, "Mormons and Mammon: Dealers in Revelations, Railroads, Sugar, Salt and Salvation," *The Coming Nation*, 14 Oct. 1911, pp. 6-7.

make "no further progress toward freedom, until the Mormon Church is driven from politics and the clasp of her clammy hand is torn from the throat of the citizens of the state."²⁰

Additional insight into the relationship between Mormonism and socialism comes from an article written by Salt Lake socialist William J. Kohlberg. The article, printed in the *Deseret News* in September 1908, represented an official response by the Utah Socialist party to Dalton's views, and according to state party chairman J. B. Scott, voiced "the sentiments of leading socialists of the state."

In his article, Kohlberg reprimanded Dalton for his "presumptuous effort to set the Mormon people against the glorious principles of socialism." True socialists, Kohlberg asserted, are not concerned with the religious views of the fellow comrades. While noting that some Utah socialists had strong religious convictions and some others did not, he remarks that "some of our most active members are in full fellowship with the Mormon church, yet I have never heard one protest from the church." Mormon leaders, he suggests, have never "prostituted their high calling to besmirch the doctrines of our political faith or the character of our standard bearers."²¹

Third, while Mormon leaders did not seem to have been overly concerned, at least publicly, with the question of socialism in general or the activity of the Socialist party in Utah in particular, they were clearly, if unofficially, anti-socialist, just as they were anti-union, and correspondingly more and more supportive of the free enterprise system. More importantly, the Church itself was moving away from its cooperative tradition and becoming an increasingly capitalistic institution.

We have found few General Authorities who made contemporaneous comments about socialism. Anthony W. Ivins, who became an apostle in 1907, was one; and probably others of his ecclesiastical colleagues shared the same opinions. When W. A. Jameson, a socialist from Carbon County, asked that his name be removed from Church records because he believed Church leaders supported the capitalist system, Ivins responded in a long letter 20 April 1912. "I have no quarrel with Socialists," he observed. "I am not blind to the abuses which exist in the world and the great necessity for social and economic reform. I believe Socialists to be sincere in their efforts to improve the conditions of the masses, but I have no confidence in the success of the movement. Reform is coming, but it will not come through that source."

In Ivins's view, "there was just one remedy for solving social problems and that is the conversion of the world to the doctrines of the Savior of the World." To this point, Ivins's loyalty to his chosen perspective is clear on ideological grounds. However, some personal distaste emerges in his report of a recent experience listening to a socialist street speaker in Salt Lake City:

His remarks were bitter, vindictive, just calculated to stir up the hearts of men to anger one against another and create war, rapine, and plunder. He advocated the joint

²⁰ *Salt Lake Tribune*, 4 and 7 Oct. 1906.

²¹ William J. Kohlberg, *Deseret News*, 26 Sept. 1908, p. 8.

ownership of all property, division of the land, the destruction of corporate industries, and a war against capital. One had but to look at him to know that he was a man without character or ability, one who had failed himself and was ready to drag everybody else down to his level.

In conclusion, Ivins conceded that Mormons "are not a perfect people" but suggested if his correspondent were candid he would have to admit that they were "the only really virtuous people in the world." He asserted that all worldly theories "must fail" because there could never be true reform without a movement characterized by "honest, virtuous, God fearing men and women at the head of it."²²

Throughout the nineteenth century, most Americans viewed the Mormon Church as a subversive institution that posed a threat to American society because of its commitment to polygamy, theocracy, and communalism. In the 1890s, Church authorities made a conscious decision to bring the Church into the mainstream of American life. Their decision followed the federal government's passage in 1882 of the Edmunds Act, which outlawed the practice of plural marriage, denied basic political rights to those people convicted of polygamy, and placed much of the government of Utah Territory in a five-man presidential elections commission. The Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 made Church property liable to confiscation and disincorporated the Church itself. These harsh measures were of dubious constitutionality, but they clearly reflected the will of most Americans and had the nonpartisan support of nearly all leaders of both the executive and legislative branches of government.

In the face of such pressure, Church president Wilford Woodruff issued a "Manifesto" in 1890 proclaiming an end to the further performance of plural marriages. A year later the Church dissolved its People's party, dividing the Mormon population between the Democratic and Republican parties. In the next several years, the Church discontinued cooperative enterprises; sold most Church-owned businesses to private individuals, many of them eastern businessmen; operated those retained as income-producing ventures rather than as shared community enterprises; and began a process of participation in and accommodation to the national economy, so that the means and ends of Church-owned businesses became nearly identical with those of the world of capitalism.²³

It appears, then, that the internal split in Utah's Socialist party along Mormon-gentile lines and the larger movement of the Church into mainstream American society made it increasingly difficult for people to maintain allegiance to both party and church. These factors were fatal in Utah, since no movement could succeed there that did not continue to attract large numbers of Mormons. Further, because the Mormon Church was such an important presence in the state, no movement could have succeeded without at least its passive support.

²² Anthony W. Ivins to W. A. Jameson, 20 April 1912, Anthony W. Ivins Papers, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

²³ Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 380-412.