

The
REED SMOOT
HEARINGS

THE INVESTIGATION OF A MORMON SENATOR AND
THE TRANSFORMATION OF AN AMERICAN RELIGION

EDITED BY

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Introduction

Konden Smith Hansen

Mormon apostle Reed Smoot's provocative 1903 Utah election to the United States Senate sparked an intense debate and reconsideration of the relationship between religion and American politics during the "Progressive Era," a time of heightened cultural, religious, and political transformation. The central question was if America's political establishment would permit a high-ranking official of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (also referenced as the "Mormon Church," "LDS Church," "Mormonism," or just "the Church"), a small religious group deemed outside the mainstream of American ideals, to hold high elective office. Moreover, the disputed aspects of the so-called Smoot Question, as it was colloquially called at the time, were widely publicized in Protestant churches as well as media outlets when formal Senate hearings commenced in Washington from 1904 to 1906. For many religious residents of the Progressive Era, Smoot's presence in the Senate accelerated the already waning influence of Protestant hegemony within American public institutions. Indeed, the outcome of the hearings in 1907, which resulted in Smoot's favor, not only indicated an expansion of American religious pluralism but also displayed the continued and complex religious nature of America's budding secularized nation-state. Conversely, the flexible and accommodating response to the hearings by the LDS Church indicated a fresh openness from Church leadership to pursue a strategy of rapprochement with the country during a time of increased secularization, which in turn granted the Utah Church access to a wider berth of national acceptance.

This olive branch of inclusion extended to the Church was not to be interpreted as a blanket acceptance of religious differences, but rather it was a straightforward and uncompromising declaration that previous iterations of Mormonism would not be tolerated. Only a more secular expression of Mormonism, the one carefully presented by Smoot and his defenders, was acceptable for a seat at the table of full American citizenship. In other words, acceptance of Reed Smoot's Mormonism into the tapestry of America's expanding religious plurality, depended upon the Church falling in line with the "progressive" Protestant expectations of this newly emergent secular-modern era.

Often, "the secular" is defined diametrically opposed to "the religious," inspiring the false oversimplification that a "secular society" is one without religious influence, which has led to a zero-sum perception that distorts how the religious and the secular are considered, along with the dynamic relationship these forces have with American politics. But, as anthropologist Talal Asad explains, the secular is neither a break from nor an evolutionary expansion beyond the religious but rather is a modern expression of it. Notably, the term "secular," as it has been used in the West, is an idiomatic, mid-nineteenth-century expression that reframes moral progress from "human nature," as established by the Christian doctrine of the Fall, to that of autonomous human agency. And rather than being a *sui generis* force that explains a cultural phenomenon, the "secular," in this context, refers to a specific historical development that plants itself inside a unique American religious environment. In American Protestant thought, the individual was understood to be depraved and in need of the coercive moral power of the righteous state, thereby defining religious liberty via exclusion and suppression. Although unnamed and even denied, this religious influence in American politics denigrated individual liberty, argued David Sehat in his study on religious freedom, and it both established and imposed a narrow version of Protestant moral order on all Americans. Under this structure, and using the influence of ministers and other professors of religion, state actors (often ministers or former ministers) were enabled to prosecute blasphemy, enforce Sabbath day observance, and at times constrain religious belief.¹

The end-of-the-century turn toward the secular in America, however, with its new emphasis on human autonomy and individual religious liberty, was likewise rooted in Protestant assumptions, norms, and values. These secularization trends proved crucial to Smoot, since one outcome of these shifts was wider participation in the modern state, regardless of religious belief. William Cavanaugh explained that this so-called secular movement in American politics utilized new terminology that demarcated itself from this earlier ecclesiastical political influence and subordinated this moral establishment to the new secular modern state. Moreover, in Robert Crunden's study of turn-of-the-century progressive reform, he argues that democratic reformers, even after abandoning explicit expressions

of faith, retained and were guided by moral principles taken from their earlier religious training. Religious influence did not disappear within this new secular environment but instead became subtler and implicit. Assessing this nuanced development, Cavanaugh argues that there was nothing new or substantial with this fabricated religious-secular binary, but, rather, the semantic revision created a political myth that expanded the moral authority of a new set of American political elites.² At its core, the secularization of American politics took shape inside American Protestantism and redefined the theological principle of the human agent as well as the human agent's relationship to the modern nation-state. For Smoot to carve out a place within this new structure, he would have to do so as an autonomous agent within this Protestant moral worldview, rather than constructing a schematic specific to Mormonism.

In late nineteenth-century America, the term "religion" referred to Protestant Christianity, representing a denominationally diverse tableau that claimed a collective ownership over society and pursued political exclusion on theological grounds. At the same time, the American nation-state, being informed by these secularization trends at the turn of the century, cast political participation in stratum that deemphasized Christian partisanship and the influence of clergy while prioritizing autonomous human agency and the privatization of religious expression. Secularity, then, notes Charles Taylor, means that individuals in society can "engage fully in politics without ever encountering God." These shifts vibrated across American society and influenced how intellectual, social, political, and religious leaders approached societal issues, giving priority to the tangible and observable over that of the metaphysical. For Taylor, this transition toward secularity was revolutionary, and represented "the first time in history" that "a purely self-sufficient humanism came to be a widely available option"—a schematic whose main goal was that of "human flourishing" with no "allegiance to anything else beyond this flourishing," including religion.³ As Protestant hegemony and homogeneity over American politics began to recede on account of this wave of secularity, the Smoot hearings similarly questioned Mormonism's commitment to these same human-focused ideals, regardless of how religiously heterodox the Utah-based Church was to the Protestant establishment. And even though Smoot's theological worldview and heterodox religious practices were probed throughout the ordeal, these views and performances were not, in the end, disqualifying. What proved most important was Smoot's ability to define himself as an autonomous moral agent, despite his religious affiliation and ecclesiastical position, which placed himself and his religion squarely within the parameters of the new modern-secular age.

In his exploration of the idea of religious freedom in America, David Sehat notes that religious dissenters were the ones most adversely impacted by the inherent coerciveness of the moral religious establishment, and these dissenters

in turn extended the strongest opposition to it. While this establishment remained unnamed and therefore largely invisible to accusations of inappropriate religious influence in American politics, the effort to exclude Smoot based on explicit religious grounds proved unworkable in this new era. Yet despite these ineffectual efforts, Smoot's victory in 1907 was by no means assured, as federal protections of unorthodox religious belief or nonbelief had not been fully established, nor had the First Amendment been applied to all levels of government. In this context, the Smoot hearings stand as a case study that highlights the awkward restrictions of religious liberty in America, based on principles of exclusion and coercion, and it opened to public gaze the inconsistencies these principles posed for a new century of secular progress. Although still powerful in 1907, it became clear that this "disciplined moral militia" of partisan Protestants that justified its power by minimizing the religious belonging of other groups had been built, notes Sehat, on "shifting sands."⁴ Though this moral militia, so to speak, retained great power, the Smoot hearings also demonstrate a significant questioning of this power on a national stage.

For much of the nineteenth century, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints defined itself as an isolationist and polygamist community that blurred the lines between religion and politics, thereby placing itself outside popular notions of acceptable religion and these new definitions of secularity. Like other nineteenth-century Protestants, Mormons in the Utah basin linked their vision of human autonomy to ecclesiastical influence and the larger Church collective. But facing these new potentials toward belonging in American politics, LDS Church leaders argued before the Senate that it was the individual, not ecclesiastical authority, that reigned sovereign in the Mormon kingdom, which was increasingly being redefined in more denominational terms. Although this framework may have seemed inconsistent with earlier perceptions of an uncritically obedient Mormon collective, President Joseph F. Smith testified in Washington that Mormons were free to disregard Church teachings, even "essential doctrines," and remain in good standing. Smoot himself argued during his testimony that his loyalty as a senator was to the nation and its constitution, over that of the LDS Church and its doctrines. Thomas G. Alexander's formative work, *Mormonism in Transition*, incisively observed the salience of a new outlook for the institutional Church beginning in the 1890s by noting that the Church began to develop a new religious and cultural paradigmatic framework that shifted away from a parochial focus to a more cosmopolitan one, which in turn allowed for both mainstream party politics and improved relations with Americans at large.⁵ Expanding upon Alexander's work of Mormonism's transitional period, this volume adds new insights into what the Smoot hearings meant for American politics and its dynamic relationship to religion, including how religious minorities navigated the demands of this new secularity. Beyond this, this volume also looks at these

shifts within the institutional Church and how the event affected individuals, including Reed's wife, Allie Smoot, as well as his personal secretary Carl Badger and his wife, Rose Badger. These and other personal accounts provide texture and clarity on this changing relationship of the Latter-day Saints with the American public, as well as what it meant for their relationship to their own church and faith community. Moreover, essays in this volume flesh out new perspectives on trends within American society and the LDS Church during this tumultuous period, when progressive voices challenged the status quo and abetted a reconsideration of the boundaries and relationship of religion and politics. When the Reed Smoot hearings began, this progressive strain had been percolating across the country for at least a decade and caused many Americans to reconsider the explicit and exclusionary nature of Protestant privilege and the tight grip it had on American politics. At the same time, several chapters in this volume reveal the nation's continued relationship with religion itself, thereby offering a deeper understanding of America's newly emergent secularity at the start of the twentieth century.

Mainstream American perspectives of Mormonism began to shift favorably near the end of the nineteenth century, based in part by the Church's celebrated participation in the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago and the positive publicity surrounding Utah's 1896 achievement of statehood. America's turn toward secularization began to grasp Mormonism only after it promised to abandon polygamy in 1890, ended its more isolationist economic practices, and joined without interference the American two-party political system. Smoot's election in 1903 ignited widespread protests and revealed that many unresolved concerns remained about the LDS Church becoming a legitimate American religion. The precipitating events leading up to the hearings, such as the abandonment of polygamy and Utah statehood, along with the Church's accommodating response to these hearings, highlight that the Church's march toward national acceptance was a piecemeal process rather than an overnight shift and that the national context of secular progress and of the demands of a privatized religious faith was anything but settled.

Despite these continued concerns about the Church, the backdrop of the Progressive Era worked as gravitational pull for both Mormonism and America, motioning the Church toward accommodation through the abandonment of nontraditional religious practices, while simultaneously forcing the country to agitate against and inch away from its own exclusionary instincts. Secularization trends were eroding a specific strain of religious influence within American politics while simultaneously establishing another. This nuanced shift toward the secular within American politics profoundly influenced both the line of questioning at the Senate hearings and the ultimate outcome of the contest, clearing the path for the Church to reset its relationship with the nation generally. Although imperceptible to some of Smoot's contemporaries, this minor victory for Smoot

over contemporary Protestant sectarians seeking to exclude religious difference not only opened the door of Mormon inclusion but also created new potential for future inclusion of other minority religious groups who were similarly compliant with the developing secular-progressive expectations of the day. And though more accommodating to religious diversity, these new secular standards were rooted in liberal Protestant assumptions of the individual, together with the expectations of good citizenship and morality, thereby demanding Mormons publicly embrace marital monogamy. The secular state, that as Cavanaugh explains, subordinated a more conservative moral establishment and ecclesiastical authority to itself, likewise subordinated Mormonism and its claims of moral ecclesiastical and revelatory authority.

BACKGROUND ON REED SMOOT AND THE SENATE HEARINGS

Born in Salt Lake City, Reed Smoot was the third of seven children sired by Abraham O. Smoot with his fifth wife, Anne Kirstine Mauritsen (Morrison) Smoot.⁶ Reed's birth in 1862 occurred a few months before President Abraham Lincoln signed into law the Morrill Act, the first legislative act by the federal government targeting Mormon plural marriage. Smoot's birth year is surely ironic, given that forty-five years later, this monogamous LDS apostle, born into a polygamous household, was the focal point of the federal government's final effort to end the practice. This generational divide between Reed and his father, Abraham, showcases the dramatic influence the Progressive Era had on Reed's generation of Mormons as well as how startling President Smith's Senate testimony was when he placed Mormonism within this new liberal vision of privatized faith.

Reed's father, Abraham, played a prominent role in early Utah as a businessman, a political leader—where he was mayor of Salt Lake City and Provo for more than twenty years—and an ecclesiastical leader—where he was Stake President for twenty-seven years.⁷ Reed followed his father into each of these three areas, while surpassing his success and influence in each sphere. Reed's personal ambition and inner drive were transmitted to him by both his mother and father in what historian Harvard Heath explains as a type of “noblesse oblige.” From Reed's early years in Utah, he had a strong Mormon-centric identity that came with a sense of “specialness” and “mission” and which motivated and permeated all his life's endeavors.⁸

Although the two men were similar in many respects, Reed was certainly not a carbon copy of his father. Many of their differences reflect the generation shifts within the Church more generally, while others reflected larger cultural trends in America. Smoot was determined to be his own person, carving his own path that in many ways was the opposite of his father's. Abraham's life reflected an earlier era of Mormonism that included plural marriage, theocracy, and business

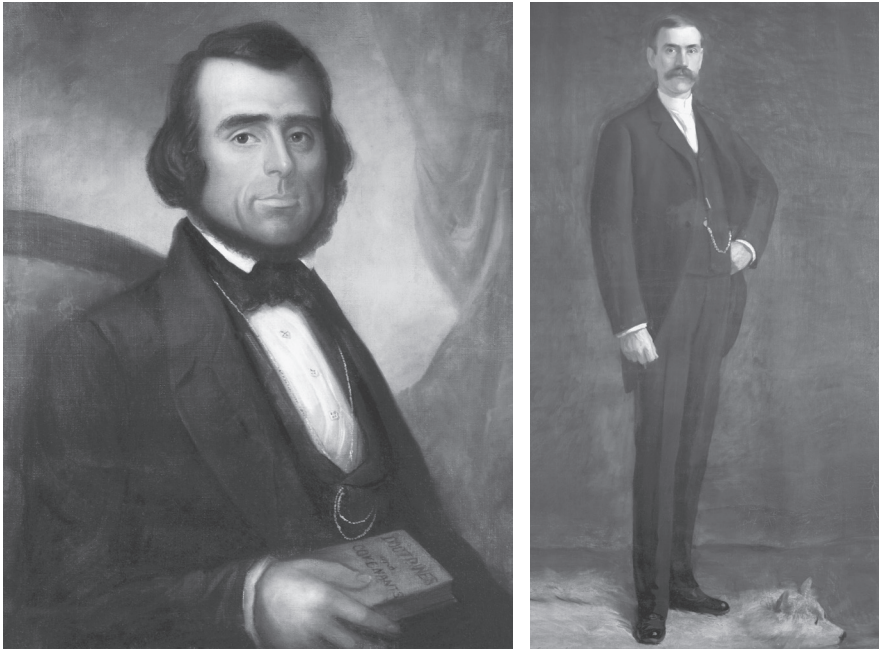
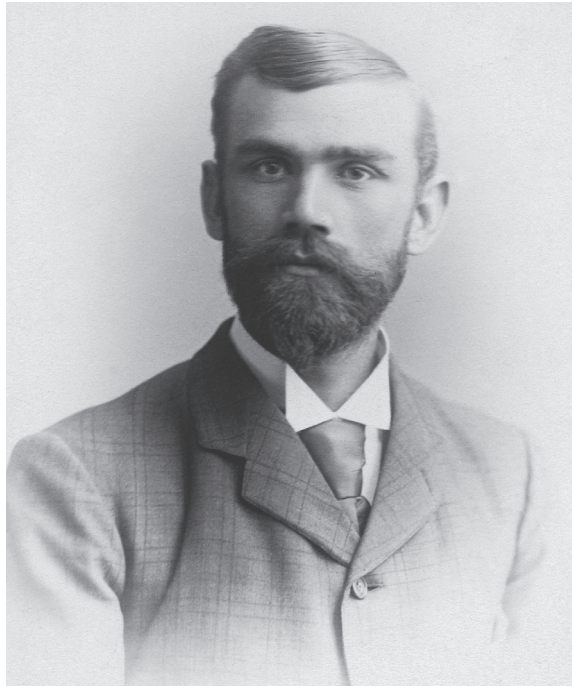


FIGURE 0.2. Painting portraits of (a) Abraham O. Smoot (early 1850s) and (b) Reed Smoot (1901). Images courtesy of Kathryn Smoot Egan, great-granddaughter of Reed Smoot.

insularity. Reed's, on the other hand, symbolized a new image, in which monogamy was the divine standard, theocratic political leadership was phased out, and business cooperation with American enterprise accelerated. And while Abraham Smoot owned slaves, Senator-elect Reed Smoot stirred national controversy by inviting African Americans to a banquet in Provo with the Utah Legislature and other State officials, seating them next to "some white people" and assigning two willing "white girls" to serve them as waitresses, when others had refused. Smoot's racially inclusive gesture was contentious, and some of the white guests at the banquet protested by changing tables. In response to criticism, Smoot was unapologetic and defended his actions by pointing to Washington, DC: "If President Roosevelt isn't too good to entertain a colored man at the White House, I don't see why I shouldn't have colored people as my guests." Smoot here was referencing Roosevelt's controversial meal with prominent African American leader and educator Booker T. Washington.⁹

Another significant departure from his father was that Reed became an ardent Republican, when his father had been a stalwart Democrat who preached "the Democratic gospel at home and in public."¹⁰ Reed's political split from his father, or "metamorphosis" as Harvard Health described it in his study of Smoot, began in 1891 during his ten-month mission to the British Isles,¹¹ when the LDS Church

FIGURE 0.3. Portrait of Reed Smoot as a missionary in Liverpool, England 1891. Smoot was a missionary in England for ten months, where he was persuaded of the importance of using trade barriers such as tariffs to protect the working class. Photo courtesy of the Church History Library collection.



in England was struggling and the missionary work was at times “intolerable.” His experiences with local conditions and interactions with the working class convinced him that economic protectionism via tariffs was the best way to protect American workers back home and to ensure social stability and economic prosperity. Protectionism was a plank of the Republican Party’s platform and eventually became Smoot’s signature legislative issue as well as his political downfall in Washington. During Smoot’s fifth term in the Senate, he coauthored and passed in 1930, largely on partisan lines, a piece of legislation known at the time as the “Smoot-Hawley” Tariff. Ignoring a petition signed by over a thousand economists, this bill was signed by President Herbert Hoover during the early stages of the Great Depression, and the legislation failed to stimulate the American economy or reduce unemployment. In fact, the bill had the opposite result of stoking retaliatory measures by foreign governments, leading to trade isolationism that exacerbated the severity of the overall global economic downturn. Smoot lost his 1932 reelection bid based in part on his involvement with the Smoot-Hawley Tariff.¹²

As a successful businessman in Utah, who began working in his father’s businesses at age fifteen while attending Brigham Young Academy, Reed’s substantial business acumen was recognized by Church leaders who in 1900 called him into the Mormon hierarchy at age thirty-eight to become a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.¹³ Not known for deep theological or spiritual propensity,¹⁴

Reed contributed financial and administrative expertise at a time when the institutional Church was modernizing and seeking greater economic and structural stability. Smoot was part of Church president Lorenzo Snow's progressive vision for the Church, wherein he believed that all Progressive Era advancements, including those of "science" and "mechanism," were prompted by God's revelatory influence to benefit "all flesh that will receive it."¹⁵ Despite his call into the LDS hierarchy, Smoot was eager to explore a political career and considered a 1900 run for the Senate but was advised against it by President Snow, who said it was not the right time.¹⁶ Snow passed away the next year, in 1901, and the newly called Church president, Joseph F. Smith, who was a fellow Republican, approved of Smoot's desire to run the next year for Utah's open Senate seat.¹⁷

On January 20, 1903, the Utah State Legislature elected Reed Smoot to the US Senate.¹⁸ This electoral action provoked political, commercial, and religious opponents of the Church to submit two separate, though related, petitions to the federal government protesting Smoot's seating. The first petition, dated January 26, 1903, and signed by nineteen (later eighteen when one of the signers withdrew) Utah non-Mormons—most of whom represented the state's "gentile" (i.e., non-LDS) churches—was known as the Citizens' Protest, and averred that Smoot was unfit to serve on several grounds connected to his ecclesiastical calling in the LDS Church. These signatories contended that the Mormon Church continued to perform plural marriages despite an 1890 Church-adopted manifesto ostensibly banning all such nontraditional marital relations. The second petition, dated February 25, 1903, was issued separately by John Luther Leilich (1854–1905), superintendent of missions of the Utah District for the Methodist Episcopal Church. Leilich, who became known in some LDS circles as "lie like," and who even provoked criticism from the Ministerial Association and other Methodist leaders in Leilich's jurisdiction, had also attached his name to the Citizens' Protest.¹⁹ His separate charges were especially inflammatory, contending that Smoot was a practicing polygamist and that his position as an apostle disqualified him from taking the oath of US senator, since the "object" of the Church was to "subvert" the "aims and ends" of the US government.²⁰

Smoot was invited by the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections to respond to both protests in late November 1903. Smoot's written defense, submitted in early January 1904, was carefully constructed. He nimbly sidestepped the issue of his ecclesiastical position as irrelevant and answered simply that there were only two points that might prohibit him from retaining his seat: first that he was a practicing polygamist and, second, that he was bound by a religious oath that would be incompatible with the oath administered to all incoming senators. Smoot's strategy was clear: any investigation should focus on him and not on the Church, and he was going to do everything in his power to keep Joseph F. Smith and the Church out of the fight.²¹ The committee's members, chaired by Michigan

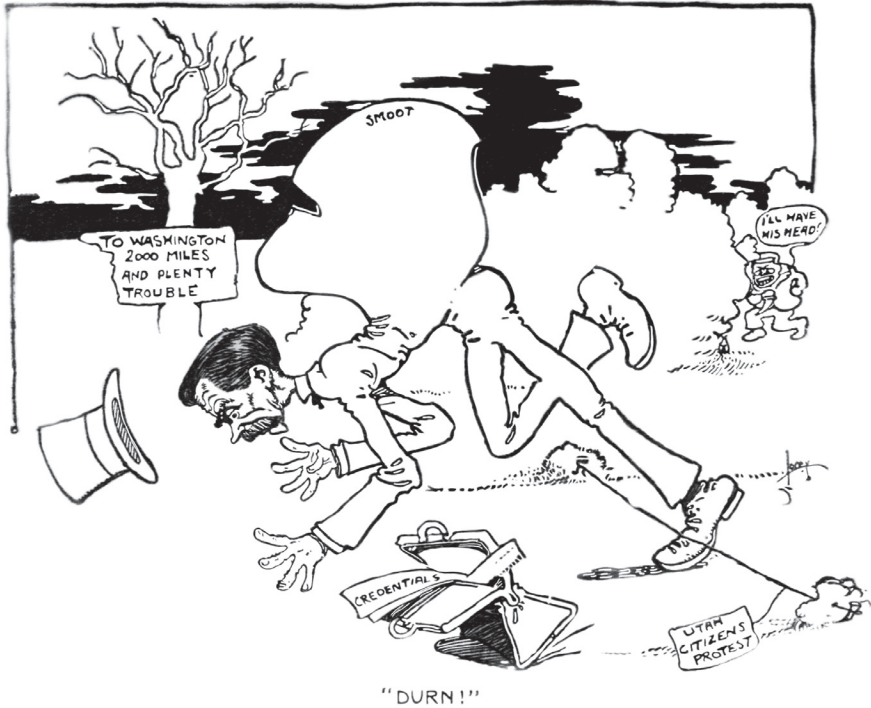


FIGURE 0.4. “An Interrupted Ramble.” This Alan L. Lovey cartoon depicts newly elected Utah senator Reed Smoot being tripped up by the “Utah Citizens Protest” on his 2,000-mile journey to Washington, DC, from Utah. *Salt Lake Herald*, February 10, 1903. Courtesy of the Brigham Young University Family History Center.

Republican senator Julius Caesar Burrows (1837–1915), met on January 16, 1904, to discuss the charges and to hear the two teams of attorneys’ oral arguments. Robert W. Tayler and Thomas P. Stevenson represented the Citizens’ group. Defending Smoot was non-Mormon, Washington lawyer Augustus S. Worthington and Salt Lake City–based Mormon attorney Waldmar Van Cott. After considerable discussion, it became evident that the case against Smoot, despite his and his lawyers’ maneuvering, would be directed more at the LDS Church and would rest on three points: (1) the LDS Church had not entirely abandoned polygamy, (2) LDS authorities continued to practice polygamous cohabitation, and (3) the LDS Church interfered in and influenced to some extent the politics of Utah and of surrounding states.

Formal committee hearings began in early March 1904 and continued intermittently over the next two years until April 13, 1906, when a second round of concluding arguments were completed.²² Stenographers recorded the testimony of ninety-eight witnesses, some of whom were called to the stand multiple times. The full Smoot hearings testimony, along with numerous other documents included

as part of the formal record by both senators and lawyers, was then published and distributed in four volumes totaling 3,432 pages.²³ The committee completed its investigation on June 1, 1906, recommending to the full Senate by a committee vote that Smoot should not be allowed to retain his seat. Eight months later, on February 20, 1907, the full Senate voted 42–28 against this recommendation, and Reed Smoot kept his Senate seat.

There are a few reasons that explain why it took four years for the “Smoot Question” to get resolved. From a political perspective, the US Senate then and today, known popularly as the world’s greatest deliberative body, is governed by obtuse rules, parliamentary procedures, inconsistent voting requirements and schedules, frequent recesses, and complex committee structures intended to decelerate major legislative changes and to prevent abrupt decision making. Smoot’s case represented such a situation in which the Senate rules along with political personalities inside the committee created a protracted outcome. Since Smoot was constitutionally qualified to serve and was well liked by fellow senators after being sworn in, removing him from office would require a two-thirds supermajority vote. In addition, at the time of the final vote, Republicans dominated the Senate with a 58 to 38 seat advantage. Overcoming this partisan hurdle would require that Smoot’s opponents produce incontrovertible evidence of Smoot’s or the LDS Church’s criminal complicity that would convince fellow Republican senators to vote against one of their own. Over the four years, hearings and votes were scheduled, postponed, closed, and then reopened while Smoot’s opposition scoured Utah for a “smoking-gun” that would implicate Smoot. Other delays occurred because some senators preferred to vote on the Smoot question after the 1906 midterm elections.

In a broader sense, the hearings represented a high-stakes negotiation in which a significant stakeholder, this earlier Protestant moral establishment, categorically refused to surrender any ground or control of the status quo, including just one Senate seat. Aligned with modernist Protestant progressives at the head of this newly emergent secularity, Smoot’s inclusion symbolized a disruption of the moral religious establishment’s stewardship over American society that left many outraged and uneasy. Lashing out, these traditional religious forces kept up the struggle against Smoot and his supporters for as long as they could, but they ultimately failed to persuade this new generation of political elites to exclude a constitutionally qualified apostle of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

NOTABLE SCHOLARSHIP ON THE HEARINGS

Kathleen Flake, in her landmark 2004 study published by the University of North Carolina Press, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle*, positions the Smoot hearings as a watershed

moment when the country worked out a solution to the “Mormon Problem.”²⁴ Flake focused on the mechanics of how the Church convinced outside critics that it had fundamentally changed while simultaneously assuring believing members inside that nothing material had been revised. Flake addressed the political and religious compromises that took shape during the hearings that allowed Church leaders to drop the salvific sacramental practice of plural marriage in a way that allowed its Protestant critics to accept the Church as politically acceptable within constitutional boundaries. The significance of Flake’s study extends beyond Smoot and his personal faith and provides scaffolding for broader questions about religious memory as well as narrative details on how the “political terms” were negotiated to allow for “increasingly diverse” religious traditions to be “recognized and accommodated in America for the remainder” of the twentieth century.²⁵

The current volume does not attempt significant revisions of Flake’s important interpretations of the hearings, though some exist. Instead, our focus is to build on her interpretations by considering unexplored political and religious milieus connected to the event. Some chapters in this book provide new perspectives on how religious and political institutions adapted and shape-shifted in response to larger societal and ecclesiastical trends, while others focus on key historical personalities mostly ignored by the existing scholarship. In addition, this introduction provides insights into secularism during the Progressive Era, unexplored by Flake, which influenced the approach to the hearings while also setting the stage for their existence. The Church’s protracted abandonment of plural marriage was not an amiable separation, but rather, if expressed metaphorically, it was a messy, drawn-out divorce, in which leading participants compromised both themselves and loved ones in a struggle to protect the stability of the family unit. Not surprisingly, a few loyal followers sustained collateral damage as the institution’s revelatory credibility was tarnished. Reed Smoot’s personal secretary Carl A. Badger, whose experiences at the hearing are explored in chapter 7 by Gary James Bergera, was one such individual disillusioned by what he witnessed, and his vignette is a crucial addition to the discussion offered by Flake.

Other scholars have ably analyzed various areas of the Smoot hearings but, like Flake, have appraised the impact the hearings had on institutions such as the federal government and the LDS Church; moreover, these scholars have assessed the influence the hearings had on Reed Smoot the apostle-senator or other male elites during the early part of the twentieth century. Milton R. Merrill, in his doctoral thesis, “Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics” (Columbia University, 1950), published posthumously by the same title forty years later by Utah State University Press, approached the hearings as one chapter in Smoot’s thirty-year political biography. Merrill assessed Smoot’s motivations in running for political office, ascribing his motives to an unquenchable ambition, while also analyzing Utah’s elections leading up to Smoot’s 1903 success. Merrill concludes that the “investigation years

changed Smoot very little fundamentally,” but rather, it had the effect of solidifying his “deeply grooved principles,” including such views that “patriotism was a religious principle” and that the “Republican party was the party of intelligence and righteousness.” In essence, Smoot’s character was validated, not shaped, by the four years of limbo he endured during the hearings.²⁶ Also in 1990, the same year that Merrill’s biography was published, historian Harvard S. Heath completed a dissertation, “Reed Smoot: First Modern Mormon” (Brigham Young University, 1990), in which he treated the hearings as a Bar or Bat Mitzvah moment, as it were, for the LDS Church by contextualizing the hearings as Mormonism’s attempt to secure an adult seat within the “American community.” Further, Heath posits that if the Church’s early nineteenth-century struggles to survive persecution and violence in Missouri and Illinois can be pithily labeled a “quest for refuge,” then the institutional challenges precipitated by the Smoot hearings in Washington, DC, can most aptly be described as a “quest for legitimacy.”²⁷

More recently, Jonathan H. Moyer’s unpublished dissertation, “Dancing with the Devil: The Making of the Mormon-Republican Pact” (University of Utah, 2009), contextualizes the Smoot hearings within the LDS Church’s turbulent but symmetrical relationship with the Republican Party. Specifically, Moyer traces the radical trajectories “of the Mormon Church and the Republican Party,” each of which arose from the “religious and political turmoil of Jacksonian America,” and argues that each entity’s transformation reflects a similarity and “underlying symbiosis.” Moyer frames the Smoot hearings as a “key episode” and “decisive moment” in the relationship and suggests that this intersection can best be understood when the Republican Party is viewed as redefining itself away from being a “radical reform vehicle” during the nineteenth century, to a political party in the twentieth century that was the “embodiment conservative stability.” And over the same time period, the LDS Church is seen abandoning its radical religious practices such as communalism and plural marriage, to a faith community that embraced conservative ideals. Moyer concludes that each of these two institutions reinvented themselves in response of external conditions and created an “alliance” and “lasting partnership,” which in a previous era would have been considered impossible.²⁸

One last relevant Smoot hearings publication is Michael Harold Paulos’s 2008 one-volume abridgement of the hearings that includes the most salient testimony provided by subpoenaed witnesses. This documentary volume does not develop a synthesized thesis on the importance or place of the hearings in American or Mormon history but includes primary resource annotations that illuminate behind-the-scene events connected to Senator Smoot and specific testimony given at the hearings. The information provided in these footnotes are derived primarily from Reed Smoot’s and his personal secretary Carl Badger’s contemporaneous correspondence.²⁹

These important studies provide insights on the hearings but, as mentioned above, have largely focused on how the hearings impacted American institutions and its elites. This current volume not only adds to the arguments of Kathleen Flake, Milton Merrill, Harvard Heath, and Jonathan Moyer summarized above, but also adds fresh insights and correctives into how the hearings impacted other spheres of American society, religion, and culture. One area illuminated in this book is how the hearings interfaced with the political debate for a constitutional amendment defining marriage between one man and one woman. Another area considered afresh is how the protracted hearings impacted laypersons, women, and other individuals hitherto given sparse attention. This discussion includes an essay by Reed Smoot's great-granddaughter Kathryn Smoot Egan on how the hearings impacted Allie Smoot, Reed's wife, who for most of the hearings operated as a single parent back in Provo, Utah. Each chapter in this volume makes a unique contribution on the hearings, positing new arguments and narrative that broaden the story while at the same time providing new political, religious, familial, and personal images that augment and garnish public understanding of the event and its significance within American religious history. A central storyline that emerges from these essays are the strains felt between an earlier generation of Latter-day Saints who were brought up during a time of ecclesiastical moral influence and explicit expressions of religion in politics, to a new generation of Latter-day Saints who valued individual agency and privatized expressions of faith. Although loosely connected by topic, these chapters, when considered in totality, provide new flashes of illumination, making visible neglected aspects of this controversial and intense moment of political and religious transition at the beginning of the twentieth century.

AMERICAN HISTORY CONTEXT

Over the course of US history, technological advancements have been leading drivers of cultural, economic, and societal change. These changes are rarely uncontested and often spur protests from those fearful of losing social position, economic stability, and privilege. Anxieties of citizens regarding these larger cultural changes frequently find expression in the political discourse and legislative priorities of elected officials. The Smoot hearings were held during a tumultuous period when urbanization and technological breakthroughs sparked major changes and displacements in society that evoked passionate responses from citizens concerned about the new directions in which the nation was headed. The vociferous opposition by this moral establishment to Smoot's admission to the US Senate was similar to the opposition voiced against immigrants, labor unions, and striking workers and reflected a pattern to these tensions and fears. Furthermore, as David Sehat argues, the American economy matured over the latter half of the

nineteenth century, which led to the emergence of large corporations with the attendant rise of concentrated wealth. Up to this point, America's economy had mostly been entrepreneurial and run by individual proprietors. The rise of large corporate firms with multiple shareholders and salaried managers led to the pooling of monies for corporate leadership, who in turn used it to influence American life.³⁰ Reed Smoot's own rise to power was based on his success in this sector of the economy, together with the Church's own investments in corporate wealth and its own presumption of wealth as an inherent good.

These Progressive Era developments, including the rise of urban industry, expedited the growth of America's cities by creating a magnetic pull for both immigrants and unskilled workers. This trend set off warning bells for Protestant moral reformers, who observed a waning of religious influence in these burgeoning population centers. Social Gospel theologian and general secretary of the Evangelical Alliance Josiah Strong observed in 1893 that the ministering efforts of Protestant churches in America's major cities were "sadly deficient," warning of the need to "awake to their duty" and "opportunity"; or else the "present tendencies will continue until our cities are literally heathenized."³¹ In response to this need, moral reform societies were established, and existing institutions found renewed zeal as they sought to counter the spread of irreligion and "heathenism" in America's metropolitan areas.³² A few prominent social reformist groups—such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the National Reform Association (NRA), and the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity (NCL)—also targeted Smoot and fused their effort to protect the American home with the fight against the Utah senator. Margaret Dye Ellis, general superintendent of the WCTU, reflected these conflated concerns when she read a resolution on behalf of "millions of women" to President Theodore Roosevelt that insisted, in the name of both "womanhood" and "motherhood," that Smoot be removed from the Senate.³³

Opposition to Smoot and related efforts to protect the home were a few of the several religious concerns outlined by these national reform societies. Other issues of focus were temperance, blasphemy, marriage and divorce, Sabbath observance, and prayer and the Bible's place in public schools. One influential moral reformer of the day, Thomas P. Stevenson, who cofounded the NRA's influential magazine *Christian Statesman*, and who also presented the NRA's protest against Smoot before the Senate committee in early 1904 by testifying that his purpose in opposing Smoot was to "maintain and promote the Christian features of the American Government,"³⁴ had been a standard-bearer in the fight to establish Sabbath laws across America. Stevenson and his religious allies believed that the American Civil War had been a punishment to the country for not formally accepting God, Jesus Christ, and the Bible as the foremost sources of authority in its founding documents. Seeking to rectify this statutory omission, Christian reformers lobbied Congress unsuccessfully over five decades to amend the Constitution in a way

that enshrined Christianity and acknowledged its paramount authority within the country. Blocked in these attempts because of a negative report by a House of Representatives judiciary committee in 1874, moral reformers were forced to consider other ways to find resolution. Kathleen Flake, in explaining this context, pointed out that the Smoot hearings not only required a compromise from the leadership of the LDS Church to completely abandon plural marriage, but also a compromise by the Protestant establishment to adjust its exclusionary vision of an explicitly Christian America.³⁵

Many American Protestants shared these concerns about the rise of religious and ethnic diversity in American cities and its threat to white Protestant supremacy but disagreed that an explicit statement of Christian devotion needed to be added to the US Constitution. Church historian Philip Schaff countered the efforts of the NRA by stating that such a push to rewrite the preamble of the Constitution was “impractical” and gave the wrong impression that the founding document was hostile to religion. Although perhaps not in form, Schaff noted that the Constitution was Christian in substance and that only through the principles of Christianity could such a system of justice and humanity ever have emerged.³⁶ Founder of the NRA, William Strong, an associate justice of the US Supreme Court in the 1870s with a reputation of being “somewhat excessive” in his Presbyterian faith, agreed with the idea that Christian churches should remain separate from the state but that God should not be separate and as such pushed for the addendum.³⁷ Strong and Schaff shared the idea that Protestantism monopolized principles of morality and liberty, yet their disagreement was in how that religious influence filtered through society and thus related to American law. Fearful of the growing political influence of Mormon polygamists in Utah and Catholic immigrants in the city, it was argued at an NRA convention that the initial step toward societal reform was to “place all Christian laws, institutions and usages in our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the nation.” A change like this, Schaff explained, would forbid, under penalty, the public exercise of non-Christian religions. Moreover, this enshrinement of Christianity may not “convert the infidel or save a soul,” but it would inject “the Christian feeling of the American people into the law on marriage, the Sabbath, and honesty, until our laws adequately represent our belief.” Relatedly, Strong argued in 1875 that though the government could not forbid Mormons from believing in polygamy, it could on moral grounds outlaw the actual practice. Despite the failed addendum, Jon C. Teaford notes that three years later in the *Reynolds v. US* decision, the Supreme Court upheld Strong’s logic against Mormonism and officially adopted “orthodox Christian views of marriage as the law of the land.”³⁸

In *Church and State* (1888), Schaff similarly referenced Mormonism as “altogether abnormal and irreconcilable with the genius of American institutions,” and though, as he wrote, the general government could not “attack the religion of the

Mormons, as a religion, . . . it can forbid polygamy as a social institution, inconsistent with our western civilization,” an arrangement upheld by both Congress and the Supreme Court. Demonstrating the intrinsic religious nature of social reform, Schaff argued that the “state cannot be divorced from morals, and morals cannot be divorced from religion.” Although this relationship between religion and the state was often denied by those who pushed it, this moral establishment over American society depended upon orthodox Protestant moral codes, and as such, “the Mormons must give up this part of their religion, or emigrate.” As the morality of America and its predominant religious faith were intertwined, Schaff believed American laws were naturally reflective, and constitutional permission was unnecessary.³⁹ Revealing their Calvinist roots, Strong and the NRA articulated the need for an explicit guarantee of Christian sovereignty over American society, which would serve as an impetus to enforce orthodox Protestant principles. Following this failure to amend the Constitution, however, William Strong secularized his rhetoric in order to impose these same theological principles on American society, in the same way that he had inveighed against polygamy. In 1880 for example, Strong pushed the idea that the majority of Americans desired “laws for the observance and protection of a weekly rest day for all our people; not because such a day is a Divine institution, but because they believe that such a day properly regarded is of immense importance to our political and social interests.”⁴⁰ When it came to American law and faith, particularly when more explicit controls were rejected by Congress, Protestants utilized secular techniques to impose religious dogma on the American public. It’s not that Schaff and Strong were in disagreement that America was ideally Christian, or even that Mormonism was antagonistic toward that ideal and therefore needed to go; instead, their disagreement with each other was in the necessity to impose such Christian ideals in explicit constitutional terms.

While Schaff criticized the NRA for its impractical efforts to “christianize the Constitution and to nationalize Christianity,” he strongly ridiculed the efforts of Free Thinkers and the National Liberal League (NLL) to impose an absolute separation of church and state, or as he put it, “to heathenize the Constitution and to denationalize Christianity.”⁴¹ In 1854 Schaff warned against “political atheism,” which included “reckless efforts to uproot all that is established” and denies “the divine origin of civil government altogether.” For Schaff, Thomas Jefferson’s so-called wall of separation was nothing more than “social despotism, or downright mobocracy.”⁴² Francis Abbot, founder and president of the NLL, decried the NRA’s proposals to redefine American law through religious terms as hostile to a free system of democracy and as dangerously theocratic. While many in Abbot’s camp agreed with the religious notion that fostering public morality and civility was critical for the success of society, these liberal reformers opposed expanding an explicit role for religion and argued that narrow religious dogma brought



FIGURE 0.5. Playing off the national debate over the consistency of imposing Sabbath regulations, Frank Leslie's *Illustrated* draws out the irony of closing the free admission Museum of Natural History, while Robert Ingersoll draws in paying crowds on the same day, preaching against God. "A Curious Illustration of Modern 'Consistency'" from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, May 28, 1881. Image courtesy of the Wikimedia Commons.

fear, hate, and persecution. National Liberal League officer and popular lecturer Robert G. Ingersoll, known as "the great agnostic," propounded his position that for a free and liberal society to emerge and endure, it must rest upon facts, science, and quantifiable data, not upon subjective claims of faith and the supernatural. Indeed, Ingersoll's suggestion was to wholly separate religious influence from the state, which would guarantee "the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, . . . [and] prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes." Using these principles as guidelines, liberal reformers responded to the Christian amendment by calling for their own constitutional amendment establishing a "total separation of Church and State," or in other words, a full restriction of government entities to base public policy decisions on partisan religious dogma.⁴³ While Schaff acknowledged that there were "some good religious people" who supported the platform of the NLL, he argued against their support by contending that any attempt to create an "absolute separation is an impossibility," because it would inimically require the expulsion of the "Christian religion from the national life," which in his view was the entire "basis of the common wealth."⁴⁴

In addition to these polarized proposals for constitutional amendments, new modernist reformers advocated in the 1890s for a more nuanced collaboration of religion and state, one that conflated Protestant Christian morality with the social mechanisms of government. Addressing the delicate linkage between the kingdom of heaven with those with frailties on earth, Congregationalist minister and

college professor George D. Herron argued that separating religious and societal obligations was unwarranted and rooted in selfishness, being “the origin of evil.” Bearing the name of Christ was not an abstract belief but required personal effort, with those serving others being “made sacred for the social service, and thus fully sacrificed in bearing away the sins of the world.” Although later he was forced to resign from his teaching post at the Congregationalist college for his more radical political and socialistic views, while also being defrocked from the ministry and expelled from the church, Herron was adamant that if properly understood, social and economic problems were at heart religious problems.⁴⁵ Similarly, philosopher and psychologist John Dewey articulated in his 1897 “pedagogic creed” that institutions that did not directly connect student learning with the raw, contemporaneous societal context were inert and dead. Dewey further propounded that individuals were fundamentally social creatures, and the institutions and educators who continued to define the world in abstract and objective ways that ignored individuals and their place within the world were failing students by presenting information devoid of any meaning or value. From this standpoint, Dewey continued, public education would not replace the moral teachings of the home but, rather, act as its social extension of parental efforts. Teachers were not simply facilitators of objective memorized facts, rubrics, and categorizations; rather, they stood as social servants “set apart for the maintenance of proper social order and the securing of the right social growth” and “in this way the teacher always is the prophet of the true God and the usherer in of the true kingdom of God.” Under Dewey’s construction, professors and parents, together with ministers of faith, held a sacred responsibility in the creation of democratic citizens and the “formation of the proper social life.”⁴⁶

Historian Robert Crunden, in his study on this progressive movement, contextualized the 1890s as a pivotal decade in American creativity, when religious thought permeated questions of social reform. Herron’s aforesaid aspirations for the coupling of religion and social reform were inspired by an evangelical ideal that did not advocate for specific government policy but assumed instead, as had Schaff, that Christianity’s values would organically move its adherents to seek for and contribute to the regeneration of society. Conversely, Dewey, using secular terminology that reflected rationality and science, looked to institutional governmental structures to play a key role in facilitating a society that guaranteed divine sanction.⁴⁷ Translating the essence of these ideas into a practical political solution, President Theodore Roosevelt became a patron saint for progressive reformers seeking a shift toward a more religiously fused secular democracy. Throughout his presidency, Roosevelt threaded a nuanced needle between the approaches of Herron and Dewey and couched his religious vision with secular language. In chapter 1 of this volume, I explain that Roosevelt’s embrace of a subtler form of religious stewardship and its emphasis on “merit, not metaphysics,” provides

context for why Roosevelt supported Smoot and also how Roosevelt's vision proved to be a leading influence during the era. In sum, Roosevelt's support of Smoot gave voice and stability to the shifting sands of America's political landscape along with the undergirding religious vision of social reform during the Progressive Era.

As mentioned previously, attempts to modify the Constitution failed over the latter part of the nineteenth century, leaving the debate on Protestantism's place in American politics unsettled when the Smoot hearings convened and offered a new touchpoint for consideration. Protestant reformers, after failing to unseat Smoot, used the pages of the *Christian Statesman* to reassure readers that the fight was far from over, while also reframing the political loss by reiterating its strategic vision that the US Constitution must be amended to acknowledge the "law of Christ" as the "basis and standard" for all "legislation touching the family." To these partisan religious opponents of the Utah senator, Smoot's success was a mere pyrrhic victory, no different from the Union's defeat at the first battle of Bull Run during the Civil War and that ultimate victory over this "false and abominable religion" was inevitable and would redound to their favor, like the Union eventually prevailed over the Confederacy. And since "no question is settled until it is settled right," the *Statesman* further enjoined, the reformers' efforts to inform and educate "the [American] people" was preparing "the way for the next stage" of the conflict, which would be one step closer to the goal of an aforesaid constitutional amendment.⁴⁸

Gaines Foster, in his study on moral reform during the nineteenth century, identified slavery, prohibition, and polygamy as the three vehicles used by reformers to align American jurisprudence with Christian doctrine.⁴⁹ An important voice of the era, Frank Ellinwood, who was founder of the American Society of Comparative Religion, and a Presbyterian missiologist and Princeton Seminary graduate, wrote an essay in 1903 for the progressive Protestant magazine the *Homiletic Review* entitled, "Mormonism, a New Religion of the Nineteenth Century." A critic of the LDS Church, or "monstrous cult" as he described it, Ellinwood argued that the growing secular sentiment that Mormonism should "enjoy freedom of religious opinion," as other religions received under the Constitution, was misguided because the central consideration was not of "theology" or "religious opinion," but rather it was a matter of "ethics" and "conformity to the laws of marriage . . . [as] enforced in all other States," which Mormonism, because of its polygamist past, was clearly incapable of compliance.⁵⁰ Furthermore, an editor's note in the same issue of the *Review* averred that polygamy stood as "an essential and inseparable feature" of Mormonism and that Ellinwood's essay championed both "the interests of the family and . . . [of] fundamental morality." Continuing on this thread, the *Review's* editor encouraged religious leaders to enlist churchgoers to expose the "infamous system" of Mormonism and to prepare for "the coming battle

against the beastly immorality incarnated in Reed Smoot and thrust upon the nation in the Senate of the United States.”⁵¹ Efforts to exclude Smoot and to revise the Constitution were each unsuccessful, which both placed the Smoot hearings at the heart of the national discussions of religion in the public square and further exposed the moral establishment as discriminatory and religiously fueled, in spite of the cleverly used secular rhetoric. These religious discussions within American politics played an important role in the national debates over social reforms and the meaning of American secularity in the context of progressive impulses at the beginning of the American modern secular era.

CURRENT WORK OVERVIEW

Because of the diversity of approach and content of the essays included in this work, and the reality that the Smoot hearings were both a national American and local Mormon story, this volume is divided into two sections that reflect this demarcation. Part I features essays of national perspectives and themes that address broad questions and current academic concerns. Part II contains essays that take a more intimate approach that assess the impact individuals had on the trajectory of the hearings as well as the impact the hearings had on people locally. This dividing line between the local and national is not absolute and in some cases has been arbitrarily applied; consequently, some spillover content exists.

CHAPTER BREAKDOWN: PART I—THE NATIONAL PICTURE

The first chapter, “The Reed Smoot Hearings and the Theology of Politics: Perceiving an ‘American’ Identity,” written by Konden Smith Hansen, a lecturer in religious studies at the University of Arizona, examines the national picture surrounding the hearings and expands upon the argument made in this introduction, namely, that the changing cultural attitudes within the country are what provided space for Smoot to retain his seat in the Senate, which in turn illuminates the expanding notion of religious pluralism and secularity in American politics during the Progressive Era. While the Smoot hearings were not the overriding impetus impelling religious pluralism, they served as an episode of political theater that previewed these shifting assumptions about what it meant to be an American and the role religion played in assessing that category. By accepting the LDS Church into this national pantheon of acceptable American religions, the nation symbolically turned a corner, so to speak, which reshaped, if only slightly, the boundaries of what it meant to be an American and acceptably religious, and, as this chapter shows, this new national secularity was not devoid of theological and moral significance. The LDS Church, for its part, enthusiastically embraced this new Protestant-fused secularity of political inclusion and

acceptance. However, this embrace was not without costs but required historical, doctrinal, and familial modifications, including the painful sacrifices of beloved personalities upheld as “prophets, seers, and revelators.” During the hearings, the LDS Church made substantial efforts to show members of the US Senate that Mormonism was a different religion from what it had been and that it was no longer interested in kicking against modernity’s pricks. This display of discontinuity mimicked that of more liberal progressive Protestants, such as in the refashioning the Church’s public image as apolitical, reframing its kingdom ideals as spiritual, keeping its religious expressions as private, modifying its preferred family structure to marital monogamy, and demonstrating its commercial activities to be clearly outside of ecclesiastical interference. Thus, Smith Hansen concludes, the Smoot hearings played the dual role of transforming Mormonism into a more “acceptable” religion by way of redefining it as “American,” while at the same time allowing space for this new secular-Protestant definition of religion and national belonging to be hashed out in a national debate.

As previously noted, Smoot’s success relied upon his legal team’s ability to convince the Senate as well as the nation that Mormonism had undergone important changes and that Smoot himself stood at the forefront. In the second chapter, “‘Justice Is Never Permanently Defeated Anywhere’: Reed Smoot’s Confirmation Vote in the United States Senate,” independent historian Michael Harold Paulos evaluates the Senate’s final plenary debate and subsequent confirmation vote. On this final day, Smoot and his supporters articulated his belonging in the Senate through the lens of secularity that insisted upon the irrelevance of his private faith, even as Smoot’s opposition targeted his faith as a public threat. But as Smoot’s allies argued, such a focus on religion was intolerant and not in harmony with the progressive advancements being made in the country. In arguing for his retention in the Senate, Smoot’s fiercest advocates did not defend his religion *per se*; rather, they dismissed it as both “foolish” and even “grotesque.” Within these new political-religious trends in the country, Paulos demonstrates that the discussion of Smoot’s place in the Senate constructed a new framework for Mormons that enabled service in high public office. With the opportunity, Smoot embraced this new progressive model of secularity that implicitly disempowered religion, by exclaiming that a “man’s religious belief” remained the property of the individual, and expulsion from public office for simply “belonging to any religious denomination” was not an acceptable practice of politics. This victory speech of Smoot’s is one iteration of the progressive trends sweeping across America, that is, the idea that religion was a person’s private business and that morality based upon principles of humanism, not theology, sat at the heart of civic service. In a similar way that Roosevelt stood as a masculine model for American politics, Smoot offered a privatized faith model of monogamy and evident morality that satisfied the demands of his Protestant colleagues.

An important component of the hearings was the massive, yet mostly neglected by scholarship, role that women's groups played in shaping the national debate. Female religious and benevolent societies united with the National League of Women's Organizations to campaign against Mormonism and Senator Reed Smoot. These nationwide efforts had an important impact on the public perception of Mormonism, which served as a moral backdrop for Congress to act. In chapter 3, "Antipolygamy, the Constitution, and the Smoot Hearings," emeritus Brigham Young University (BYU) professors, the late Byron W. Daynes (political science) and Kathryn M. Daynes (history) demonstrate the influential role these women's organizations had on social reforms promoting marriage. Providing a statistically detailed study of proposed constitutional amendments on marriage, Daynes and Daynes offer analysis on these efforts attempted to establish the moral authority of motherhood and the home on the federal level and how the threat of Mormon polygamy was used at times on these efforts. Indeed, when Smoot arrived in Washington in early 1903, these female opponents were seasoned political activists who had championed for decades the Christian notion of traditional marriage. Between the years 1871 and 1924, these groups helped propose 114 different constitutional amendments concerning marriage and divorce, of which 55 specifically posited the specter of polygamy. Additionally, Daynes and Daynes's analysis demonstrates the larger secular patterns in America outlined in this introduction, that is, the rescinding of support for the activities of Smoot's opponents as well as the increased discomfort with explicit uses of sectarian sentiment at the public square. Moreover, these trends coincided with the Republican Party's focus on muscular expressions of Christian piety, which privileged implicit forms of religious expression and relegated explicit utterances of faith as politically inadvisable. Considering the decades-long efforts of these female groups to enshrine Christian marriage into the American constitutional order, Daynes and Daynes's work demonstrate that these efforts during the hearings were not a watershed, *per se*, but instead represent the moment when the efforts had reached a peak, and the momentum for such marital reform against polygamy had begun to recede.

When evaluating the historical significance of the hearings in the context of national opposition to the LDS Church, it can be tempting to simplify Smoot's victory as the inflection point at which opposition to the LDS Church ebbed. Flake, in *The Politics of American Religious Identity*, concludes that "the Mormon Problem faded relatively quickly from the nation's consciousness after the 1907 decision to seat Apostle Smoot," and whatever opposition remained looked more and more like publicity stunts intended for religious audiences that framed Mormonism as a useful foil to shape "sectarian identities." Meanwhile, the "rest of America moved on."⁵² This volume, however, provides a larger context for the lingering concern over the political integration of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Daynes and Daynes's essay reveals that antipolygamy efforts by

Women's groups did not begin with Smoot, nor disappear once Smoot was confirmed, but rather, the women "accelerated their crusade against polygamy with the help of the anti-Mormon articles and lecture tours." Furthermore, in chapter 4, "Do I Hear an Echo? The Continuing Trial of the Mormon Church after Smoot's Retention," Salt Lake City attorney and independent historian Kenneth L. Cannon II, surveys this persistent criticism of Mormonism that continued for more than a decade after Smoot's retention. This opposition to the LDS Church was intense, and it included a wave of muckraking articles, published in national magazines, lambasting the Church between the years 1910 and 1911, as well as the activities of staunch Church critic Frank J. Cannon, editor of the *Salt Lake Tribune* during the hearings, who spent the decade inciting popular sentiment as a prolific author, editor, and highly public lecturer. Using his unique insider perspective of the Church as the son of high-ranking Church official George Q. Cannon, Frank J. Cannon's insights into Mormonism's practices and its relationships with politics were heard or read by over a million curiosity seekers. In several ways outlined by Kenneth L. Cannon II, the specific themes of criticism leveled after Smoot's confirmation make it seem like the hearings settled little, or that the published record of the hearings did not, after all, exonerate Smoot but instead served as a blueprint for future attacks on the Mormon Church.

Kenneth L. Cannon II's conclusions temper Flake's thesis that the country necessarily "moved on." In the years following Smoot's confirmation vote, Kenneth L. Cannon II illustrates instances in which women's groups reassembled over new rumors of plural marriages, provides new examples of rekindled conflicts between Joseph F. Smith and the media, and provides evidence of reignited concerns over treasonous temple oaths and continued hierarchical influence in politics. Amid these controversies, and using the encore help of powerful progressive figures such as Theodore Roosevelt, Smoot and the LDS Church weathered this storm and avoided the threat of a second investigation. It was not until around 1917, ten years after the hearings, when the Church enthusiastically supported America's entrance into World War I, that the public's appetite for Mormon sensationalism began to recede. As a side note concerning the Church's prominent support for the American war effort, newspapers noted the distinction held by Smoot that he was the first senator to offer a prayer on the Senate floor, in which he implored God to "bless and approve" the action of the Senate in declaring war on Germany.⁵³ Kenneth L. Cannon II argues that LDS patriotism during the war transformed the way Americans viewed Mormons, and this display of wartime patriotism provided Mormons with the inverse benefit of feeling a strong sense of nationalist belonging after decades of alienation. As Mormons fought alongside other Americans, rather than against them, the country was ready to move beyond the intractable "Mormon Question" and accept Mormonism as an American reality.

CHAPTER BREAKDOWN: PART II—THE LOCAL PICTURE

Part II of this volume looks at the hearings from a more local and biographical perspective. These essays, though narrow in scope, should not be interpreted as culturally or politically insignificant, since they focus on how individual persons, both political and religious, encountered, embraced, and responded to this larger political event.⁵⁴ Mormon apostle Reed Smoot's struggle before the US Senate represented more than just his electoral future, or the electoral viability of future Mormons; rather, the hearings served as a touchpoint for Mormons to reorient themselves and claim religious and national belonging in a shifting cultural and religious environment. Also included in this section are personal stories of how individuals influenced the course of the hearings and shaped Mormonism's modern face.

In the chapter 5, retired BYU Communications professor and Smoot great-granddaughter Kathryn Smoot Egan contributes an original essay, "My Darling Allie, Your Reed: Letters 1903–1907," on the family life of Reed and his wife, Alpha (Allie) May Eldredge, during the Senate hearings. Egan's essay tells the story of Reed and Allie Smoot's personal strain in raising a family amid heavy national prejudice, as well as living thousands of miles apart. It was a delicate time for the Smoot family, and Egan crafts an intimate narrative of the couple, where Reed yearns for his family's support and Allie faces the struggles of single parenthood during the prolonged absences. The familial costs incurred from Reed's senatorial ambitions were substantial for Allie and their six children, but Egan demonstrates that they survived the ordeal by privately leaning on each other, which, intentionally or not, publicly modeled a new monogamous paradigm of national citizenship for Mormons in the twentieth century. At the same time, Allie's public monogamous relationship with Reed patterned familiar Protestant Victorian patriarchal mores, demonstrating a new Mormon morality that was acceptable to the Protestant establishment, when polygamy had been deemed a relic of barbarism.

In chapter 6, "Under the Gun at the Smoot Hearings: Joseph F. Smith's Testimony," Michael Harold Paulos analyzes the testimony and events surrounding the Smoot hearing's first and most important witness, President Joseph F. Smith. Smith's testimony not only set the tone for other Church witnesses, but his physical presence in Washington conveyed a new willingness toward change and national engagement. Paulos takes us through what historians such as Carmen Hardy and Kathleen Flake have noted as Smith's evasive and equivocating responses at the hearings, which not only frustrated elites and embarrassed allies in Washington, but also bewildered some believing Mormons back home in Utah. But it was Smith's selective use of candor about his personal polygamous life that proved most troublesome to Smoot's defenders in the Senate. Yet ironically, it was this candid testimony that ultimately bolstered Smoot and steered "the Church

towards long-term success.” President Smith’s admissions of continued illegal cohabitation, considering earlier promises of discontinuance, reinforced prevailing notions of Mormon duplicity. However, Smith’s testimony simultaneously established a form of Mormon independence and separation from established institutional practices and teachings, thus painting Smith’s continued polygamous lifestyle as that of an individual, rather than the formal policy and action of the institution. Indeed, when questioned if Smoot ever advised him “to desist from polygamous cohabitation,” Smith simply responded that Smoot did not know about such arrangements. Distinguishing himself as a free individual agent apart from the institutional Church, Smith pleaded ignorance to the activities of his ecclesiastical subordinates after the 1890 Manifesto, including whether they sired additional children thereafter. Within this schematic of a newly argued privatized form of Mormonism, Paulos shows that both Smith and Smoot used the “shop-worn playbook of craftiness and guile” that the “LDS hierarchy” had developed over the preceding decades to defend against the antipolygamy efforts of the federal government. By redefining Mormonism as a more individual privatized faith separate from its institution, Smith’s testimony helped secularize and modernize the LDS Church, which thus opened a wider circumference for political participation. Smith’s testimony was a “calculated risk,” Paulos propounds, but one “that set the stage for Mormonism’s acceptance into America’s religious pantheon, where it would start the process of assimilation into American society at large.”

In chapter 7, “‘Some Divine Purpose’: Carl A. Badger and the Reed Smoot Hearings,” managing director of the Smith-Pettit Foundation Gary James Bergera tells the story of Carl A. Badger, Smoot’s twenty-five-year-old personal secretary who was attending Columbian College’s law school (later George Washington University) and how the hearings challenged his religious faith. A youthful idealist and a committed member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Badger found the testimony he attended from President Joseph F. Smith and other Church leaders unbearable and fretted at the duplicity he detected in their words before Congress. After several painful committee hearing sessions, Badger began to believe that only external pressure from the federal government would provide the impetus to inspire internal LDS reform. Badger, who represented the youthful generation of Church members oriented toward twentieth-century assumptions of American modernity and religiosity, confided in his letters home to his wife, Rose, that he was struggling to reconcile traditional LDS presumptions of ecclesiastical goodness and wisdom with what he was witnessing in Washington. For instance, Badger was bothered that some Church leaders nonchalantly testified to “have broken the law of God” by continuing polygamous relationships and giving off the impression that God was “a very easy ‘Boss.’”

In important ways, Badger’s disenchantment with Church leaders mirrored the “doubt and skepticism” felt by a few similarly situated Utah Mormons attending

eastern universities between 1896 and 1920. Thomas W. Simpson, in his book *American Universities and the Birth of Modern Mormonism*, presents the story of a few LDS students, who after leaving Utah and entering the university, adopted a “critical attitude” toward the Church, which was based on the ethos of their academic training. These young scholars placed “the intuitions of their fathers on the dissecting table for analysis” and concluded that some “good men,” or in other words Church leaders, had “made serious mistakes.” Badger’s religious trajectory during the hearings followed a similar course, though he is not mentioned in Simpson’s book. Ironically, two of the leading champions of this “academic migration” to elite eastern universities—Benjamin Cluff, the principal of Brigham Young Academy, and Joseph Marion Tanner, the Church school superintendent—were forced to resign in the context of the Smoot hearings because of post-manifesto marriages they had entered into. These illegal marriages not only caused problems for Senator Smoot but also had the effect of slowing “the progress of Mormon intellectual history.”⁵⁵ Simpson’s book is silent on the impact testimony given at the Smoot hearings had on this cohort of Mormon students, though it is reasonable to assume they had a similar reaction to that of Badger’s or other young non-academically trained Mormons residing in Utah. In response to this fallout from the hearings, Joseph F. Smith undertook damage control measures that restored credibility to the Church’s tarnished public image and prophetic mantle. Badger, in these ways, is also representative of this new generation of Mormons, ones who did not feel as strong a connection to the Church’s polygamous and collectivist past but who identified “with the respectable moralistic religion of the Protestant establishment.” Ultimately, concludes Bergera, Badger’s personal struggle reveals the personal crisis faced by individual Mormons who identified with a privatized, moralistic faith yet continued to encounter unsettling contradictions with hierarchical allegiance.

As discussed in this introduction, Smoot’s opponents consisted of a diverse alliance of Christian, business, and political constituencies, who joined the coordinated populist campaign against his presence in the US Senate. Senator Fred T. Dubois, a Democrat from Idaho, a former federal official enacting “night raids” against polygamists, and a close ally to Frank J. Cannon, played a leadership role in this campaign against Smoot and the LDS Church. Historian John Brumbaugh, in chapter 8, titled “‘A Systematic, Orderly, and Unusually Intelligent Fight’: Senator Fred T. Dubois and Reed Smoot” argues that Dubois’s actions to organize national protests against Mormonism represent “an interesting case study of Mormon ‘Orientalism’” and explains in part the how and why Mormon “otherness” was perpetuated during the early twentieth century. Holding a senior position on the Senate committee investigating Smoot, Dubois shrewdly criticized Smoot in a way that advanced the specter of Mormon otherness that resonated both inside and outside America. Distrustful of Mormon leadership and their

claims of reform, Dubois sought unsuccessfully to neutralize the LDS Church's influence in Washington. Just months before Smoot's final confirmation vote, Dubois suffered several political defeats after years of advocacy, including the failure to disenfranchise Mormon voting rights, the failure to pass an antipolygamy constitutional amendment, and the failure to win reelection in Idaho. Dubois's many defeats present a microcosmic illustration of this introduction's thesis, that the Smoot hearings suggest an important expansion of religious pluralism in America, where outmoded ideas of prejudiced elites were replaced by more secular-minded progressive politicians. Part of this "changing of the guard" came from the shifting national mood that favored an increased level of inclusivity and religious toleration.⁵⁶ Moreover, the replacement of two LDS apostles, John W. Taylor and Matthias Cowley, who engaged in illegal polygamous marriages and then refused to testify before the Senate committee, is likewise analogous to these larger secular shifts that allowed for a fuller cooperation between the LDS Church and the federal government.

The last item in this volume, "LDS Officials Involved with New Plural Marriages from September 1890 to February 1907," is an appendix by historian D. Michael Quinn. Based on research that began in the 1960s, Quinn's appendix includes a careful chronology of matrimony dates and names, together with relevant pronouncements and comments by ecclesiastical leaders. This list includes 289 polygamous marriages that occurred from September 30, 1890, the day before Church leaders voted "unanimously" to "sustain" the recently published manifesto, through February 21, 1907, the day after the US Senate voted to retain Smoot in the US Senate. On April 5, 1907, Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, and John R. Winder of the First Presidency, the Church's highest ranking ecclesiastical body, presented to the Church in General Conference an "Address To the World," which was adopted by the general Church by way of a vote. Among other things, the address declared that the Church had been "true to its pledge respecting the abandonment of the practice of plural marriage" and that any plural marriages after 1890 were merely "sporadic cases" performed by "a few over-zealous individuals who refused to submit even to the action of the Church in such a matter." Quinn's appendix, however, provides extensive documentation of plural marriages engaged in and performed by top Church authorities from 1890 to 1907, including President Smith and his two counselors Lund and Winder. Indeed, by the time Smoot secured his seat in the Senate, twenty-five LDS officials had "knowingly performed post-manifesto polygamy" and, "remarkably," at least thirty-one of those marriages "occurred from the start of testimony until the end of the Smoot Case in February 1907."

Quinn's research provides an important glimpse into the internal complexities and contradictions encountered when a religious institution undergoes a dramatic metamorphosis, which in this case required the stoppage of a sacred

marital practice that Apostle John W. Taylor declared was essential to achieving “a fullness of glory.” Church leaders had little interest in completely ending the practice with the Woodruff Manifesto in 1890, including future LDS president Lorenzo Snow, who stated privately to fellow apostles in 1896 that the principle of plural marriage was “as true today as it ever was” and “will again be practiced by this people.” Reed Smoot himself spoke in 1902 before the Twelve of his hope for its future restoration, while others prophesied that the practice would remain on earth in one form or another, until Christ’s return. Those who continued to perform and sanction polygamous unions post-1890 in defiance of national law and Church pronouncements were not rogue actors but highly revered leaders caught between the significance of Smoot’s election and the commandment to live a divine practice that threatened it. An overview of Quinn’s appendix makes it clear that the Smoot hearings played a critical role in forcing a complete repudiation by the LDS Church of the practice of plural marriage, together with how it was publicly spoken of and understood by a younger generation of Mormons. The distinction and even overlap between authorized and unauthorized violations of Church pronouncements against polygamy that took shape during these hearings represented an important shift within LDS history and the Church’s entrance into the Progressive Era, leading to the emergence of schismatic groups known as “Fundamentalist Mormons.” This appendix is a preview of a full-length study with detailed footnoting that D. Michael Quinn is preparing about post-manifesto plural marriages.

The scholarship in this volume complements, challenges, and expands upon the existing work on the Reed Smoot hearings. In addition, this volume adds new insights into the role religion and the secular played in the shaping of American political institutions and national policies, the intrinsic religious nature of the secular itself, the intimacies and challenges of religious privatization, the dynamic of federal power on religious reform, and the role individuals played in impacting these institutional and national developments. While additional aspects of this story remains to be told, the present study provides an important case study of religious dynamism as seen through the LDS Church during this period of theological and political crisis. Leaders of the Church made internal adjustments, some of which were the result of public outcry and government coercion, that allowed for the Church to achieve an embrace of religious inclusion in America. In the decades that followed the Smoot case, the Church transformed itself into a twentieth-century beacon of corporate patriotism, patriarchy, and monogamy. Last, this volume adds to the corpus of scholarship on the Smoot hearings new stories of ancillary and tertiary characters who played a role in this transitional moment for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and America at large.

Reed Smoot’s vindication has been viewed by some as Mormonism’s “coming of age” moment and the entrance of the Mormon people to the modern world.

However, when placing this victory more broadly in the American story, what results is a clearer picture of how religious accommodation and assimilation eventuated in an emergent modern and coercive nation-state, as well as how the two entities (Mormon Church and US nation-state) were changed simultaneously by the encounter. Mormonism “came of age” because they became what a Protestant nation wanted them to be—that is, in part, monogamous and privatized. In crucial ways, such religious pluralism was not entirely dependent upon the waning influence of America’s quasi-religious establishment but was, instead, equally predicated on Mormonism’s willingness to abandon the practice of sacred salvific rituals as well as a willingness to remove beloved personalities from the Church’s hierarchy as a type of symbolic sacrifice on the altar of American religious pluralism.

This volume does not address all pertinent questions surrounding the importance of the hearings or its social context, and as such additional work remains. However, it is hoped that this volume spurs historians and other scholars of Mormon and American history to ask new questions about this important historical moment in America.

NOTES

1. Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 24–26; David Sehat, *The Myth of American Religious Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4–7, 58.

2. Robert M. Crunden, *Ministers of Reform: The Progressives’ Achievement in American Civilization, 1889–1920* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1982), 25, 62–62; William T. Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 57–60, 77, 80–81.

3. Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2007), 1, 18.

4. Sehat, *The Myth of American Religious Freedom*, 4, 8–9, 154–159, 183–184.

5. Thomas Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 14–15.

6. Loretta D. Nixon and L. Douglas Smoot, *Abraham Owen Smoot: A Testament of His Life* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1994), 315–320.

7. Nixon and Smoot, *Abraham Owen Smoot*, 2, 17–32.

8. Each of Reed’s parents played a major role in his development. For the best treatment of Reed Smoot’s early life, see Harvard S. Heath, “Reed Smoot: First Modern Mormon” (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1990), 12–83.

9. “Reed Smoot Dines Negroes,” *New York Times*, February 13, 1903, 1; Jonathan H. Moyer, “Dancing With the Devil: The Making of the Mormon-Republican Pact” (PhD diss., University of Utah, Salt Lake City), 307, 415.

10. Heath, “Reed Smoot,” 54–56.

11. Heath, “Reed Smoot,” 35, 41–58. After serving for ten months, Smoot was summoned home early by President Wilford Woodruff because his father was in poor health and they needed Reed to handle the family’s business affairs.

12. Heath, “Reed Smoot,” 51–56. For background on Smoot’s protectionist career, see Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), 285–347; Michael Harold Paulos, “‘Smoot Smites Smut’: Apostle-Senator Reed Smoot’s 1930 Campaign

against Obscene Books,” *Journal of Mormon History* 40, no. 1 (Winter 2014), 53–96; Matthew Lyman Rasmussen, *Mormonism and the Making of a British Zion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2016), 78–102; Douglas A. Irwin, *Peddling Protectionism: Smoot-Hawley and the Great Depression* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011) 3, 40–42, 50–53, 65–79, 82–88, 90–92, 145–146, 190–194.

13. Heath, “Reed Smoot,” 34–37, 68–74. Many of Smoot’s ecclesiastical colleagues at the time, and Reed Smoot himself, were surprised at his call to the Quorum of the Twelve. President George Q. Cannon admonished Smoot at the time that he needed “to change his course in life,” to which Smoot replied that he would make it his “first consideration.”

14. Smoot’s calling to the apostleship was a surprise to some in Utah and is reflected by the apocryphal story of a conversation between the colorful LDS general authority J. Golden Kimball and Reed Smoot soon after his calling: “When Reed Smoot was called as a[n] apostle, J. Golden Kimball came into his office to speak with him. ‘Brother Smoot,’ he said, ‘I just wanted you to know that I really and truly believe that your calling was inspired by God. It must have been a genuine revelation from the Lord because sure as hell nobody else would have ever thought of you.’” Eric A. Eliason, *The J. Golden Kimball Stories* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 71–72.

15. Lorenzo Snow, “Greeting to the World,” January 1, 1901, in James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–1975), 3:333–35. For more background on the LDS’s embrace of Progressive Era values, especially from LDS Women, see Coleen McDaniel, *Sister Saints: Mormon Women since the End of Polygamy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 36–37, 40–42.

16. Moyer, “Dancing with the Devil,” 272.

17. Heath, “Reed Smoot,” 74–78.

18. Thanks to Gary James Bergera for his assistance in writing this background of the Smoot hearings and for this paragraph and the following two paragraphs.

19. See Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith, Sixth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1938), 330; “Attack on Smoot’s Accuser,” *New York Times*, March 22, 1903, 3; “Ministers Act on Smoot,” *New York Times*, March 1, 1903, 2.

20. US Senate, Committee on Privileges and Elections, Proceedings before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat, 59th Cong., 1 Sess., Senate Report No. 486, 4 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904–1907), 1:1–30 (hereafter, Smoot Hearings). Leilich’s charge that Smoot was a polygamist was quickly disproved.

21. Reed Smoot to Joseph F. Smith, January 9, 1904, Reed Smoot Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT (hereafter, Smoot Papers).

22. The following list displays the formal committee meeting schedule at the Smoot hearings:

March 1, 1904, through March 12, 1904—Testimony

April 20, 1904, through May 2, 1904—Testimony

December 12, 1904, through December 20, 1904—Testimony

January 10, 1905, through January 27, 1905—Testimony and First Round of
Concluding Arguments

February 6, 1906, through February 9, 1906—Testimony

March 26, 1906 through March 27, 1906—Testimony

April 12, 1906, through April 13, 1906—Second Round of Concluding Arguments

23. At different times over the two years of formal hearings, the entire testimony of specific witnesses was published by the government printing offices and distributed in tract format to interested readers and politicians unable to attend the testimony in person.

24. The "Mormon Problem" was used throughout the nineteenth century as a catchall phrase and rhetorical reduction to describe the repeated political problems America had with Mormonism during much of the nineteenth century.

25. Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 1–2, 8, 10–11.

26. Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), 16–26, 98; Milton R. Merrill, "Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1950).

27. Harvard S. Heath, "Reed Smoot: First Modern Mormon" (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1990), 84–197; Harvard S. Heath, "The Reed Smoot Hearings: A Quest for Legitimacy," *Journal of Mormon History* 33, no. 2 (Summer 2007), 1–80.

28. Jonathan H. Moyer, "Dancing with the Devil: The Making of the Mormon-Republican Pact" (PhD diss., University of Utah, Salt Lake City), 1–2, 606–618.

29. Michael Harold Paulos, ed., *The Mormon Church on Trial: Transcripts of the Reed Smoot Hearings* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2008).

30. Sehat, *The Myth of American Religious Freedom*, 183–184.

31. Josiah Strong, *The New Era, or the Coming Kingdom* (New York: Baker and Taylor Company, 1893), 201, 209–211, 253, 255.

32. Gaines Foster, *Moral Reconstruction: Christian Lobbyists and the Federal Legislation of Morality, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 222–225.

33. Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity*, 60; "Women against Smoot," *New York Times*, June 9, 1906, 4.

34. Proceedings before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1906), 1:70–72.

35. Jon C. Teafor, "Toward a Christian Nation: Religion, Law and Justice Strong," in *Journal of Presbyterian History* (1962–1985) 54, no. 4 (1976): 431; Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity*, 10; Foster, *Moral Reconstruction*, 22, 25, 82–83; William R. Hutchison, *Religious Pluralism in America: The Contentious History of a Founding Ideal* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 78–80; John G. Turner, *The Mormon Jesus: A Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 180–183.

36. Philip Schaff, *Church and State in the United States, or The American Idea of Religious Liberty and its Practical Effects* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888), 39–40.

37. Teafor, "Toward a Christian Nation," 426, 430.

38. Teafor, "Toward a Christian Nation," 430, 432; Schaff, *Church and State*, 39.

39. Schaff, *Church and State*, 44, 48.

40. Teafor, "Toward a Christian Nation," 432.

41. Schaff, *Church and State*, 43.

42. Philip Schaff, *America, a Sketch of the Political, Social, and Religious Character of the United States of America, in Two Lectures, Delivered at Berlin with a Report Read before the German Church Diet at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Sept* (New York: C. Scribner, 1855), xi.

43. Robert Ingersoll, *Some Mistakes of Moses* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1986), 14, 26–28; Philip Hamburger, *Separation of Church and State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 293–313, 327; *Equal Rights in Religion. Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and Organization of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July 1876* (Boston: Published by the National Liberal League, 1876), 10, 175; Foster, *Moral Reconstruction*, 2, 22, 29–30, 46; David Sehat, *The Myth of American Religious Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 176–178; George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 29.

44. Schaff, *Church and State*, 40, 45.

45. Crunden, *Ministers of Reform*, 40–48; James H. Smylie, *The Encyclopedia Americana: International Edition*. vol. 11 (Danbury: Grolier Inc., 1995), 238.
46. Crunden, *Ministers of Reform*, 58–63; John Dewey, “My Pedagogic Creed,” *School Journal* 54, no. 3 (January 16, 1897): 77–80.
47. Crunden, *Ministers of Reform*, 40, 48, 62–63.
48. T. P. Stevenson, ed., *The Christian Statesman* 41, no. 5, [National Reform Association] (May 1907): 135; T. P. Stevenson, ed., *The Christian Statesman* 41, no. 6 [National Reform Association] (June 1907): 187–188.
49. Foster, *Moral Reconstruction*, 230–233.
50. Frank F. Ellinwood, “New Religions of the Nineteenth Century: Mormonism.” *Homiletic Review* 46, no. 5 (November 1903): 323–329.
51. “Editorial Section.” *The Homiletic Review* 46, no. 5 (November 1903): 399–400.
52. Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity*, 159–162.
53. Smoot noted in his diary that the newspaper coverage of his prayer was “favorable.” Harvard S. Heath, *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot* (Signature Books, Salt Lake City, 1997), 351–353.
54. For an interesting and relevant discussion about human agency that “conditions other people’s lives,” which represents its own type of “system” or cultural force that is governed by probability rather than causality, see Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 6–7, 10.
55. Thomas W. Simpson, *American Universities and the Birth of Modern Mormonism, 1867–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 54–91.
56. Secularity deals with religion in the public space, where older religious models encounter a new “secular age” of expanded ideas and practices of how the nation-state can be conceived and made relevant to the individual, producing a “new age in which the older religion is no more at home.” This shift toward the secular does not imply a simple story of religious decline in society, but rather, as Charles Taylor explains, “of a new placement of the sacred or spiritual in relation to individual and social life. This new placement is now the occasion for recompositions of spiritual life in new forms, and for new ways of existing both in and out of relation to God.” For a broad discussion of this “secular age,” see Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 26, 280–281, 437.