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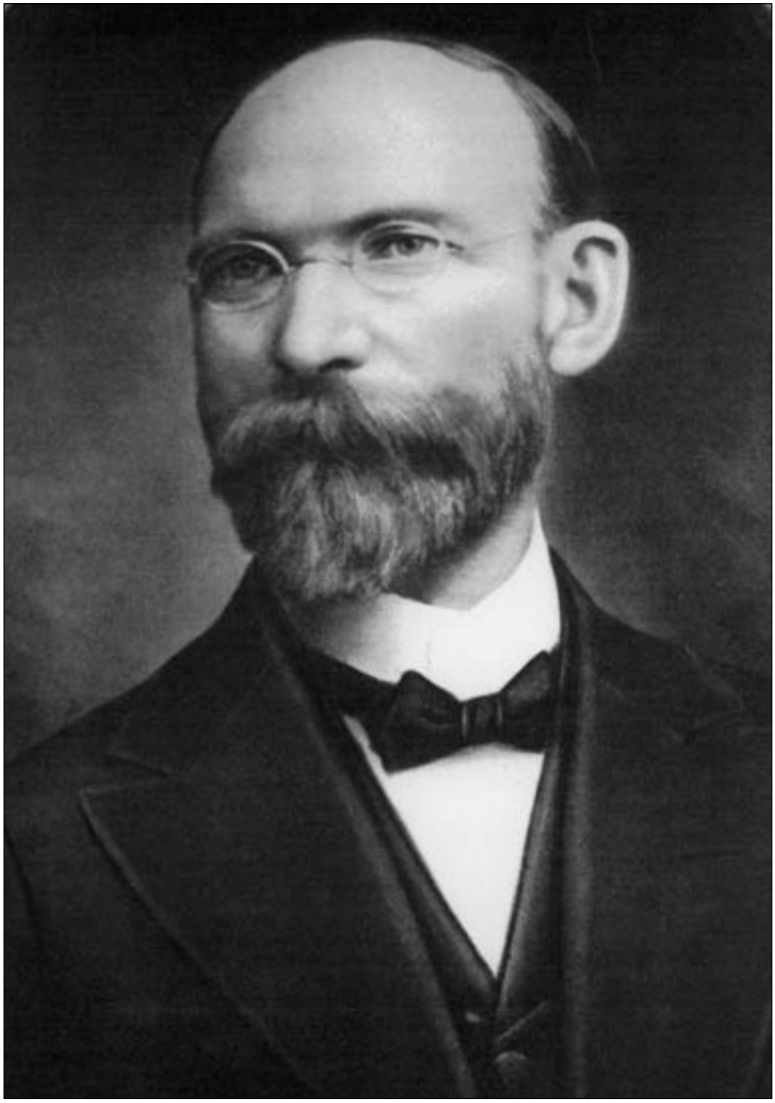

Uintah Stake president William H. Smart

Mormonism's Last Colonizer

The Life and Times of William H. Smart

William B. Smart

Utah State University Press
Logan, Utah

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Preface

Many people have made this book possible; they will be acknowledged shortly. But one man's contribution was absolutely indispensable—that of William H. Smart himself.

This was a man who for fifty-one years faithfully recorded his actions, his thoughts, and the social, religious, economic, and political environment in which he lived. He unblinkingly recorded the torment, failures, and guilt of his addiction-ridden early adulthood years; the meteoric rise of his fortune and self-discipline during his few years as a Cache Valley sheepman; the challenges, successes, and failures of shepherding the temporal as well as spiritual development of Utah's last frontier during two decades of virtually full-time service as president, in turn, of four Mormon stakes; his frequent interaction with the church's First Presidency and political leaders during that intensely productive period; and his slide into poverty and the test of character and faith he met during his final fifteen years of living in straitened circumstances.

He made almost daily entries, except during his few wealth-building years as a sheepman, when he frequently summarized at length the activities of weeks-long gaps. His journals are the essential raw material of which this biography is primarily built.

There are fifty volumes, occupying 4.75 feet of archival shelf space and five microfilm reels in the University of Utah's Marriott Library's Special Collections (with photocopies in the archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints). A few are odd-sized, but most are 4½ × 7, 5 × 7½, or 5½ × 9 inches, bound in red or black leather. Most contain two hundred pages, and almost all are filled cover to cover with Smart's legible but usually small and crowded handwriting, invariably in black ink. Only rarely does the ink's

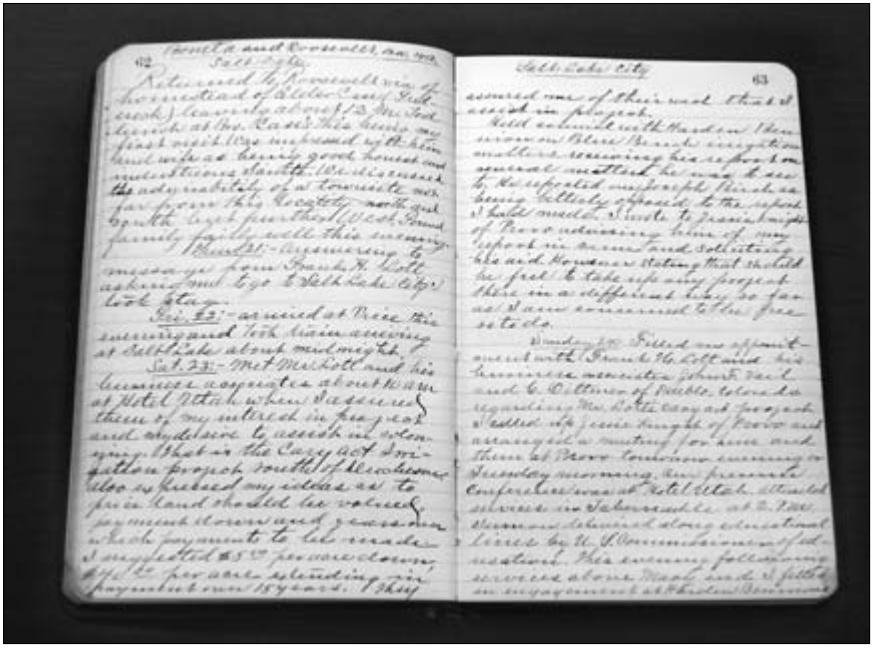
A selection of William H. Smart's numerous journals.

fading make a word illegible. His spelling is shaky in the early years, but by midlife it is fairly consistent and accurate.

In the university archives and in the photocopies, the journals are oddly numbered: 1A to 7A, and 1 to 43. This is because Smart's son, Thomas Laurence, was anxious to protect his father's reputation. In turning the journals over to me, his son, he withheld the first seven volumes covering those painful early years of guilt and failure. Some years after the journals had been contributed to the university, realizing that his father's triumph over his weaknesses actually added to his historical stature, he brought forth the missing volumes.

Also housed in the University of Utah's Special Collections is a file of Smart's personal correspondence and other papers, much of it with the church's First Presidency and other General Authorities. This correspondence, together with all fifty of Smart's journals, is included on the CD accompanying this book. Both the journals and the correspondence are searchable by date as well as by name and subject.

Smart's journals are far more than a day-to-day recital of events. He was verbose in describing his feelings, the problems he faced, the sermons he heard, the things he experienced. As one small example, he filled ten pages in describing the plot and action of a play he saw on Broadway. That verbosity



A sample of Smart's writing, showing journal entries for November 1912.

created a problem; the journals are an important historical resource, but publishing upwards of 10,000 pages of them is impractical. Brigham Young University historian Ronald Esplin suggested a solution. Why not, he asked, recruit Smart's descendants to transcribe them, put them on a CD, and distribute it with your biography?

That's what was done. The task of transcribing proved too tedious and time-consuming for some. But others persisted through weeks, sometimes months, of eye-strain and monotony to complete the job. They are *grandchildren or in-laws* Charles Pearce Jr., Thomas B. Smart, Donna T. Smart; *great-grandchildren or in-laws* Eugene Fairbanks, Thomas Fife, Maureen Gale, Melinda S. Graves, Catharine Hintze, Lynne Jessup, Larry Maddocks, Kristen S. Rogers, Gary Smart, Marjean Smart, Martin Smart, Dorothy S. Toone, Stephen Woodbury, David Young; and *great-great-grandchildren* Kristi Gilbert, Jason Hoagland, Spencer Rogers, Rosanna Smart, David Toone. To them, especially to some who transcribed several journals, as well as to those who found it necessary to pay to have the work done, profound thanks.

Thanks also to others who gave valued assistance. Greg Thompson and his staff at Marriott Library's Special Collections defused a crisis by recopying lost photocopies of two journals. As for the biography, staff in the archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were helpful in identifying and accessing relevant materials, as were staff at the archives of the Utah

State Department of History. Craig Fuller of that department graciously shared insights gained in his years of studying and writing about Uinta Basin history. Kristen Rogers of the same department has reviewed much of the manuscript; her incisive comments have improved the content.

The support, guidance, and critical evaluation of John Alley, executive editor of the Utah State University Press, has been invaluable, as has been the meticulous and most helpful work of the press's copyeditor Kathleen Capels. At the outset, Alley questioned whether a descendant could write a balanced, objective, honest biography of his ancestor. Even if he could and did, when his name is almost identical to the subject's, would the public *perceive* it that way? After reading the first three chapters, Alley was satisfied and gave the go-ahead. After reading the entire manuscript, the two peer reviewers agreed that the objective had been met. The final judgment will be by the reader.

A special heroine in this project is William H. Smart's great-great-granddaughter in-law, Holly Rogers. As a recently maternal stay-at-home mom, she transcribed many journals others had abandoned. She then accomplished the arduous task of editing all fifty journal transcriptions into a standard format, ascribing to each entry its date, month, and year, so the CD can be searched by date as well as by name and subject. Lastly, she compiled the biography's index.

Without Holly, this project could not have been completed. Without her husband, Jedediah Rogers, it would have been less than it is. As a PhD candidate in history (Arizona State University), he has taken time from his studies, research, and his own writing to critique each chapter, point to additional original sources and citations, and suggest historical contexts and insights.

Finally, without the gentle but persistent prodding of my wife, Donna, the project might not have been started in the first place. She has been unfailingly patient, helpful, and supportive, transcribing journals, unscrambling the snarls created by my computer illiteracy, and generally seeing it through to the end.

Introduction

On September 25, 1910, forty-eight-year-old William H. Smart took pen in hand and, as he so often did during a ministry unique in Mormondom, wrote a prayer:

> *My Heavenly Father: Please awaken me to a full realization of the blessing Thou hast bestowed upon me in bringing me along thus far on the Journey of life. . . . Thou didst snatch me from the burnings, Thou didst in me choose a weak thing of the earth to confound the wise. . . . O Father May these my humble but fervent petitions find favor in thy sight even at this most critical time of my life when, having laid down my missionary labors in fields partially nurtured in developments, I now through Thy grace am called and chosen to go into the wilderness as it were, where with the native elements of earth, air and water and kindred resources before me Thou dost invite—yea bid—me to enter, and under Thy guiding hand and with such association as thou shalt be pleased to surround me with, to subdue and colonize the earth unto its reclamation and unto the salvation of Thy children who shall take root herein. Hear me O Father, in this hour of dire need and make me ever equal to my duties, and thine be the glory and honor both now and forever. Amen.*

That midlife plea reflects not only his prayerful approach to the challenges he faced, but his motivation and zealousness, his sense of large destiny, his personality, and the style of writing and speech that characterized his adult life. It also speaks of what he had done and what he had yet to do.

His being "snatched from the burnings" referred to a youth and young adulthood of torment, guilt, depression, and failure—including a disastrously ineffective Mormon mission to Turkey and Palestine—caused, among other weaknesses, by his addiction to tobacco.

His transition from failure and self-doubt to total commitment and confident, effective leadership was a classic example of how a "weak thing

of the earth" can be magnified to work with and among, if not confound, the wise.

His "missionary labors in fields partially matured" included his presidency of the church's Eastern States Mission and of the Wasatch and Uintah stakes in Utah, where he had labored not only for the spiritual salvation of his people but also to build the businesses and municipal services to serve their temporal lives. His future would include the same kind of efforts as president of two more stakes, Duchesne and Roosevelt. Altogether, he gave twenty-six years of his life and dissipated a substantial fortune in virtually full-time church leadership positions.

The wilderness he was called to subdue and colonize was the last extensive area of Utah land available for settlement. In the half century after arriving in the Great Basin, Mormons had occupied all other fertile valleys and had spilled into northern Arizona and southeastern Idaho. The church sent out its last colonies and in 1895 established stakes in northern Mexico and southern Canada, in both cases to provide havens for polygamists. But the 7,500-square-mile Uinta Basin in northeastern Utah was mostly Ute Indian reservation, locked up to whites.

By the turn of the century, white land-hunger made opening the reservation inevitable. As president of the Wasatch Stake, which then included the reservation lands in the basin, Smart could see it coming. At his persuasive suggestion, the First Presidency commissioned him to study the region, locate the best land and suitable townsites, and help the Saints settle there. This time, unlike with earlier settlements, there would be no colonizing call from church headquarters. Smart was pretty much on his own, with the few associates he could recruit—or the Lord would "be pleased to surround me with"—to help.

The tireless zeal with which he set about the task resulted in outraged accusations of Mormon land-grabbing. A federal investigation cleared him and the First Presidency of wrong-doing, though, and by the time the reservation was opened in 1905, he was ready. Settlement on reservation lands was overwhelmingly Mormon. With the reservation open, the church included its lands in the tiny Uintah Stake, with headquarters in the rough, largely non-Mormon frontier town of Vernal, just outside the reservation's eastern boundary. There, as the new stake president, Smart set out to both modernize and Mormonize the town. The two goals meshed. His strategy was to build its business and municipal establishments, including the first telephone company, the newspaper, and a Mormon bank. His tactics then, as in other towns later, were to bring in Mormons to own or run them. When the recruit had no funds to invest, Smart would lend the money—and often lose it.

After five years, during which time he also labored to establish small Mormon communities on the former reservation, there were enough of

them to justify creation of the new Duchesne Stake. Smart became its first president. It was then, in 1910, that he wrote of going into the wilderness "to subdue and colonize the earth unto its reclamation and unto the salvation of thy children who shall take root herein."

The journey meant leaving the fine two-story brick home he and his wife Anna had built in Vernal—the Uinta Basin's first with indoor plumbing—for living conditions that steadily worsened as he followed his perceived mission to pioneer the colonization of even the most desolate parts of the basin. It meant frequent and long absences that left rearing the family mostly to Anna. It meant watching the substantial fortune he had amassed as a highly successful Cache Valley sheepman dissipate, drained by his misplaced faith in the future prosperity of the basin and his self-sacrificing zeal to put Mormons on its land and in its businesses.

He entered the basin a wealthy man (in 1918, even with his fortune in decline, his tithing was the sixteenth largest in the church)[1] and left it thirty years later in poverty. Unarguably the basin's most powerful and influential man, with easy access to church and state leaders, he ended his ministry there as an itinerant promoter of genealogy, camping out or staying with church members and hoeing weeds to pay for his board.

Smart was a man born out of time. His life spanned two eras in LDS history, but he seems to have been committed to the first. During the first quarter century of Smart's life, Brigham Young—and, to a lesser extent, his successor, John Taylor—struggled to build a political, economic, and social wall that would keep their Mormon empire pure. The railroad, the military, and federal government pressure ended that. By the turn of the century, industry—especially mining—and business were largely in non-Mormon hands, and Wilford Woodruff, the new church president, had opened a new era of cooperation and accommodation. Although vestiges of it remain, the "Mormon fortress" mentality was essentially gone. But not in Smart's mind. He understood that his mission was to make the Uintah Basin into Mormon country, and he pursued it with the kind of suspicion of and antipathy toward non-Mormons that Brigham had held decades earlier.

A major element of Woodruff's modernization program was his 1890 Manifesto supposedly ending polygamy. Like many others clinging to the past, Smart didn't comply. Twelve years after this manifesto, he took a second wife. Even after the 1904 Second Manifesto made plural marriage subject to church discipline, he continued to practice it openly. As evidence of the church's early-twentieth-century ambivalence about polygamy, at a time when one apostle was excommunicated and another disfellowshipped

1. Presiding Bishopric letter to Joseph J. Cannon, April 13, 1918, copy in possession of the author. The letter lists, in order of amount paid, the fifty-two members who paid a thousand dollars or more in 1917 tithing. Charles W. Nibley heads the list, Jesse Knight is second, and Smart is number sixteen.

for performing plural marriages, Smart continued in his calling as Wasatch Stake president, and became president, in turn, of three subsequent stakes. His polygamy ended only with the death of his second wife in 1923.

By the turn of the century, the various forms of cooperatives created under the United Order concept had vanished from Mormondom, but not from Smart's mind. He conceived, wrote of, and attempted to implement an elaborate cooperative plan involving his extended polygamous family and at least one other family; it withered under the practical scrutiny of his second wife. He proposed such a cooperative to his associates in Uintah Basin church leadership, and apparently won their approval. But there was no approval from a First Presidency that had moved beyond such ideas, so Smart finally gave it up.

The style and rhetoric of his journals—and the journals themselves—are reminiscent of earlier times as well. They may be compared to those of Wilford Woodruff as perhaps the two most extensive in the LDS archives. They cover similar lengths of time—Woodruff's fifty-three years from 1834 to 1887, and Smart's fifty-one years from 1886 to 1937. Although they were begun earlier, Woodruff's journals seem more modern in their straightforward, candid, comprehensive reporting of events. Smart's are more literary, almost biblical-sounding at times, more lengthy, more intensely personal, more self-revealing, more concerned not only with events but also his own relation to and sentiments toward them. While they often express Smart's feelings of unworthiness for his high and important callings, and ascribe to a higher power credit for his successes, there's no mistaking his effort to record his motives and actions in a favorable light.

Woodruff wrote that "I have never spent any of my time more profitably for the benefit of mankind than in my journal writing."[2] Smart, striding a much smaller stage, expressed no such pretension, but his journals have their own unique value. They present an intimate view of life in the second level of Mormon leadership, including frequent contact with the First Presidency, long before the church reached worldwide status (when he first became a stake president the church had only forty-eight stakes, with only one, in Canada, outside the United States). They are a primary source for research on Mormon involvement in the opening of the Ute Indian Reservation, on pioneer settlement of its remote and inhospitable lands, and on the struggle to survive there before and during the nation's worst depression.

Beyond this, they reveal a complex, compulsive, sometimes tortured, often physically ill man, unshakably convinced of the rightness of his calling and its divine source, who through that conviction summoned the willingness to place his incredible energy, his fortune, his very life on the altar.

2. Wilford Woodruff diary, March 17, 1857.

At age nineteen, Smart submitted himself to a phrenologist for analysis. Among his private papers is the resulting handwritten report. "You will not obtrude yourself upon other people," the analyst wrote, "but will stand on your own feet manfully." The second part of that prophecy proved true enough. But the first part could hardly be more wrong. Smart spent most of his life obtruding on other people, lecturing them, reshaping them, calling them to repentance, striving constantly to make bad men good and good men better.

From his journal, the recollections of basin old-timers, and Smart's own grandchildren a picture also emerges of his private, more human side. He lived in the burgeoning of the auto age but never owned a car or learned to drive one. His views on female decorum and style were nineteenth century as well. He forbade the use of makeup; a granddaughter recalls when he discovered a frosted-glass jar of face powder on her dressing table and hurled it through an unopened window. Modesty was mandatory. Woe to the granddaughter caught rolling down her stockings to above the knee; lectures were stern and long.

He was bald, mostly deaf, tall, and gaunt—the latter not surprising considering the simplicity and spareness of his diet. He forbade pork in any form. In a rare show of independence, his wife served a pork roast to visiting apostle Francis M. Lyman. Smart was chagrined, quoting the Old Testament to prove this was wrong. Lyman's rejoinder became a family classic: "President Smart, the Children of Israel were forbidden to eat pork because it was too good for them." That apostolic reproof didn't change Smart's conviction. Bread and milk with honey remained a favorite meal because, he said on at least one occasion, it was what the Savior ate. His chronic gastrointestinal troubles may have been a more compelling reason, however.

Smart seemed to survive on little sleep. His presidency meetings and others frequently ran past midnight, and he usually awoke before dawn. Long early-morning walks before breakfast were customary. Often it was a walk to one of the many solitary places where he had built an altar to kneel, sing hymns, and pray for guidance and strength in meeting the challenges before him.

Singing was an important part of his persona. He and Anna invariably harmonized together at their daily worship. He frequently bemused a congregation by punctuating a sermon by singing, alone and unaccompanied, what he considered an appropriate hymn. Driving his buggy or, later in his impoverished years, riding his mule on his travels around the basin, he could be heard singing hymns. Discovering this proclivity for singing was a surprise to his grandson, who remembered as a child singing "Oh My Father" with his grandfather around the graves of his father and mother in the family cemetery in Franklin, Idaho, and concluding that grandpa, like Heber J. Grant, the church president he so greatly admired, was tone-deaf.

Elocution was a more polished talent. He studied it in high school and, for a couple of weeks in Boston, taught it during his brief classroom career; for many years he gave readings at social events. "Farmer John" and "Tell on His Native Hills" (about William Tell) were favorites. At such events, despite the dignity of his leadership position, he also danced with enthusiasm.

He was a stern and autocratic father, not sparing the rod. Among a grandson's treasured mementos is the gold-headed walking stick Smart broke over the back of his second, most obedient son, Thomas Laurence. But, his youngest son, Joseph, remembered many lighter moments—casting hand-shadows of the American eagle and Bre'r Rabbit on the wall, telling tall tales, and singing nonsense ballads like "The Frog Who Would A-Wooing Go." In his later years he was more reserved. His grandchildren remember him as austere and remote, seldom smiling, indulging in no grandpa-like things such as cuddling, tickling, playing games, or reading stories. Yet they recall his generosity, especially the way he celebrated his birthdays, not by receiving presents and having things done for him, but by giving presents to and doing for others.

Generosity was a word often used by old-timers who remembered how it shrank his fortune. Nevertheless, he was not universally loved. Gentiles and backsliding or lukewarm Mormons resented his single-minded zeal to build his own special kind of society. Even committed Mormons must have had their doubts as they watched grinding economic realities destroy the dreams he had encouraged in them. But pioneering demanded his kind of intensely focused, often arbitrary leadership. Pioneer leaders are more often respected than loved. Even his critics, though, had to know that whatever their early efforts in the Uintah Basin had cost them, Smart, one of Utah's last pioneer leaders, had given far more.

For a man who built much of the community and business infrastructure not only of Vernal but of Roosevelt and Duchesne as well; who located, established, and nurtured—and in some cases named—many of the basin's communities; who was arguably the primary moving spirit behind the creation of Duchesne County, Utah's twenty-eighth, and the determination of its boundaries; who at one time controlled most of the basin's newspapers; who gave land to build schools and his personal funds to keep them open; who raised the money needed to complete the Uintah Stake Tabernacle that is now the Vernal Temple, Smart is little remembered in the Uinta Basin today. Some thirty years ago, his son Thomas Laurence and a grandson donated a large framed portrait of him to the Vernal Daughters of Utah Pioneers, thinking it would find a place of honor in their small museum. Visiting there five years later, they found it gathering dust in a storage room.

Yet on the farms, in the towns, and especially in the churches where many worship, Smart's legacy of self-denying service, though not widely recognized, is evident to those who know his history.

One

Growing Up in Franklin

On April 14, 1860, thirteen Mormon families, led by Thomas Sharratt Smart from Provo, Utah, pulled their wagons into a circle on the Muddy (later the Cub) River in the north end of Cache Valley in what they thought was Utah. The settlement they would build there would become Franklin, the first permanent white settlement in Idaho.[1] It would also become the birthplace of William H. Smart, the man known as the father of Mormon settlement in Utah's Uinta Basin and the author of the most voluminous and comprehensive journals documenting that settlement.

The Mormons had long eyed the lush, well-watered Cache Valley as an ideal location, although they knew little or nothing of its history. Forty miles long, twelve wide, the mountain-ringed valley was once the Cache Arm of prehistoric Lake Bonneville. One of the world's most dramatic geologic events occurred at Red Rock Pass, twenty miles northwest of Franklin. There, about 16,000 years ago, the lake breached its northern rim, cutting a chasm through which some 15 million acre-feet of water per second—about three times the average flow of the Amazon River today[2]—roared

1. Accounts of Franklin's early history are based primarily on *Idaho: Facts and Statistics Pertaining to its Early Settlement and Colonization with Special Reference to the Franklin Colony.* Information collected and compiled for the Idaho Semi-centennial Celebration held at Franklin, June 14 and 15, 1910 (Salt Lake City: Skelton, [1910?]), 17–23. Other sources include *The Trail Blazer: History of the Development of Southeastern Idaho* (n.p.: Daughters of the Pioneers, 1930), 16–23, and the *Preston Citizen*, Bicentennial Edition, June 24, 1976, 6–9. See also Leonard J. Arrington, *History of Idaho* (Boise: University of Idaho Press and Idaho State Historical Society, 1994), 1:260–69.
2. Frederick M. Huchel, *A History of Box Elder County*, Utah Centennial County History (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Box Elder County Commission, 1999), 12–13. For details of the flood see Harold E. Malde, *The Catastrophic Late Pleistocene Bonneville Flood in the Snake River Plain, Idaho*, U.S. Geological Survey Paper No. 596 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968).

out into the Snake and Columbia river drainages. When it was over, Lake Bonneville was 350 feet lower, at 5,100 feet. In ensuing millennia it shrank to the 30-foot-deep remnant known as the Great Salt Lake, leaving Cache Valley with the deep, rich soil that attracted settlers.

Ever since John H. Weber led a small party of what would become William Ashley's Rocky Mountain Fur Company into the area in 1824,[3] what he called "Willow Valley" had been known as a favorite Indian hunting ground, teeming with deer, elk, and mountain sheep as well as bears, wolves, coyotes, and lynx—and, of course, beaver. In 1826, the West's second fur trapper-Indian rendezvous was held in the valley, possibly not far from where Franklin would be settled. The following year, Jim Beckwourth wrote: "While digging a cache in the bank [probably of the Cub or Little Bear River], the earth caved in, killing two of our party." The event gave Cache Valley its name.

After the Mormons arrived in Salt Lake Valley in 1847, Brigham Young's great challenge was to find places to settle the 70,000 land-hungry converts who would gather in Zion before the coming of the railroad. Within a decade, he had pushed settlements as far south as the Virgin River and into most of the Utah valleys in between—with outlying colonies in San Bernardino, California, as well as west to Carson Valley, Nevada, and north to the Lemhi River in Idaho.

But Cache Valley was the home of the Northwestern Shoshoni, a proud, well-armed band, nothing like the more poorly equipped Goshutes and Paiutes being pushed aside farther south. Not until the Utah War ended and the U.S. Army stationed troops at Camp Floyd in 1858 was it considered prudent to challenge the Shoshoni. Then, things moved quickly. In 1859, Young appointed Peter Maughan as presiding Mormon bishop in Cache Valley, and settlements sprang up in Wellsville, Mendon, Logan, Smithfield, and Providence that summer.

When Smart and his party arrived at the Muddy the following spring, the Shoshoni chief, Kittemere, received their gifts of beef and grain and welcomed them to the area's land, timber, and water. For a while, relations were friendly, although the Indians' requests—or demands—for food and supplies were a nuisance. But within two years, deteriorating relations led to one of the most horrific slaughters of Indians in frontier history.

By the end of that first summer, some sixty-one families, more than a hundred persons, had arrived at the infant settlement. Most were single men or young married couples, but their leader, Thomas Smart, was different. Born on September 14, 1823, in Shenstone Parish, Staffordshire,

3. For Cache Valley's role in the fur trade, see LeRoy R. Hafen, *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1965) 1:78–91. Also, M. R. Hovey, "Before Settlement," in *The History of a Valley: Cache Valley Utah–Idaho*, ed. Joel E. Ricks and Everett E. Cooley, 24–26 (Logan, UT: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956).

England, he was thirty-six years old, with a wife, Ann Hayter, three children by her former husband, and six children of their own.

He was well qualified for his leadership role. He had learned to carry responsibility at a young age in England, customarily arising as early as 3 a.m. to load the produce from his father's farm onto a pony cart and haul it to nearby Lichfield for sale in the morning market. At age seventeen, he became a brickmaker in England and subsequently in France, where he met and married his wife.[4] Crop failures, crowded and unsanitary conditions, long working hours, and the growing social discontent that led to the overthrow of Louis Philippe in the Revolution of 1848[5] made the prospect of a new life in America attractive to the newlyweds. In 1845, after an eight-week ordeal on a sailing ship that must have been misery for pregnant Ann, they eventually settled in St. Louis, where Thomas worked at brick-making, leather manufacturing, and farming. There, they learned of the Mormon Church from an employee on Thomas's farm and were baptized in 1851.

Like thousands of other converts, they heeded Brigham Young's manifesto to "gather to Zion," and started out on April 8, 1852, with Smart as the captain of a company of twenty families in seventeen wagons. Despite the cholera epidemic then raging on the trail, and rain that made the trek miserable most of the time, they arrived in Salt Lake Valley in September with no loss of life.

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4. Ann Hayter was born in Portsmouth, Hampshire, England, on September 18, 1822. She married Henry Fleet, by whom she had three children: Mary Ann (1842), Alice (1844), and Louisa (1845). He was a drinking man and neglected the family, so during her third pregnancy they divorced, leaving her to support two daughters by running a boarding house. She married Thomas Sharratt Smart on March 1, 1845, and they emigrated to America that year. Born to Ann and Thomas were Charlotte Elizabeth (1849), Maria (1851), Thomas (1853), Sara Ann (1855), Eliza (1857), Francis Ann (April 1860, either just before or just after they arrived in Franklin; in any event, the infant died the following October), William Henry (1862), and Mary Jane (1866). In 1868, on a trip east with his teams to bring Mormon converts back to Utah, Smart met an Italian woman, Margaret Justet, proposed plural marriage to her, and was accepted. In an interview with Robert Foss Hansen on May 30, 1972, Lorenzo Smart, Thomas Sharratt Smart's oldest living grandson, related that Smart had been told by a church leader to marry the woman "so as to take care of her and protect her on the trip. When he brought her home his wife was all upset and told him to take the b——out of there and he could go with her or return alone." This, Hansen wrote, "was told to Ren [Lorenzo] in somewhat stronger terms by his father." Thomas and Margaret had a daughter, Margaret Jane (1870), but the mother soon became disenchanted and left.
After Ann's death in 1876, Thomas married Minnie Shrives, by whom he had Leslie Edwin (1880), Vernon (1882, who lived only a day), Iva Lillie (1885), and Melvin Shrives (1889). Of Thomas's sixteen adopted or natural children, all but Francis Ann and Vernon lived to maturity and were married. See Leonidas DeVon Mecham, *Family Book of Remembrance and Genealogy with Allied Lines* (Salt Lake City: self-published, 1952), 577, 589–94. Also see the 1850 Census Record, Carondelet Township, St. Louis County, Missouri, and Preston Woolley Parkinson, *The Family of Samuel Rose Parkinson* (Salt Lake City: self-published, 2001), 130–32.
5. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 1968 ed., s.v. "France, The July Monarchy."

After a brief rest, the Smart family was sent to the infant settlement of American Fork, where Thomas helped build the dirt walls of the area's fort and, with Ann and their five children, spent the winter in a wagon and tent. After three years of labor to build a farm there, he was sent to Provo to manage a failing tannery and shoe store, which he brought out of debt in one year. Among other responsibilities there, he served as captain of the guard at Fort Utah (Provo). He sent his teams across the plains several times to bring Mormon converts to the valley, and in 1868 went himself as a teamster. He was a big man, strong and athletic, six feet in height, weighing about two hundred pounds.[6] So when the call came, in 1860, to help lead the Mormon colonization in northern Cache Valley, he was seasoned and ready.

Building a Community

Bishop Peter Maughan appointed Smart captain of the new Franklin settlement, with Samuel R. Parkinson and James Sanderson as assistants. Under their direction, the settlement quickly took shape. At first the settlers lived in their wagon boxes, which were clustered together on the ground for protection, while the undercarriages were used to haul logs from the canyons to the east. Cooking was over campfires. Five days after their arrival, house and farm lots were allocated, the choice determined by a drawing. It snowed as late as May 12, but with the group's cooperative-labor, irrigation ditches were dug, and oats, barley, and wheat were in the ground by first of June. Garden plots soon followed.

The first year's harvest was small, but Samuel Handy's journal recorded that

> we tramped out 48 bushels of wheat on August 2nd. William Woodward and James Sanderson took it to Farmington and got it ground into flour. It was then brought back to Franklin and divided among the people of the camps. We were a happy and united people. . . . The following year, we had gardens on the west side of the fort which were a great benefit to us, potatoes, cabbage, lettuce, onions, cucumbers, peas, mellons, squash and other things were raised, which made our meals more agreeable. We raised good crops that year but did not thresh the grain in the fall of the year. The winter of 1861–62 was very wet; our cellars on the south string of the fort were full of water and our houses were wet nearly every day for a long time. The grain in the stack became wet and it wasn't threshed until March. Many of the people had to eat musty bread until the next season.

June 10, 1860, brought a visit from Brigham Young, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and governor of Utah Territory, in which Franklin was thought to be located (not until surveys in the

6. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 3:514–16.

1870s was it determined to be in Idaho). Brigham named the infant colony Franklin for Franklin D. Richards, an apostle. With his puckish sense of humor, he renamed the Muddy the Cub River, because it flows into the Bear. He also organized the Franklin Ward of the LDS Church, appointing Preston Thomas as bishop. Thomas Smart was named as a counselor in the bishopric.

Being Mormons, they needed a place to meet, so a bowery big enough to shelter 200 people was built of brush and boughs that first summer. They also needed to dance—the Quadrille, Virginia Reel, Schottische, French Four, and Monkey Musk or polygamy dance. That, too, was done in the bowery, the dirt floor sprinkled with water to pack it firm. Even more important, though, was building their homes and providing security from Indian attacks. As was so often done elsewhere, they combined the two functions.

Brigham Young, the experienced and practical colonizer, had some instructions about that.

> I propose to the brethren here, and wish them to take my counsel, to build a good, strong fort. If you have not material for building a wall, you can make a strong stockade by putting pickets into the ground, which will answer a good purpose against Indian attacks. The stockade can be easily repaired by replacing decayed pickets. I wish you to build a stockade large enough for corralling your cattle outside the town. Let your grain also be stacked away from your buildings, and so arranged that if one stack takes fire all of the stacks will not necessarily be destroyed. You are very much exposed here. The settlements in this [Cache] valley are, as it were, a shield to the other settlements. You must, therefore, prepare as speedily as possible to make yourselves secure. You have a beautiful location, and plenty of excellent water.

"Serve the Lord," he concluded, "and try not to find fault with each other. Live so that you will not have any faults to find with yourselves, and never mind the faults of your brethren, for each person has enough of his own to attend to."[7]

The settlers wasted no time. Under Smart's direction, homes were begun along the sides of what would be a rectangular fort sixty by ninety rods (330 by 495 feet), enclosing about ten acres. People began moving into their homes in the fort in August 1860. Entrance doors faced inside, with solid walls facing outside. Floors were of dirt. Roofs were covered with what they called "government shingles"—sod laid over rough planks—that, especially during the wet winter of 1860–61, left their homes as sodden inside as out. An adobe or rock fireplace provided some warmth and a place for cooking. The rough logs were split with a broadax to make door frames and the doors themselves. Inside the enclosure were the

7. *Deseret News*, August 1, 1860. Quoted in Lester Parkinson Taylor, *Samuel Rose Parkinson: Portrait of a Pioneer* (Provo, UT: Dana Press, 1977), 66.

community well, the bowery, a two-man sawpit, a corral, and, in the southwest corner, an adobe pit.

Idaho's first school was taught by Hannah Comish, who met that first year with about twenty students in her one-room home on the east side of the fort. By late spring of 1861, a combination schoolhouse-meetinghouse-amusement hall, one large room made of rough-hewn logs, was completed within the fort. Benches were log slabs, flat side up, with legs of maple and birch. The floor was dirt, and straw—spread as protection from the cold, damp earth—was replaced every Saturday so the room would be fresh and clean for Sunday. The roof was sod, far from waterproof, so any substantial rainstorm meant school was out until the storm was over. Attendance averaged around seventy pupils. Thomas Smart, Samuel Parkinson, and William Woodward were the school trustees.

By 1863, when the fort was completed, about sixty families were listed as occupying homes there.[8] Thomas Smart's house was in about the middle of the north side—one of only three homes boasting two rooms. In one of those rooms, on April 6, 1862, the seventh child of Thomas and Ann Hayter Smart took his first breath. They named him William Henry Smart for his two grandfathers, William Smart and Henry Hayter.[9]

Thomas Sharratt Smart left no written record of those early years in Franklin, but his associate in the community's leadership, Samuel Rose Parkinson (later to become his son-in-law), did. In a Franklin Founders' Day celebration in 1911, the eighty-year-old Parkinson described the conditions into which the infant William was born.

> The best houses were built of rough logs with dirt floors and dirt roofs. We had no lumber, no window glass, no store locks or hinges, no furniture of any description, except that which we made with our own crude tools. Our food consisted principally of fish and game and roots and a few of the more fortunate indulged in an occasional meal of boiled wheat. We kindled the fires by striking together two pieces of flint, and then neighbors would borrow coals of fire from each other. Matches were seldom seen. The wool from the backs of the sheep was corded, spun and woven into rough cloth for our clothes. When we were short of wool milk sheep were killed and their wool was used. Skins of wild animals were made into clothing. Our wives and daughters became experts at cording and spinning and weaving and dress-making all of our clothes. I had a family of boys and my wife was handy with the needle. We all wore buckskin trousers and shirts and beaver caps and rawhide boots. The girls wore linsey dresses made by their own hands.[10]

8. *Trail Blazer*, 16.
9. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:360–61.
10. Taylor, *Samuel Rose Parkinson*, 78.

The Bear River Massacre

By the time William Henry Smart was born, relations with the Shoshoni had turned ugly. The entire Cache Valley was "swarming with Indians,"[11] but the Franklin area was a special place for them, especially in winter. Thick brush and willows along the Bear River provided shelter from blizzards, and hot springs offered relief from the winter's chill. Bands of Shoshoni from a wide area gathered there in summer as well as winter for games, contests, handicrafts, and storytelling.

But with the impact of Mormon settlers in Cache Valley, the Shoshoni were in trouble. Jacob Forney, who had replaced Brigham Young as superintendent of Indian affairs for Utah, wrote of their "naked and starving" condition as the valley filled with settlers and the game in the mountains disappeared. The 1,500 Northwestern Shoshoni had no place to turn, he wrote, and must either "starve or steal."[12] There was no government response to his appeals for help.

Despite the scarcity that plagued any new settlement, the Mormons followed Brigham Young's not-always-practical dictum that "it is cheaper to feed Indians than to fight them." But as the Indians' situation worsened, beggary turned to extortion and thievery, then to stealing or killing livestock. Throughout Cache Valley, raids on cattle and horses forced settlers to guard their stock day and night. By June 1860, they formed a valley-wide militia called the "Minutemen," under the command of Ezra T. Benson. The leader of Cavalry Company A's 5th Ten was Thomas Smart.[13] Tensions increased, and in July 1860, a captured Shoshoni accused of horse-stealing was shot while trying to escape. In retaliation, the Indians killed Ira Merrill and John Reed; Reed, whose grave became the beginnings of the Franklin cemetery, was the father of the first child born in Franklin. Two Indians also died in the gunfight. Only the arrival of the militia the next day averted bloody reprisals.[14]

In 1862, the new superintendent of Indian affairs, James Doty, appealed again for government aid. The Indians, he reported, were "in great numbers, in a starving and destitute condition." No aid came, but he was instructed to negotiate a treaty. With winter approaching, Doty decided to make the attempt the following spring. By then it would be too late.[15]

In 1862, President Abraham Lincoln had sent seven hundred California Volunteers under Colonel Patrick E. Connor to establish Fort Douglas on

11. Arrington, *History of Idaho,* 1:265.
12. Brigham D. Madsen, "The Northwestern Shoshoni in Cache Valley," in *Cache Valley: Essays on Her Past and People,* ed. Douglas D. Alder (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976), 31–32.
13. Utah Territorial Militia Rolls, FHL: F-0485554, Cache Military District, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City.
14. Joel E. Ricks, "The First Settlements," in Ricks and Cooley, *History of a Valley,* 50.
15. Madsen, "Northwestern Shoshoni," 33.

the foothills above Salt Lake City. Their mission was to protect the overland mail and telegraph—and to keep an eye on Brigham Young and the Mormons. The assignment did not bode well for the Native Americans. On his way to Utah, Connor had already demonstrated his contempt for Indian life by killing four hostages when stolen horses were not promptly returned. His men, disgruntled that they were assigned to chase Indians around the desert instead of seeking glory in the Civil War, were spoiling for a fight. The chance soon came.

On January 5, 1863, a small party of miners coming south for supplies was attacked on the Bear River, a few miles from Franklin. One man was killed, and a judge in Salt Lake City issued a warrant for the arrest of Shoshoni chiefs Bear Hunter, Sanpitch, and Sagwitch. Colonel Connor was asked to provide a military force to "effect the arrest of the guilty Indians." Connor promptly prepared to do so, but advised that "it was not my intent to take any prisoners."[16] He reportedly commanded: "Kill everything. Nits make lice."[17]

Fearing the Shoshoni might hear of their plans and disperse, depriving them of a killing opportunity, Connor and two hundred Volunteers left Fort Douglas secretly on the night of January 21, during a heavy snowstorm. Guided by Mormon scout Porter Rockwell, they reached the Franklin area and crossed the Bear River in subzero weather in the early morning of January 29. The Shoshoni, determined to resist, were camped on Battle Creek, at its confluence with the Bear River. Fighting was fierce during the troops' frontal attack, which was repulsed with eighteen soldiers killed, four to die later of their wounds. But the troops flanked the Indian position, attacking from both sides and the rear. The Indians, virtually out of ammunition by then, realized their hopeless situation and tried to escape. The battle turned into a slaughter as the troops followed the order to take no prisoners.

Connor reported 224 Indian dead; Superintendent Doty reported 255. A Mormon observer, James J. Hill, counted 368, including almost 90 women and children.[18] Whatever the figure, the massacre was the bloodiest of the western Indian wars. To complete their work, the troops destroyed 70 tipis, captured 175 horses, seized 1,000 bushels of grain, and burned any clothing or other food they found, leaving those who managed to escape without food or shelter. Chief Bear Hunter was captured, tortured, and finally shot. Chief Sagwitch, though wounded, escaped by riding a horse across the river, was nursed back to health, and eventually was baptized a Mormon.

Franklin settlers used their teams and sleighs to recover wounded soldiers, and both soldiers and Indians with frozen feet, and took them to

16. Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 178.
17. Madsen, "Northwestern Shoshoni," 33.
18. Ibid., 34.

Franklin for treatment, later adopting some of the orphaned Indian children. For their part, Connor's troops were commended for their "heroic conduct and brilliant victory," and Connor himself was promoted to brigadier general.[19]

The Northwestern Shoshoni who were not at the massacre were, of course, enraged. Raids on Cache Valley livestock intensified for a time, and the Minutemen, including Thomas Sharratt Smart, were kept busy. Smart's son-in-law, Andrew Morrison, was pierced by an arrow, the shaft of which he carried in his body for twenty years; it finally caused his death.[20] In September 1833, a drunken Indian was shot in Franklin as he attempted to ride his horse over a white woman. The angry Shoshoni seized a hostage and demanded the surrender of the settler who fired the shot. Only the arrival of 300 Minutemen prevented further bloodshed.

In the summer of 1863, Superintendent Doty got around to negotiating the treaties he had been ordered to attempt the previous year. He managed to arrange treaties with five Shoshoni bands, including one signed by nine Northwestern Shoshoni chiefs on July 20, 1863. It provided for $2,000 worth of goods to be distributed at the time of signing and committed the Indians to peaceful relationships with the settlers, safe emigrant routes, and permission for the government to build telegraph lines, stage routes and stations, and railroads through Indian territory. For this, the government was to make a $5,000 annuity payment each year.

Characteristically, that promise of payment was never kept, and for years it fell to the settlers to feed the destitute natives. Mayor L. H. Hatch of Franklin begged the Utah Indian agent, J. J. Critchlow, to assume his responsibilities to feed the Indians instead of leaving the burden to a "poor frontier people," and Bishop Peter Maughan wrote that "the good people of the Territory are paying out hundreds of thousands to 'Poor Lo' in free-will offerings."[21]

Franklin Village Takes Shape

With the Shoshoni power largely broken by the massacre, and with the treaty backed by the threat of further military action, in the summer of 1863 the Franklin settlers were able to move out of their cramped houses in the fort and onto the city lots they had been apportioned in 1860. The village that then took shape was patterned, as were many early Mormon settlements in the Great Basin, after the "Plat of the City of Zion" worked out by Joseph Smith in the early 1830s.[22] Instead of the then-prevailing custom of

19. Arrington, *History of Idaho,* 1:268.
20. Mecham, *Family Book of Remembrance,* 577, 591. Morrison was the husband of Smart's eldest adopted daughter, Mary Ann Fleet.
21. Madsen, "Northwestern Shoshoni," 36.
22. Leonard Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-day Saints*

homesteads built on widely scattered farms, Smith proposed a settlement pattern based on Mormon concepts of unity, cooperation, and community. His "ideal" village would be one-mile square, laid off in ten-acre blocks. Each block would contain twenty half-acre lots, each with space for a garden and/or small orchard. Houses would be set back twenty-five feet from the streets, which would be wide and run north-south and east-west. Farms with their livestock, corrals, and outbuildings would be outside the village.

In the case of Franklin, the original land allotments, made within a week of the settlers' arrival, were for 1¼-acre lots in town and ten-acre farms outside. But ten acres would not support a family, and farms were soon enlarged by consolidation or purchase or, after the land was surveyed in 1872, homesteading of 160 acres under the Homestead Act of 1862. The Desert Land Act of 1877 made up to 640 acres available at $1 an acre, and dry farming soon developed.

Thomas Sharratt Smart built his home and farm just east of the original town plat on land he claimed was bought through revelation. Twice in one night, he reported, he was wakened by a voice telling him to arise and buy it. The next morning he did.[23] His bottomlands were covered with wild native grasses, which the settlers learned to thicken with timothy, clover, and alfalfa; the mixture made highly nutritious hay. On the benchlands to the east, with their better air circulation, frost generally came a month later, so wheat and barley prospered, but only after backbreaking labor.

After the large, deep-rooted sagebrush was cleared, the land was prepared with what tools they could fashion by hand. A plow was a crude piece of timber with an iron point. A harrow consisted of poles in an A-shape, with holes augured into them, and hawthorn or maple pegs driven into the holes. Wheat was sown by hand and covered by dragging brush attached to an eight-foot pole.[24] Grain was cut by scythe and bound by hand. Clay was smoothed and hardened into a threshing floor, where the grain was flailed out by hand, trod out by livestock, or rolled out by a heavy log. With straw and husks raked away, the grain was then tossed into a wind strong enough to blow away the chaff. But progress soon ended that. In 1864, Samuel Parkinson wrote in his journal: "I put in a crop and bought a half of a caterpiller threshing machine." A year later he reported that he "bought one-fourth of a new Pitts threshing machine."[25]

Life was no easier for the women. Until they married, Ann Smart had the help of five teenage daughters, but the burden was still heavy. There

1830–1900, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 10. For the location of the original "Plat of the City of Zion," see Arrington, 426n.

23. William H. Smart in Mecham, *Family Book of Remembrance,* 592.
24. James Ira Young, "The History and Development of Franklin, Idaho, During the Period 1860–1900" (masters thesis, Brigham Young University, 1949), 63.
25. Taylor, *Samuel Rose Parkinson,* 72.

was a large garden to cultivate and harvest, much of the produce of which went into the root cellar for winter use. There were chickens to tend, cows to milk, and wild berries to harvest and preserve either by drying or storing them in earthen crocks. Until a gristmill was built in 1865, women ground their wheat in hand-turned coffee grinders. Soap had to be made by leaching maple ash as a substitute for lye, and then boiling it with fat rendered from a slaughtered hog.

Keeping the family warm and clothed was a major task. Wool sheared from their own sheep had to be carded, either for batts for handmade quilts, or spun into yarn on the spinning wheel every family owned, then woven into cloth on hand looms and sewn into whatever garment was needed. Or a summertime linsey dress might be made from home-grown flax. Since the family's only sons were Thomas, nine years old when they arrived at Franklin, and William, born two years later, the older girls pitched in to help with the field work. Any idle hour was seized to knit socks or sweaters.

Farming was not Thomas Sharratt Smart's only occupation. In 1863, he built a water-powered sawmill that replaced the sawpit in the fort. Although a joke was that two men laboring in the sawpit could cut logs faster, this primitive mill produced lumber for the community's buildings until a steam-powered sawmill was built in 1872.[26] Smart's partner in the sawmill was Samuel R. Parkinson, his assistant in Franklin's initial leadership and later to become his son-in-law when he took Thomas's two daughters to wife, Charlotte as his second (1866) and Maria as his third (1868).[27]

The One-eyed Co-op

The sawmill partnership was the beginning of Parkinson's extensive business involvement with the Smart family. In the first year of Franklin's settlement,

26. Taylor, *Samuel Rose Parkinson*, 71.
27. Daniel Bachman and Ronald K. Esplin, "Plural Marriage," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1092–95. Polygamy was publicly announced as a policy of the Mormon Church in 1852, although its principles were contained in the revelation to Joseph Smith published in 1843 as section 132 of the Doctrine and Covenants. Evidence suggests that the principle was probably revealed to him in early 1831 in connection with his study of the bible.
A family story, not untypical in early Mormonism, relates that shortly before settling in Franklin in 1860, Parkinson lost a team of mules and found them by looking into a peepstone. His first and, at the time, only wife, Arabella, asked if the peepstone would show him who might be his future wife. He asked and, the story goes, immediately saw two girls arm in arm, dressed alike. Arabella saw them, too, and agreed that if they ever appeared, they could become his wives. Years later, at a meeting in Franklin honoring Brigham Young, Parkinson, as a member of the bishopric, was seated on the stand. He saw two girls enter the chapel arm in arm, dressed alike, and recognized them as the girls he had seen and also as the daughters of his good friend, Thomas Sharratt Smart. He married seventeen-year-old Charlotte a year later and sixteen-year-old Maria fourteen months after that. See Taylor, *Samuel Rose Parkinson*, 104. These were the sisters of William H. Smart, who was five years old when Maria married.

Parkinson opened a tiny general store.[28] It prospered for a decade, up until the time when Brigham Young sought to bring all such independent enterprises under the umbrella of his church-wide cooperative movement. When Brigham foresaw the completion of the intercontinental railroad, he became concerned that more and more "outside" merchants would profit from business with church members. Mormon people, he declared in September 1868, should not "trade another cent" with a man "who does not pay his tithing and help gather the poor, and pray in his family."[29]

In the October conference that year, he formalized this policy, declaring that "we sustain only ourselves and those who sustain us." Action was fast; on October 24 the constitution was adopted for Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, or ZCMI. Its preamble began: "The inhabitants of Utah, convinced of the impolicy of leaving the trade and commerce of their Territory to be conducted by strangers, have resolved, in public meeting assembled, to unite in a system of co-operation for the transaction of their own business."

But establishment of the central cooperative in Salt Lake City was only the beginning; Brigham wanted a cooperative in every Mormon community. Seventy-eight were operating within six weeks after ZCMI's opening, and by 1870 no settlement was without one.[30] Eventually there were at least 150. The Franklin Co-operative Mercantile Institution was one of the first, as Parkinson merged his general store into the new enterprise. Like all local co-ops, above the door it bore the inscription "Holiness to the Lord" over a Seeing Eye that earned it the local nickname of the One-eyed Co-op. Its two-story, rough-stone building now houses Franklin's Pioneer Relic Hall with its small museum.

Brigham was emphatic in wanting ownership in the co-ops open to all. "When you start your co-operative Store in a ward," he cautioned the bishops in a sermon on September 8, 1869, "you will find the men of capital stepping forward, and one says, 'I will put in ten thousand dollars'; another says, 'I will put in five thousand.' But I say to you, bishops, do not let these men take five thousand, or one thousand, but call on the brethren and sisters who are poor and tell them to put in their five dollars or their twenty-five, and let those who have capital stand back and give the poor the advantage of this quick trading."[31] The Franklin Co-op heeded the counsel; its stock sold for $5 a share. The co-op became not only Franklin's sole retail store, but also an outlet to market its produce. Twice a week it shipped

28. Taylor, *Samuel Rose Parkinson*, 91.
29. Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, September 19, 1868. Quoted in Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* 296.
30. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 303.
31. *Journal of Discourses* (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86) 13:35. Quoted in Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 303.

locally produced eggs and butter and, after the railroad came, dressed chickens to ZCMI stores in Salt Lake City and Ogden in exchange for goods needed by the settlers. Over time it expanded, building a steam sawmill to replace the water-powered one Parkinson and Thomas Smart had established, a gristmill, a furniture store, a butcher shop, and a blacksmith shop. In 1879, when sheep raising had become important to the local economy, it opened the North Star Woolen Mill that became the area's major employer. Parkinson's brother-in-law, Thomas Smart Jr., had become a substantial investor in the enterprise. In subsequent years William H. Smart became an investor as well.

In 1882, during the presidency of John Taylor, the LDS Church ended its formal support of the co-ops[32] and the movement gradually faded. The Franklin Co-op lasted longer than most, but in 1889 it was dissolved and merged into what became the Oneida Mercantile Union.[33] For a decade that enterprise flourished, and in 1898 built in Franklin the fifth creamery in Cache Valley's growing dairy industry. By the time Samuel Parkinson decided to sell out, at the turn of the century, the stock was held primarily by the Smart and Parkinson families and the influential former apostle Moses Thatcher. As will be seen later, William H. Smart would play the principal role in negotiating a difficult settlement of ownership issues, demonstrating qualities of reason and persuasion that would characterize his later leadership career.

Exciting Times

The Franklin of William's boyhood was, for most of its existence, a quiet town on the outskirts of Mormondom. But it had its moments of excitement, even of history-making. One was on July 5, 1876. Ten days earlier, on a grassy hill above the Little Big Horn River in southern Montana, General George Armstrong Custer and his entire command perished at the hands of Sioux warriors. Riders rushed with the news to Bozeman. Telegraph lines from there were down, probably cut by hostile Indians, so the message was copied by hand and sent via stage to Eagle Rock (Idaho Falls) and Blackfoot. Lines were down there, too, so a horseman from Fort Hall rushed the message on to Franklin. There, in the southwest corner of the Franklin ZCMI building, young Hezekiah Hatch huddled over a key of the Mormon Church's Deseret Telegraph[34] and tapped out the message that

32. John Taylor, "An Epistle to the Presidents of Stakes, High Councils, Bishops and Other Authorities of the Church," Salt Lake City, 1882, 1–4, Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter referred to as LDS Church Archives).
33. Taylor, *Samuel Rose Parkinson*, 99.
34. In 1866, after the end of the Civil War made it possible to obtain the necessary equipment, Brigham Young pursued his goal of connecting all Mormon settlements by telegraph. It was a cooperative venture. Each settlement, with tithing contributions and labor, was to build, equip, and staff the part of the line running through its area. Each

gave the War Department and the world their first knowledge of the disaster. It took five and a half hours to send. At the end, Hatch tapped "That's all," to which the receiving operator in Salt Lake City tapped "Thank God!"[35] The next day newspapers from coast to coast carried the story.

That event was only part of the excitement during Franklin's most tumultuous period, when, for nearly four years, it was an end-of-the-line railroad town with both the economic boom and social upheaval such towns experienced. Again, Mormon leaders were deeply involved in events that brought the railroad to and eventually through Franklin. Early on, Brigham Young recognized the importance of the transcontinental railroad that was then under construction, both as a source of employment for the Saints and as a conduit to and from eastern and, later, West Coast markets. He contracted with the Union Pacific Railroad to build the line down Echo Canyon, through Ogden, and on to Promontory Summit. Some 5,000 Mormons, recruited by their bishops, worked on this contract.

At about the same time, under Brigham's direction, three Mormon partners, Ezra Taft Benson of Cache Valley and Lorin Farr and Chauncey West of Weber County, contracted with the Central Pacific to grade two hundred miles of its line west of Ogden. A thousand Mormons from Cache and Weber valleys found employment there. Wages were good—$3 to $6 a day for a man, $10 a day for a man and team. Farmers prospered as well, selling their produce in the work camps for inflated prices.

For the investors and the church itself, though, realities were harsher. Once the rails were joined at Promontory Summit in 1869, the best the church could get for the last $1,250,000 of its contract with the Union Pacific was some $600,000, not in much-needed cash but in surplus iron and rolling stock. The Central Pacific defaulted even more disastrously. Lorenzo Hatch, who, as the bishop in Franklin, subcontracted for part of the line, had to use his $2,000 wheat crop to pay the Franklin workers. His son, Hezekiah Hatch, wrote: "The name of Leland Stanford never sounds

was to nominate one or two young people, usually women, to be called as missionaries to attend a church school of telegraphy in Salt Lake City, with food and clothing donated by their local wards. Their pay as operators was to be covered by voluntary donations collected by ward teachers. By February 1867 the line, built at a cost of $160 a mile, was in operation from Logan to St. George. Within a few years it reached from southern Idaho to the settlements on the Little Colorado in Arizona, with branch lines to Sanpete Valley and mining towns in Utah and Nevada—some 1,200 miles of wire and sixty-eight stations. Transmission costs were nominal, except for messages to and from mining towns. Sermons, announcements, and other items of church business were carried without charge. The entire operation was under church control and subsidized from tithing funds, until it was sold to eastern interests in 1900. See Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 228–31.

35. Article by Zelma Woodward in the *Preston Citizen*, Bicentennial Edition, June 24, 1976, 8–9.

good to me. He and his associates lived in affluence and died worth millions, while my father found himself ruined."[36]

For two of the three major contractors, Apostle Ezra Taft Benson and Chauncey West, the disaster was worse—and final. Benson, also financially ruined and stressed by his inability to collect the money due him, died suddenly at age fifty-eight on September 3, 1869, three months after the golden spike was driven.[37] West, his health broken by exposure and immense labor in the frantic final months of the great race between the two railroads, went to San Francisco to try for a settlement so he could meet his obligations. He failed, and died there on January 9, 1870, at age forty-three, leaving thirty-six children.[38]

Despite these frustrations, the Mormons were quick to jump at the next opportunity to build a railroad. That came with the plan for a narrow-gauge railroad from Ogden through Cache Valley and on north to the mining camps in Montana. The Cache Valley men knew the territory; ever since the mines opened in 1862, many of them had freighted north, making good profits by the sale of Cache Valley farm produce to the miners. With Brigham's encouragement, his son John W. Young formed the Utah Northern Railroad Company and contracted with eastern investors to furnish the rails and rolling stock.

Labor was to be done by Mormon men recruited by local bishops. Their pay would be vouchers redeemable for stock in the railroad at twice their face value. Seventeen Mormon leaders, all but one from Cache Valley, became directors of the new company. One of them was the once-burned but still optimistic Bishop Lorenzo Hatch of Franklin.

The plan worked. By 1884, the company and its successor had pushed the rails, laid a scant three feet apart, 466 miles from Ogden to a connection with the Northern Pacific at Garrison, Montana. It was the longest narrow-gauge railroad in the world and one of the most profitable western railroads.[39] It gave enormous stimulus to the economy of Cache Valley.

But for the Mormon investors and the workers who hacked out the grade, built the bridges, cut the ties, and spiked down the rails, the outcome was not so great. Hatch and the other investors got ten cents on the dollar for their stock. Instead of redeeming their vouchers for twice their value in stock, the workers were unable to redeem them for any price. Eventually, the LDS Church accepted them as tithing and thus became a major stockholder in the company, until it traded off its interests after the death of Brigham Young.

36. Leonard Arrington, "Railroad Building and Cooperatives, 1869–79," in Ricks and Cooley, *History of a Valley,* 174.
37. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia,* 1:102.
38. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia,* 1:753.
39. Arrington, "Railroad Building," in Ricks and Cooley, *History of a Valley,*183.

For Franklin, the impact of the railroad was, for a short time, enormous. The rails reached the town on May 2, 1874, to a big, planned celebration that was considerably dampened when the tiny train bringing Brigham Young and others jumped the track and never arrived. The rails moved no farther until the fall of 1877. The Panic of 1873 dried up eastern capital and the promoters ran out of money. Also, time was lost when the route being graded to Soda Springs was found to be impractical and abandoned. Franklin was the northern terminus for four shipping seasons, and the character of the town changed dramatically.

Warehouses sprang up overnight as freighting companies established their terminals in Franklin, some moving there from the non-Mormon town of Corinne. An estimated three or four thousand tons of freight a year were off-loaded from railroad cars and onto three-wagon trains pulled by nine yoke of oxen or ten mules. Some six hundred freighters operated out of Franklin, with an average of eighty wagons on the road night and day. The largest, Diamond R Fast Freight and Express, operated with one hundred wagons and six hundred mules, promising seven-day delivery to Butte, Helena, Virginia City, and other Montana towns.[40]

As in other terminal towns, hotels, boarding houses, and saloons sprang up. Striving to retain its Mormon character, Franklin outlawed liquor, but it tolerated two wholesale liquor firms and a beer brewery. There was, of course, no prohibition in Montana; one freighter reported hauling sixty barrels of whiskey north on one trip.

Until construction of the line resumed and the rails moved on north, Franklin, one writer reported, had "everything except a red light district."[41] When the rails moved on, the town slipped back into its quiet existence, although later there was a murder, of railroad agent Joel Hinckley,[42] and subsequently a hanging, of one Michael Mooney.

Shaping the Man

All this excitement was witnessed by young William during the most impressionable years of his early teens. Oddly, for one who would leave some of the most voluminous and detailed journals in Utah and Mormon history, he left no record of these or other events during that time. In fact, Smart left virtually no contemporary record of his growing-up years in Franklin, no mention of his schooling, his activities, or his service as a young Aaronic Priesthood-holder in the LDS Church, no hint of any employment outside the family farm or of what he did in his leisure time. Was he a hunter, a fisherman, a member of the town baseball team? There is no clue. The less-than-robust health reflected throughout his journals as an adult suggests

40. Ibid., 183–85.
41. Article by Newell Hart in the *Preston Citizen*, Bicentennial Edition, June 24, 1976, 6–7.
42. *Deseret News*, October 28, 1891, 3.

that physical activities may not have been a big part of his youth. The same highly literate journals imply that omnivorous reading, including the classics—and certainly the scriptures—was.

Biographical essays written about his father and mother much later give William's only two known accounts of specific events in his boyhood years in Franklin. The first tells much about the hardships and, perhaps more importantly, the faith in which the boy was raised. Grasshoppers and crickets were a recurring plague in Cache Valley. As early as 1860, settlers reported losing much of their grain to grasshoppers. 1862 was another bad year, and from 1865–72 the insects repeatedly destroyed crops. The summer of 1869 was perhaps the worst of all, with less than half the crops throughout the valley surviving.[43] It was probably of that year, when William was seven years old, that he wrote later in life.

> Once when I was a very small boy, during a season of grasshopper war at Franklin, father and I were going up and down the garden shooing grasshoppers off the potatoes with rags that were tied on sticks. Missing father I looked down the hill behind our lot and there discovered him on his knees beneath a clump of bushes praying. The scene was hallowed to me and I at once quietly and unnoticed returned to my work. Soon father returned and said, "Willie, it is fast meeting time.[44] We will go to meeting." I answered that the hoppers would eat the "taters." But he said, "Never mind, son, we will leave them in the hands of the Lord." We went to the meeting and the spirit in prayer and speech was supplicating the Lord to remove the hoppers, that some remaining crops might be saved. As we returned home the sky was full of hoppers on the wing south, and upon arriving, found but 100 few hoppers on our lot. I am confident that father's secret prayer was foreshadowing the prayers of the meeting and the Lord answered them.[45]

The second event ended more tragically. William ended his brief biographical essay of his mother with this poignant account: "During a storm she was instantly killed in her farm home by a shaft of lightning, I [age 14] at her side, June 22, 1876, [She] was buried in the home farm private cemetery."[46]

43. Leonard Arrington, "Life and Labor Among the Pioneers," in Ricks and Cooley, *History of a Valley*, 151.

44. Until 1896, Sabbath services in the LDS Church consisted of Sunday school in the morning and Sacrament Meeting in the afternoon or early evening. The Priesthood Meeting was held weekly on Monday evenings, and the Fast and Testimony Meeting on the first Thursday of each month. In 1896, fast day was changed to the first Sunday to make attendance more convenient and less disruptive to members in their employment, and in the 1930s the Priesthood Meeting was changed to Sunday mornings. William B. Smart, "Sabbath Day," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1242.

45. W. H. Smart in Mecham, *Family Book of Remembrance*, 592. A fuller version of this event is found in a three-page letter from Smart to church historian Joseph Fielding Smith, "In response to your request for faith-promoting incidents and testimonies in a recent number of the *Deseret News*," September 14, 1934, Access #276, William H. Smart Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

46. W. H. Smart in Mecham, *Family Book of Remembrance*, 594.

Local tradition is that as the sky darkened with the approaching storm, Ann moved her sewing machine and ironing board to the front entrance for better light. When the lightning bolt hit, she dropped the hot iron onto her nearby family bible. The leather binding of the bible, now housed in Franklin's Relic Hall, clearly bears the scorched imprint of the iron.[47]

Except for its brief period of excitement, Franklin, the town of William H. Smart's childhood and youth, was not particularly different from other Mormon towns that dotted so much of the Intermountain West. What was it in those early years that shaped the man he became: a man driven by a sense of mission that virtually consumed him, and compelled to record that lifetime mission in such intimate and copious detail? The answers to such questions are usually best found in the school and at home. In Smart's case, some influences seem evident.

The account he wrote of his parents for a family history,[48] no doubt softened by time and colored by a son's love and respect, emphasizes certain qualities clearly reflected in Smart's life. He portrayed his father as a goal-oriented, hard-working, entrepreneurial man, who never profaned, used slang, or told immoral stories, upheld the rights of the weak and downtrodden, and was honest to the core. William H. Smart became all of that, although on a vastly different stage.

"Father," he wrote, "was very just and had mercy, desiring for himself and all others a square deal. He often took me with him when he settled accounts with men who owed him. In figuring the accounts he wanted it exact to the last cent, but if the party was poor, or had met with reverses, he would invariably have me discount the amount due." The son's life reflected the same qualities, although the way his wealth would be dissipated through bad investments in people indicates that mercy occasionally outweighed good judgment.

"One severe winter toward spring," he recalled, "there was but little hay left in the neighborhood. Father, having a surplus, which was usually the case through his wise husbandry, was sought by men of means who had many stock, and was offered large prices for his entire surplus. He answered them that his hay would be sold in small quantities to the people, and would

47. The large bible, 9 × 12 inches, contains this inscription: "Ann Smart, wife of Thomas Smart, who was born at Kingston-Cross, Porsea, Portsmouth, Hampshire, England, September 22nd, 1822, was baptized at Whealbush, St. Louis Co, Missouri, by Samuel Abray June 11th 1851, came to Utah in 1852, arrived in S L City, Utah Sept. 4, same year. Lived at American Fork more than three years—then removed to Provo, Utah C., Utah, and in 1860 removed to Franklin now in the Territory of Idaho. The maiden name of Ann Smart was Ann Hater the daughter of Henry & Kezia Hater, of Hampshire England. She was killed by lightning at about 28 minutes to five oclock P.M. June 21, 1876, and was buried on the 23rd of the same month in a mound on the farm of her husband in the city of Franklin, Idaho." Note that there is a one day discrepancy between the bible record and William Smart's biographical essay.

48. W. H. Smart in Mecham, *Family Book of Remembrance,* 590–94.

be made to go as far as possible in assisting the people; especially the poor who had but a cow or so, or a farmer who needed to save his team to put in his crop. . . . [He)]would take only $10 or $20 per ton for it when he could have gotten $40 or $50." Years later that experience would be exactly duplicated by the son in the Uintah Basin.

Of his mother, William wrote that she was "spiritual-minded in a fair degree" and "in general she was true and loyal to the church," but that "her mind as well as her heart had to be converted," that "unless it would bear reasoning it was not easy for her to accept." William's life showed no such reservations; his whole-soul dedication to the church came from other sources. But, he added, "she was a constant worker in Relief Society, and was outstanding in charity and in care of the sick and needy in all directions, her liberality being proverbial." The son's life reflected this trait, as well as the fact that, as he stated, "her business integrity and honesty were unquestionable."

"She was," he wrote, "heart and soul with the teachings of the church against promiscuous interchange of dances at that period, and against card playing, gambling, and Sabbath breaking in amusements. If her children deflected therefrom, it was wholly without her wish and consent, and I cannot recall ever seeing a deck of cards in our home." As his own children and grandchildren were to learn, the son inherited that trait of strictness. Finally, he noted, his mother "respected and was ever loyal to father as the head and Patriarch of the family and made him the real center and pivot around whom she and her children revolved. . . . Indeed she sought to make his word law among us." In his own family life, William H. Smart expected, and received, no less.

Another witness to the kinds of home influence that shaped Smart's life was his nephew, Lorenzo Smart, who in 1978, at age eighty-nine, wrote a short memoir of his grandfather, Thomas Sharratt Smart, William's father.[49] Lorenzo wrote of a time he was out checking to see that all the barn doors were closed. "I noticed that one of the doors was open, so I walked over I was cussin' (I was a great hand to always be profaining, I don't know why, but maybe it was the class of people I was associating with around the ranch) but I walked over and there stood Father and Grandfather in the door. Well, that night when we got home and went to bed, Grandfather came over to see me (he slept in the same room as I did) and he knelt down and said: 'Lorenzo, it's time you and I had a prayer.' So I got up and Grandfather gave me a good long prayer, and then he give me a good long lecture—told me what profaining meant and everything else. Grandfather Smart was extremely religious." To those who knew William H. Smart in his later

49. Lorenzo Smart, "Remembrances of Grandfather Thomas Sharratt Smart," 1-page typescript, given out at a Smart family reunion, August 19, 1978, Salt Lake City, copy in possession of Robert Foss Hansen.

ministry as church leader in Heber Valley and the Uintah Basin, and to his older grandchildren, that incident, especially the length of the prayer and lecture, exactly illustrates the aphorism "like father like son."

"I remember," Lorenzo wrote, "that every night while Grandfather lived with us in Logan, there wasn't a night passed but what we had family prayers. That was Grandfather's mainstay. He insisted that all the family (all my brothers and sisters that was home) had to be in a circle for the prayer. . . . We couldn't be scattered around or in a square. It had to be a circle prayer with Grandfather Smart." What young William was taught in the home about the importance of formality as well as consistency of prayer stayed with him throughout his life. A granddaughter wrote of him: "One of the things that I remember very clearly, as I think of the few years when we lived in Grandpa and Grama's home in Roosevelt, is Grandpa's complete dedication to prayer. He never made a decision, or moved into any action, without making it a matter of prayer. I remember well how important family prayer was to him and, consequently, to Grandma as well. Grandpa's prayers were very profound, and they were very, very long, as were his blessings on the food at mealtimes."[50]

School Days

As for his schooling, we know that young William attended Franklin Elementary School until about age thirteen. No school was available in Franklin beyond the eighth grade; not until 1888 was the Oneida Academy for high-school-age students established there in two rooms on the ground floor of the local dance hall, before moving two years later to Preston. But Logan, twenty miles to the south, had established a high school in 1872. By 1876, the year young Smart would have reached high school age, the school occupied the upper floor and four rooms on the ground floor of the city hall. Tuition was $5 a quarter. Education was far from universal in those days; a Logan school census in 1875 showed that fewer than half the children aged six to sixteen were attending school.[51]

In 1873, the Logan School District appropriated $200 to establish a "normal school" to train teachers. A dispatch to the *Deseret News* described it: "Noticeable among our schools is what is termed the high school taught by Miss Ida I. Cook . . . at which the more advanced pupils of the various settlements may attend and become, if they wish it, prepared for the business of teaching ."[52] But Brigham Young had a much larger vision. As recorded by

50. Margaret Smart Eyring, letter, February 5, 2003, in possession of the author.
51. Duncan Brite, "The Public Schools," in Ricks and Cooley, *History of a Valley*, 337.
52. Ibid., 324. Miss Cook was clearly the area's outstanding teacher. At a time when teachers' salaries were as low as $25 a month, her contract read: "Ninety dollars per month if the school makes it . . . if in the event the school makes $100 per month or over, she is to receive one hundred dollars per month"—notwithstanding that the maximum teacher's salary was $90 a month as late as 1912. In 1893 she was given the combined office of

I. C. Thorsen, in 1874 he proposed building a different kind of school on the fertile lands then known as the "Church Farm."

> On and by the use of this tract of land we will establish a free educational institution to accommodate from 400 to 1000 young people where they can spend all their time for a period of from four to six years in acquiring a liberal and scientific education as complete as can be found in any part of the world.
>
> But besides that, every young man must learn a trade, such as blacksmithing, carpentry, wheelwright, masonry, etc., and also scientific farming and stock raising. Every young woman must learn to spin, weave, cut, sew, dairying, poultry raising, flower gardening, etc. About one-third of the time of each student should be given to the institution in actual work on the farm, in dairying or shops for its maintenance.

That much of the plan seemed to be patterned after Oberlin College, near Kirtland, Ohio, with which Brigham must have been familiar. But he added principles to which Mormon colleges have tried to adhere ever since.

> The Gospel, true theology, must be taught and practiced by all, both students and teachers. Any young men or women of good character should be admitted, whether members of the Church or not, but while there must live the lives of good Latter-day Saints. They must keep the Word of Wisdom, no intoxicating liquor or tobacco will be kept, sold or used in the institution.[53]

Young's vision proved too ambitious for the Cache Valley settlements. Not until the fall of 1878 was what became Brigham Young College finally established, and then it was housed in the same city hall space where Ida Cook had operated her high school. Miss Cook became the college's first principal. William H. Smart, at age sixteen, described as "not very strong physically, but very studious,"[54] was one of the seventy-eight students in that first class. The college continued to meet in the city hall until expanding enrollment forced a move in 1882. Then it met in the basement of the Logan LDS Tabernacle until moving, in 1884, to its first real campus, where Logan High School now stands.

Smart at this time had not yet begun his practice of journal-keeping. His only surviving writing from this period is a small, board-bound copy book, typical of those kept by many young scholars at the time. His is 7½ × 6

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principal and superintendent of Logan city schools at a salary of $1,500 a year, the highest salary ever offered a Logan teacher up to that time. She was a tough administrator, importing some competent woman teachers from Chicago and firing anyone she found incompetent. School problems haven't changed so much from those days; she fired a male teacher who had been hugging and kissing young girls as well as a female teacher. Another teacher was sacked because he frequented saloons.

53. Brite, "The Public Schools," in Ricks and Cooley, *History of a Valley*, 349–50.
54. Mecham , *Family Book of Remembrance*, 606.

inches, 140 pages, every one of them filled with his precise, somewhat florid handwriting, recording the results of his studies during those first years of higher education. The first entry reflects his passage from boyhood to manhood, as well as character traits that shaped his lifelong career.

> Logan Feb 25th 1879
> Boys Trials
>
> By request of my teacher, Miss Idaho [*sic*] Cook I have made an effort to write somthing of boys trials, being a boy, I should be able to write Somthing. I think the greatest trial for me is writing essays or compositions, or on any subject. But we Should all try, & the more we try the Smaller the trial will get.[55] Some may term it a trial to work, but I am always happier & healthier when I am at work. I feel that it is a trial to be Shut up in a School room Such nice weather, but it is preparing us for trials in after life. It is a great trial for me to leave my friends & come to Logan this winter to School, but expecting to receive knowledge I try to be contented.
>
> W. H. Smart

Subsequent entries are mostly dated 1879–84, but with two as late as 1886. For one so young, they are erudite and literate, with a stolid thoroughness bordering on verbosity—qualities that would characterize his writing throughout his life. The content is eclectic. There are short nature essays, poems, excerpts of sermons and essays, mathematical story problems, geometry diagrams, instructions on elocution and grammar, discussions on the nature of lightning, thunder, light, and electricity, an essay on the geography and history of South America, and a discussion of the way legislation is passed through Congress.

Thirty pages contain what can best be called a capsule history of the ancient world. In a statement that illustrates the juxtaposition of religious and secular knowledge in his young mind, he begins the essay by declaring that "we derive our knowledge of history from two sources; ancient History, or the Bible & other inspired works, and Profane History, or the record of events & kept by individuals." Then follows a summary of the book of Genesis covering the Creation, the Garden of Eden and the Fall, Cain's murder of Abel, Noah and the flood, the Tower of Babel and the Diaspora. Next comes the history and cultures of ancient civilizations—China, India, Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, Phoenicia, Israel, and Persia. His writing exhibits

55. William H. Smart, student and teacher copybook, 1879–84, holograph, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. The statement suggests the oft-delivered dictum of LDS Church President Heber J. Grant: "That which we persist in doing becomes easier to do; not that the nature of the thing is changed but that our ability to do it is increased." Grant was only twenty-three years old at this time; two years later he would be ordained an apostle, with a church-wide audience.

no discernible difference in his regard for the historical reliability of the Old Testament and that of secular history.

But the parts that most reveal the evolving character of his emerging manhood are contained in the homilies interspersed throughout the pages of the copy book. For example:

> There are many echoes in the world, & but few voices.
> The mill will never grind with the water which has passed.
> Riches upon the human mind are like drouth upon a field of wheat.
> If we wish to be happy we must learn to make our own sunshine.

Or consider this foreboding but challenging message that seems to reflect Smart's attitude toward life, perhaps not in his youth, but certainly later:

> Life is a leaf of paper white
> Whereon each one of us may write
> His word or two, and then comes night.
> Though thou have time but for a line,
> Be that sublime;
> Not failure but low aim is crime.

But there's more to school than study and the expression of noble thoughts. Like most young students, Smart found time for things of the heart, and discovered that such things can be painful. Under the heading "Sung by Caddie When I Stopped My Heart" (there's no hint as to who Caddie was), Smart penned:

> Thou has wounded the spirit that loved thee
> And cherished thine image for years.
> Thou has taught me at last to forget thee
> In secret, in silence, in tears.
> Like a young bird when left by its mother,
> Its earliest pinions to try,
> Round the nest will still lingering hover
> Ere its trembling wings can fly,
> Thus we're taught in this cold world to smother
> Each feeling that once was so dear,
> Like that young bird I'll seek to discover
> A home of affection elsewhere.
> Though this heart may still cling to thee fondly,
> And dream of sweet memories past,
> Yet hope like the rainbow of summer
> Gives a promise of relief [?] at last.

Smart's progress at the college was impressive; in just two years, at the opening of the 1880–81 school year, he was added to the faculty, at the tender age of eighteen. As one history reports, "upon the opening of the school year 1880–81, two new teachers were listed in the Circular. Horace

H. Cummings replaced William Apperley, and William H. Smart began his term of service which was one of loyalty and devotion."[56]

The experience must have cemented his resolve to be a teacher, for the following year he registered in the Normal Department of the University of Deseret (later to become the University of Utah). Tuition was $12 a quarter, considered an exorbitant price but necessary because the institution received no government funding. The young scholar coped by working for his board and room, and by peddling butter and eggs to pay for tuition, books, and other expenses. He completed four ten-week quarters, and in the spring of 1882 was among six males and ten females awarded a one-year teaching certificate.[57]

In August 1882, he registered for a second year, intending to earn a two-year certificate, but never graduated. School records show he withdrew on April 3, 1883, just weeks before completion of the course, and never returned. The reason may never be known, but it may be that this was the beginning of the instability and confusion of purpose that would characterize his next few years.

56. Brite, "Public Schools," in Ricks and Cooley, *History of a Valley*, 351. Trustees of the college at this time were Brigham Young Jr., William B. Preston, Milton D. Hammond, Moses Thatcher, C. O. Card, and G. W. Thatcher.

57. List of graduates of the Normal Department, *Annual of the University of Deseret 1884–85*, 42, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

Two

Years of Trial and Torment

The early years of adulthood, with decisions to be made about career, marriage, and lifestyle, can be stressful. For young William H. Smart, they were more than that; they were often full of torment. Like many young men, he agonized over the choice of a wife, but he went further; he fasted and prayed over whether to take a second wife in the polygamy commonly practiced among Mormons at the time. For a man who accomplished so much, who was so focused, goal-oriented, decisive, and self-assured in later life, he was, during this period, surprisingly ambivalent, irresolute, self-indicting, and unable to follow through with plans. Deeply spiritual, and raised in a Mormon culture that eschewed the use of liquor and tobacco, he was wracked with guilt over his inability to stop smoking and drinking. He suffered ill health, chiefly with gastroenteritis problems that would plague him throughout his life. Worse, he frequently lapsed into despondence that—during at least one period—incapacitated him in what looks like clinical depression.

Initially, he seems to have been firmly focused on a teaching career. Armed with a one-year teaching certificate from University of Deseret in Salt Lake City, but having left school a month before finishing a two-year course, he apparently returned in the fall of 1883 to his faculty position at Brigham Young College in Logan. That is not certain, since he had not yet begun keeping his journal, and the college's collection of yearbooks begins with the 1884–85 edition. But the copy book he kept during his student and teaching years has several entries from that 1883–84 year, all datelined Logan. Included are these bits of philosophy:

> Jan. 26, 84
> The drying up a single
> tear has more of honest fame

than shedding seas of gore.
May 23, 84
Virtue is nature's beauteous crown.
June 7, 84
Sweet mercy is nobility's true badge.
Shakespeare

Classes that year were held in the basement of the Logan Tabernacle. In the fall of 1884, the college moved into its new home at 162 West 100 South. There it would remain until 1926, when, along with all other such Mormon schools, the college was closed. Its 15,000-volume library was donated to Utah State Agricultural College,[1] and its building, substantially altered, is now occupied by Logan High School. What Smart taught that first year is not known, but the next two academic years, 1884–85 and 1885–86, he is listed as a teacher of natural philosophy and elocution.[2]

In his final address at Brigham Young College's closing in 1926, President George Thomas described what the college was like when he entered there as a student in 1885, when Smart was beginning his third year in the classroom.

> A very large percentage of the students found it necessary to work at home after school, taking care of livestock, and those who came from the settlements generally found it necessary to go home on Friday night to help with the farm labor. The men and women were older and more mature than they are now. Few of them came before they were eighteen years of age; a great many of them were along in the twenties. This was in spite of the fact that the work was grade or high school. . . . The funds allowed students were, with rare exceptions, very limited. The young man or woman who had $5 or $10 for spending money during the winter was very fortunate. I personally knew a young lady who paid her board and rent for an entire year for $40. The first year I attended the B.Y. College I paid $1.75 a week for my board, on condition that I go home on Friday nights. There were plenty of students who secured their board and room for $9 or $10 a month.[3]

The First Mission: A Search for Family

In the April 1894 general conference, church president Wilford Woodruff announced a revelation that Mormons should "trace their genealogies as far as they can, and be sealed to their fathers and mothers. Have the children sealed to their parents and run this chain through as far as you can. . . . This is the will of the Lord to his people."[4] Actually, many church members were

1. Joel E. Ricks, "Fifty Years of Utah State Agricultural College, 1888–1938," in Ricks and Cooley, *History of a Valley*, 387. Utah State Agricultural College was established in 1888.
2. Circulars of Brigham Young College, 1884–85 and 1885–86, in *Catalogues of the Brigham Young College 1884–1900*, Special Collections, Utah State University Library.
3. A. N. Sorensen, "Brigham Young College," in Ricks and Cooley, *History of a Valley*, 353.
4. James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 3:256–57.

already doing so. From 1885 to 1900, many served genealogical missions to search out their ancestors, being set apart by a general authority (one of the presiding leaders of the church) and issued a missionary card that entitled them to clergy rates on the railroads.[5] William Smart became one of these.

After his third year of teaching ended, Smart, now twenty-four, embarked with his father on what he called a three-month "genealogical mission" to England, meeting his father's extended family, searching out records of his father's and mother's deceased ancestors, and doing a good deal of sightseeing. It was a notable trip on two counts. Most importantly, on its first day, he began his practice of daily journal-keeping that would eventually fill fifty volumes of journals during the remaining fifty-two years of his life. It was also William's first venture outside his insular Cache Valley Mormon culture, and gave him his first exposure to an outside world that left him appalled but also curious, particularly about the practice of prostitution. He would return full of the sights and sounds and history of England, with a resolve to do what he could to strengthen the youth of Zion against sin, and with the names of some 240 ancestors and other kin for whom he and other family members would later perform rites in the Logan and Salt Lake City temples.[6]

The two men left Logan on July 17, 1886. On that very day, William wrote the first of what would become many expressions of outrage about the wicked ways of the world. Walking around Salt Lake City, he observed that "it would be a capital place for someone to take pity on some such localities as Commerce Street and burn the old dirty lumber buildings down, drive out the [prostitutes] or make them clean up (all possibility). . . . Salt

5. James B. Allen, Jessie L. Embry, and Kahlile B. Mehr, *Hearts Turned to the Fathers; A History of the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1894–1994*, BYU Studies Monographs (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1995), 39–41.

6. The temple endowment, believed by Mormons to be essential to salvation in the hereafter, was foreseen in a revelation through Joseph Smith Jr. in 1833: "I gave unto you a commandment that you should build a house, in the which house I design to endow those whom I have chosen with power from on high" (Doctrine and Covenants 95:8). The first endowments were performed in 1842, in the assembly room above Joseph Smith's red brick store in Nauvoo, and continued in the not-completed Nauvoo Temple until the Mormons were driven from that city in 1846. Performing these ordinances remains the primary function of Mormon temples today.
The Mormon emphasis on searching out ancestors also began early. In a sermon at the funeral for a member named King Follette on April 4, 1844, Joseph Smith declared, "the greatest responsibility in this world that God has laid upon us is to seek after our dead." Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 356. At Nauvoo, baptisms for the dead were performed in the Mississippi River and endowments for the dead in the Nauvoo Temple, but only for deceased members of the church. Not until 1894 did President Wilford Woodruff announce that "the Lord has told me that it is right for children to be sealed to their parents, and they to their parents just as far back as we can possibly obtain the records." See Thomas G Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 321. Although Smart gathered the names of his ancestors in 1886, it was not until after President Woodruff's pronouncement that he did the temple work for them.

Lake City, the Capital of Zion, the centre of wealth, learning, and influence of our Territory, is becoming hurriedly as Babylon and surely must be a place where fathers and mothers regret that their children are nurtured by its influence. That while it is becoming beautiful and praiseworthy in many respects, its abomination is becoming also great."[7]

The "Commerce Street" that gave young Smart such offense was actually Commercial Street—later Regent Street—barely a block from church headquarters. Prostitution, legalized in the U.S. for much of that period, was concentrated there from the early 1870s until the late 1930s. Some, at least, of the "old dirty lumber buildings" were owned by respected citizens, including the chief of police. They were replaced in the 1890s and early 1900s by more substantial buildings with legitimate businesses on the ground floor, while ladies of the night still waved from and invited prospective customers to the upper floor.[8]

En route east, Smart's education—and disillusionment—continued. Delayed in Pueblo, Colorado, by a washout on the Denver & Rio Grande tracks ahead, he

> went to the Central Theatre, one of ill repute, for the purpose of increasing my knowledge of the human family. . . . a lady personation both in voice and actions was exceedingly vulgar. While the entertainment was in progress, beer was sold through the audience by three women who indulged in drinking, smoking and profanning with the men. One song was sung in which was "America should drive the Chinese and Mormons out"—this being greatly applauded. I went home before it closed being heartsick in seeing the low ebb of morality.[9]

Weeks later, in London, he continued his sociological research, talking "with two nice looking girls" on the side walk to learn how they had fallen to their present state of prostitution. The first explained that "a woman drugged her and gave her up to the mercy of a gentleman (so called). When she recovered she saw she was robbed of her chastity" and so turned to the streets. With all the wisdom of his twenty-four years, Smart "advised her to discontinue her present life, to go where she was unknown and build a new character." The second girl told a similar story about losing her virtue while drunk.

> She asked me to go home with her. . . . I told her I had never lain with a woman and did not intend to until I had married . . . that if she was willing I would be pleased to have a talk with her but I would not go home with

7. William H. Smart, Journals, 1886–1937, July 17, 1886, original holograph, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. Photocopy, Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
8. See John S. McCormick, *Salt Lake City: The Gathering Place* (Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor, 1980), 49–50. Also see McCormick, *The Historic Buildings of Downtown Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1982), 31–33.
9. Smart, *Journals*, July 23, 1886.

> her. She thought this very strange and said she never met anyone like me before. Said she would like to be the wife of such a man. . . . She continually pressed me but I resisted the temptation and gave her 18d for taking up her time. Also gave the other 6d. . . . With this experience, later I retired to my bed feeling truly sorry to see the amount of prostitution and to learn that so much of it is caused by what we call "Gentlemen"—"Lords of Creation."[10]

There would be more comments in his England journal about the fallen state of the human condition, as well as many descriptions of London's historic sites and the events that occurred there. But the purpose of the trip was to visit the places of his father's childhood and young manhood, to revisit brothers and sisters Thomas Sharratt Smart had not seen since he left home forty-six years earlier, and to search out records of his ancestors. The visiting went well, but the modest efforts to interest their relatives in Mormonism were met with indifference.

The genealogical search was more successful. From parish records and ancient tombstones, William copied 243 ancestral names. In villages surrounding Portsmouth in southern England—Portchester, Portsea Island, Wymering, Fareham—he found the names of eighty-one of his mother's Hayter ancestors, dating back to the seventeenth century. In his artless immaturity, he recorded in his journal what seems today to be an unthinkable transgression: "The records are of parchment of older times and written very curiously. I found some yesterday in the 16th hundred where latin terms were used such as filia and sepult. I cut from one of these old books—Fareham—a leaf of parchment. Also a strip from a book at Wymering."[11] The search for his father's Sharratt and Smart ancestors took him to villages north of Birmingham—Stonnall, Shenstone, Lichfield. There he recorded 162 names,[12] all meticulously noted in his journal. On October 5, father and son left for home.

By October 18, William was back in the classroom in Logan. Feeling "very much annoyed at the lack of order in the school," he lost no time in drawing up a set of rules that, he wrote, "embraced all the principles of proper order and morality, created study hours from 6:30 to 9:30, with strict discipline, made punctuality at prayers obligatory."[13] Three days later he "complemented them on the improvement of their conduct."

But he was concerned about the students' sexual morality. At a meeting of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association of the college, he was called on to speak. He did more than that.

> I stated what a growing interest I felt in the youth regarding sexual sins since my visit to England; gave an idea of the enormity of the crime in England,

10. Ibid., August 17, 1886.
11. Ibid., August 29, 1886.
12. Ibid., September 3–14, 1886.
13. Ibid., October 29, 1886.

> and of its being too much practiced among the youth of Zion, and what it would result in did they not refrain. Spoke of vulgar stories, lustful thoughts when looking upon a pure daughter of Eve etc. Requested students to place a dot on a small slip of paper if they had practiced self abuse, and leave it clean if they had not. On counting, I found that out of 82 papers 51 were spotted. My reason for this was that I had thought very seriously of preparing remarks on the subject to deliver to the students—then if the authorities deemed it prudent to carry this mission to the various Wards under the auspices of the YMMIA and I thought by this means I could ascertain about how many of the youth of Zion indulge in this vile practice. . . . I came to the conclusion that at least 75% of the males are guilty![14]

A psychologist might wonder how his judgmental preoccupation with this subject was related to his own inability to curb his indulgence in tobacco. At any rate, apparently the authorities did not deem it prudent, since during the next two years his journals report no more lectures on sexual matters.

The Search for a Wife

At age twenty-four, he was increasingly anxious about marriage. He had been seeing Lillie Martineau, but his thoughts were unsettled concerning her. Characteristically, he resorted to a common Mormon practice—fasting and prayer for guidance, this time a four-day fast that included Thanksgiving Day. His journal of November 24, 1886, reports: "Ate nothing all day having concluded to fast and pray on the subject of matrimony. I realize this is a very important step in my life and as I have been unable to decide whether Lillie Martineau and I are congenial in our natures, hence am anxious to be lead by God." It seemed to have worked. That same evening, he wrote, a friend counseled him that she felt the two were "too much alike in temperament to be suited to each other. This has been my feeling exactly."

His feelings may have been influenced by the fact that by this time nineteen-year-old Anna Haines had arrived in Logan to teach at Brigham Young College, where her parents managed the college dormitory. For William it was not, apparently, love at first sight, since, although they were teaching at the same institution, for months his journal does not mention her. But something was stirring within him. On February 13, 1887, his journal records "another intense despondent feeling caused by non satisfaction with my present female association."

The very next day the answer came, although it took him some time to recognize it: "About 7 OC. P.M.," he wrote, "pupils at house took a noshion to attend the Valentine Party in the Opera House under auspices of Z.C.M.I. & wished me to go. I felt quite careless & fickle and decided to go—turning & inviting Miss Anna Haines to accompany me who agreed. Had a first rate time in a peculiar spirit. About 11 OC. At intermition went

14. Ibid., November 23, 1886.

Anna Haines as a prospective bride

to Browns to Oyster supper which I enjoyed. Returning we remained until nearly 2 A.M."[15]

The spark had been struck. Dating with Lillie decreased and, on an early spring evening, ended. "I told her," he wrote, "I thought it time we were coming to conclusion, and asked her how she felt. She asked me the same question which was answered by saying that, while I had enjoyed her association very much and esteemed her as a friend, I did not think that we were adapted to each other. . . . We remained silent for a moment when I stated that I trusted nothing had occured that would prevent our being friends in the future. She responded that on her part nothing had. I then shook hands friendly with her and said 'You feel all right don't you?' When she responded, 'Oh! Yes, if you do.'"[16] The break-up remained cordial; a month later, "Miss Martineau sent my letters & other things I had given her back, saying she had taken much pleasure in them. . . . I also returned her letters thanking her for her kind wishes."[17]

That civil end to one relationship didn't end his indecision. Six weeks after that return of letters, although seeing more and more of Anna Haines, he was still praying for guidance: "I engaged in prayer having fasted this morning. These are a few subjects that I am supplicating God concerning: viz. Marriage, whether I shall prepare for the principalship of B. Y. College, and smoking, the latter being a great temptation unto me. Oh! that I could live nearer unto God!"[18] On the first two issues he would soon reach a resolution. The third, smoking, would continue to torment him for years.

On an early autumn day, he took Anna for a walk. Finding a secluded spot in a clump of willows, they sat down and, as Smart wrote, "various topics were touched upon one of which was concerning the impropriety of couples binding themselves by engagements when they are to be parted for a long season. Then touched upon my not being married [by then he was twenty-five, an advanced age for bachelorhood in that era] and kindred ideas concerning my peculiarities and somewhat concerning kind of wife that suit me." After laying that cautious groundwork, he took the crucial step. His description reveals an approach remarkably cerebral and unromantic, but culminating in language worthy of a dime novel.

> At length I told Anna that I had thought that in many ways we were congenial and asked her opinion. She looked perfectly thunderstruck; her face turned pale, her lips colorless and her breath came quick and irregular her entire soul portraying a deep emotion of some character. Soon she said she had not given such a thing thought as she had surmised I cared little for her; but that she enjoyed my company very much. After my intimating

15. Ibid., February 14, 1887.
16. Ibid., April 3, 1887.
17. Ibid., May 10, 1887.
18. Ibid., June 20, 1887.

> that my love for none as yet was very strong but that the preference lay with her [hardly an overwhelming proposal], she freely assured me that her love for me was stronger than for anyone else. After our fairly understanding that we would consider our relations no nearer in the future than in the past and my explaining some points wherein we do not seem to be adapted such as her lack of order, our self will, our poor health etc that she might have something to base her thoughts upon, and she stating that a young lady could change her character if she loved a gentleman, we arose from our place of rest when intuitively I pressed [her] affectionately upon my breast and our warm heartchords chimed harmoniously the throbbing lay of love. One more sweet kiss and circumstances inevitable break those physical tokens of affection—ay! Perhaps forever![19]

That tender scene ended with William hurrying off to dinner, which "I tried to eat but my heart seemed to be standing like a giant bulwark impeding the progress of my food," before catching the train to Salt Lake City. From there, although he apparently didn't know it at the time, he would travel east to Ithaca, New York, to enroll in Cornell University in pursuit of the principalship about which he had been praying.

To the East for College

Earlier in the year, as classes ended in May, teachers' salaries had been partially settled. Smart calculated that he had averaged $83.24 a month, but some of that was yet to be paid after tardy tuitions were collected.[20] Either his dissatisfaction with that low pay or his ambition to advance himself, or both, got him to thinking about seeking higher education to prepare himself to become principal of B. Y. College. By mid-August he had made up his mind. He records: "Conversed with father concerning my going east to school who at first discouraged it on account of my poor health, but when I told him I could not content myself without going and that Moses Thatcher [LDS apostle and former Cache Stake president] sanctioned it he consented & said he would loan me what he could."[21]

On August 28, newly installed stake president George Parkinson urged him not to go, saying "there are several important offices to be filled and I am needed." With the Mormon tradition of responding to calls by authorities, Smart confided that the request "causes much reflection as to the best course to pursue,"[22] and concluded that he would fast and pray about it. The answer must have come quickly, because by September 5 he was giving a farewell speech at the college. In succeeding days he attended farewell parties, bought and sold a few cows, sold for $600 the ranch his father had

19. Ibid., September 10, 1887.
20. Ibid., May 27, 1887.
21. Ibid., August 23, 1887.
22. Ibid., August 28, 1887.

given him at Riverdale (on the west side of the Bear River), offered his tentative proposal to Anna Haines, boarded the little narrow-gauge train on September 10, and "went bounding over the earth, every mighty stride of that powerful engine seeming to tear apart other chords which had bound me to my native home."[23]

In Salt Lake City, he called on Apostle Franklin D. Richards to inquire whether he might be set apart as an educational missionary, a status that might qualify him for reduced clergy rates on the railroad. His journal entry of September 13 records: "I filled appointment being set apart by Bro. Richards who blessed me to an educational mission that I might gain the desires of my heart & return home fully prepared to perform a good part among Israel. Blessed my eye sight & all senses and being." At midnight he boarded an eastbound train, "having procured half rates to Chicago ($26) I enjoyed exceedingly the sublime scenery of the Price, Black, Grand & Marshal canyons over the Denver & Rio Grand RR."

Apparently—and inexplicably—he seems to have had no clear idea of where he was going. Arriving in Chicago, he spent a few days with his former teacher, Ida Cook, who was staying with her cousin William Hearkins, a high school principal. "After supper," Smart's journal records, "Mr. Hearkins advised me to go to Cornell University [the first time the journals mention that school]. He seems to be a well educated gentleman having very good ideas of teaching."[24]

Four days later the journal reads: "I gave her [Ida] an idea that I was interested in rhetoric and oratory & should likely pay some attention to them at Cornell. She commended me for my ambition. Prof. Harkins gave me introductions to four prof's at Cornell. About 6:30 Ida & Elmo accompanied me to Depot where I bought ticket for $16.00 with a promise of half being refunded if the Agent general endorsed my clergy certificate, this business being left in hands of Miss Ida."[25]

And so, with no more apparent advance preparation than that, he was on his way to Cornell. Arriving at Ithaca, he registered, found the professors "very genial which made me feel very much more at home," found lodging for $1 a week and a woman who for seventy-five cents a week would cook the food he would buy.[26]

Then he faced the task of finding out how to pay for all this plus his tuition; the $200 with which he left home, borrowed from his father, was fast disappearing. Calling on the head of the agricultural department, he was offered a job husking corn at, he wrote, "15 cents an hour—the maximum paid on farm for common labor and really more than monthly hired

23. Ibid., September 10, 1887.
24. Ibid., September 13, 1887.
25. Ibid., September 18, 1887.
26. Ibid., September 20 and 21, 1887.

men get."[27] Two days of that left him with aching wrists and a determination to do something else. For the next ten days he worked at milking the college's dairy cows, four, five, or as many as eight a day, arising at 5 a.m. and finishing the evening milking by 5 p.m. That did his sore wrists no good, and on October 3 he "informed Mr. Tailby that I cannot milk longer on account of my wrist keeping so lame." He appealed to several professors and a former president of the college for work, and for the rest of his stay at Cornell, until illness disabled him, he worked at cleaning the chemistry laboratory.

Smart's stay at Cornell would not be long. The grueling work schedule took its toll. So did anxiety over finances. And homesickness; it could not have been easy being a lone, impoverished westerner in an affluent eastern culture. The climate of upstate New York didn't help. "Storms every day," he wrote. "I miss the dear sky and serene moonlight of home."[28] There was indecision about what he was doing there, and why. Worst of all was his guilt and depression about a smoking habit he desperately wanted to break.

He started his Cornell studies bravely, if unwisely, considering his work schedule. He enrolled in Teaching, Rhetoric and Composition, Elocution, Physiology, Logic, and Psychology—seventeen hours, nearly the maximum allowed. He met with a Professor Williams, head of the Teaching Department, who, he wrote, "received me very kindly. . . . He gave me good encouragement and told me in him I could always find a friend and could feel free to call upon him at any time as he knew something concerning the situation of our endeavoring to get an education without much means as he had done likewise. . . . at first I thought to remain one year, but have decided—other things equal—two. When I spoke of taking chemistry, he said I should pay attention to subjects bearing on my development for principalship as where there could be found 600 chemists there could be found but one Principal."[29]

Within three weeks, though, he had changed his mind, apparently giving up his goal of teaching and determining instead to go for a four-year degree with an emphasis on science. He asked to be excused from English and teaching courses in favor of German and chemistry, and on October 21 dispatched a formal petition.

> To The Hon. Faculty C.U. Gentlemen: On entering the Cornell University through my pecuniary circumstances I had not the remotest idea of remaining longer than two years, and therefore registered for such studies as would best fit me for my chosen profession. Through the stimulating influence of the University, and realizing the preeminent necessity of

27. Ibid., September 22, 1887. Cornell University, founded only twenty-two years earlier in 1865, was known chiefly for its studies in agriculture.
28. Ibid., October 3, 1887.
29. Ibid., September 24, 1887.

> more thorough education in the western frontiers, I have determined, by the help of Him who holds in his hands the destinies of all, and my physical exertions, to battle against the above named circumstances and pursue a 4-year's course.
>
> In view of the above, that I may take up those branches lying strictly within my chosen course, I hereby most earnestly petition your Hon. Body to grant me a change of registration; and in duty bound I will ever pray. Signed: W. H. Smart."

But, wracked by guilt and increasingly despondent, he was heading for trouble. Reared in a church that urged its members to proclaim their faith with missionary zeal, he chose a different course, perhaps because he knew his life was not true to his beliefs. "Some hints have been given me to ascertain my belief," he confided in his journal, "but as yet, I have thought prudent to withold my convictions, because I believe by becoming acquainted from a worldly standpoint [I] then will be received better as a poor despised 'Mormon.' . . . Smoked today with the Armenian [a roommate]."[30]

His inner conflict became steadily worse. On October 9, he smoked, then

> made a vow with Heaven and angels, with the assistance of my heavenly Father, I would discontinue this habit henceforth. It is the bain of my existence, the stumbling block to my progression. I feel it injuring my lungs and brain. . . . Oh inherited evil propensities! Thou art tyranical masters! The continual anxiety of mine from knowing of the injury flowing in mighty torrents from this source, and the burning, smitten conscious of doing wrong within, makes a dreary desert unto me. Oh man, the Lord of Creation! Where is thy sceptre of power, when thou canst even govern thyself.

His mood swings could be extreme. On October 15:

> In afternoon was sitting at my table studying when I discontinued, and remarked to Sheldon [another roommate] that I had an unusual happy feeling. About half an hour later, suddenly there crept over me such an intense, sickening despondency & home sickness that I was compelled to leave the room. . . . I wandered off northward to a clump of forrest trees where I had been to pray the preceding Sunday. Every step I took seemed to jar my unstable sympathetic system—my heart felt like a dull, heavy lump of lead. I found a secluded spot and there under the crown of a beautiful king of nature I bowed in humble submission in prayer. My words were broken with child-like sobs, and as the sweet name of father, brothers, and sisters fell from my quivering lips, the supressed grief within at last asserted its liberty in tones too full of boy-like grief to describe, and a trinkly of burning, emotional tears fast hurried down my once stern cheek.

30. Ibid., September 25, 1887.

On October 22:

> I have smoked again. How weak I am! Am sleeping very poorly. My head is dull and it seems I cannot apply myself very closely to study.

On November 13:

> Shamed am I to place here that I have given away once again to smoking! May my courage and will power strengthen once again to the effect of resisting.

On November 19:

> Oh! How despondent I have been today! . . . I smoked three times. . . . I prayed earnestly to God to help me discontinue and so filled with emotion was I that I could not refrain from beseaching my guardian Angels, & mother [who had died eleven years earlier] if it lay in her power, to aid in rescuing me from the iron grasp of this monstrous habit. At this moment, as I thought upon my unworthiness, and how she would be caused to mourn did she perceive my weaknesses and troublings, tears—baby-like—rushed down my cheeks and my voice was broken with emotion of grief. I was very weak when I arose.

On November 23, his increasing burden of guilt and self-doubt reached a breaking point. Despite a severe headache, he attended his rhetoric class, then wrote a thank-you letter.

> I then became delerious. . . . Dr. Pronounced my case a tired brain. They say, I was quite emotional, reciting & singing very touching pieces & talking of my lessons. . . . They say that when I made one break for the door, Reid who was standing there made his way hurredly down the hall." The faculty showed its concern: "I have been visited by a number of Proffessors & twice by President Adams. . . . Pres. Adams told me not to worry about my classes because the prof's would show the greatest consideration and that I could be passed and make up the work any time.[31]

Although he gradually recovered from this breakdown, there would be no going to classes or studying during the remaining six weeks he stayed at Cornell. He spent that time getting medical treatment for an ear ailment, writing letters, exercising in the college gymnasium, taking a three-day walking tour through the region around Ithaca, and complaining frequently to his journal about "how discouraged and despondent I feel at not being able to study" (December 16); "I got so lonesome, now I am not studying" (December 18); "exceedingly despondent and home sick"(December 24); "still feeling bad and continued until Wednesday night" (December 25).

The smoking continued; so did his agonizing resolutions to quit. "Took a smoke the first thing this morning then determined once more to try to

31. Ibid., dated November 23, but probably written four days later.

discontinue, as I am now smoking very much."[32] The next day: "Broke my fast and at the same time broke my smoking resolution. Oh! what a wretch am I. I feel as though I am too week a mortal to live."

Resolutions and prayers weren't working, so he decided to try something else. "I then determined to pull on another 'string' to lead to the abandonment of smoking. So I went down to barber shop & bought 1 Doz Havannah Small Cigars for 5 cents, thinking by smoking these I could quit inhaling; and also would not have the opiate cigarette to battle with & then I may be enabled after a time to discontinue the cigar. It remains as an untried experiment & I stand at the portal trembling."[33] If the experiment worked at all, it was very briefly.

That Smart was deeply addicted to tobacco at this stage of his life cannot be doubted. The American Psychiatric Association's standard manual of mental disorders lists these symptoms of "compulsive substance use that is characteristic of dependence: The individual may take the substance in larger amounts or over a longer period than was originally intended. . . . The individual may express a persistent desire to cut down or regulate substance use. Often, there have been many unsuccessful efforts to decrease or discontinue use. . . . Despite recognizing the contributing role of the substance to a psychological or physical problem, the person continues to use the substance."[34] Smart's journal offers compelling testimony that he fits the pattern on all counts.

The association's list of symptoms of nicotine withdrawal is even more descriptive of Smart's condition. Of the eight symptoms listed, four or more of which indicate withdrawal, he clearly demonstrated six: dysphoric or depressed mood; insomnia; irritability, frustration, or anger; anxiety; difficulty concentrating; and restlessness.[35] On the remaining two, decreased heart rate and increased appetite or weight gain, his journal record is silent.

During this period, he received a letter from the Seventies Quorum in Salt Lake City urging that he "continue diligently my studies and at the same time prepare for a future mission." That could hardly have lightened his burden of guilt about smoking and his inability to study. The same day, his trusted roommate recommended that he "leave the sciences and pursue a course in history, some literature, political science and Law. It was rather remarkable in that this same idea had been [occurring] to some extent by myself."[36]

32. Ibid., December 4, 1887.
33. Ibid., December 10, 1887.
34. American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 4th ed., text revision (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association, 2000), 194–5.
35. Ibid., 266.
36. Smart, *Journals*, dated December 10 but probably written about December 16.

The Drop-out

By the end of the month all that became moot, as far as Cornell was concerned. His journal entry of December 29 noted: "Still unwell. I am thinking very seriously of going home as the climate does not agree with me and cannot tell how long before I can work." But there would be still another change of plans. His journal of January 4, 1888 states: "Called on Prof. Schurman informing him of my thought of going East for vacation. He thought it well. He then gave me the following letter of Introduction."

> Cornell University
>
> Ithaca NY. Jan 4—88
>
> Mr. W. H. Smart, a student of this University, who is much interested in the work of Education, is desirous of visiting as many schools as possible for the sake of studying their methods and examining their results with a view to perfecting himself as a teacher. I take much pleasure in bearing testimony of the high character of Mr. Smart. [Courtesies] shown him by educationists will be gratefully appreciated and remembered.
>
> J. G. Schurman
> Professor of Philosophy
> In Cornell University

"My present idea," Smart recorded, "is to go east and visit the leading schools and study what I am able at same time."[37]

So here was this twenty-five-year-old student from rustic and far-off Idaho, guilt-wracked, emotionally as well as physically ill, who in what must approach a record for vacillation had turned his attention from education to science to law and back to education—all in four short months. Hardly a promising beginning for the man who would head one of Utah's most challenging pioneering and community-building efforts.

The day after his visit to Professor Schurman, Smart left Cornell for Albany. There, in a week's time, he visited the then-existing state capitol and a new one under construction, as well as four different schools—describing each of them in the great detail that would characterize his journal-keeping. But as he had on his earlier missionary visit to England, he paid special attention to prostitutes—in this case houses of prostitution—not, he insisted, as a customer but in pursuit of his continuing research on sexual practices. He visited three houses, and devoted eight pages of his journal to describing the system ("$2.00 or $4.00 all night"), the girls, their backgrounds and what led them to this life, and his efforts to help them change it.

> [I told] a beautiful young girl . . . I should be pleased to converse with her in her room, but nothing further. She then insisted I should go up and see her room & converse with her for $1.00 this I consented to for I had

37. Ibid., January 4, 1888.

> come for experience that I might see the depth to which mortals may fall with a view of being more guarded against evils at home and be more able to influence others against immorality. . . . I asked her among other things what lead her to such a life, she answered that she was seduced by her lover, deserted, where she had become reckless. She seemed sad & wished she had her life to live again. . . . I reasoned with her to reform, but she said little. She said she knew god never made woman to lead such a life.

Returning for a second visit, he found her "very affectionate and could not refrain tempting me again. Poor things! They can only love from a lustful standpoint. After talking with her virtuously for some time I departed. . . . I am thankful for the purity of the saints, for this experience, that God protected me in these natural temptations from falling. Oh! Spirit of virtue, come out of thy hiding place, sway thy pure sceptor over this licentious generation, banish it to hell, its birth place, that you may be reinstated in your holy throne and reign forever in the hearts of those who are so heedlessly rushing on toward the maelstrom of destruction!" Albany had "forty known ill fame houses containing about 130 inmates," he concluded.[38]

On January 12, 1889, he left for Boston, where he visited the Boston Public Library and recorded: "They have about ½ million volumes. Shakspere is best represented and takes the lead here of all U.S. libraries." He attended and was scandalized by a three-act drama, *The Quaker Child*, in which, he confided in his journal, one actress "was unscrupulous as to whether she made visible the caudal or cephelad extremity of her lower appendages while dancing."[39]

Then, on January 17, he reversed course again, enrolling in the Boston School of Oratory, "terms $100 per year—two terms, 14 wks. in term." Before attending the first class, he went to see a comedy, *The Governor*, and spent ten pages of his journal describing the plot in painstaking—and tedious—detail.

On January 19, he reported reading, for the first time in school, "one of Brutus' speeches in *Julius Caesar*, when the class gave signs of decided aprobation & the teacher encouraged also. One young man told me if I continued I would become one of the brightest stars in the firmament of the class." But despite that encouragement, he noted he "was very unwell that night sleeping but little."

On January 27, he "delivered my first recitation in school—Tell on his native hills. The Prof. Said I did well. Said I am strong in the emotive and vital. Told me privately I had more tact & aptitude for elocution than 90 out of every hundred"—recognizing a talent Smart would use liberally in subsequent years. But, his journal added, "I am very lonesome. . . . If I were not so home sick I should enjoy school. . . . I sleep very poorly. . . . Lungs

38. Ibid., dated January 5, but probably written January 11 or 12.
39. Ibid., January 13, 1888.

getting worse."

Finally, after only two weeks in school, he gave up. His journal entry of January 30 tells us: "Am still unwell. Very despondent. Have concluded to go home through Dr's counsel." On that day he bought a second class ticket for $57.50 and left that night. He stayed a day and a night in Chicago and visited the Museum of Anatomy, "where Pres. Young and his wives & others in wax were greatly misrepresented in wax figures in history." He finally reached home the night of February 5, "feeling very weak."[40]

By February 9 he was "feeling some better. . . . How happy I feel to get home once more. I think I shall never want to leave again. It seems an age since I went. I do not regret having gone. My experience has been great in many ways." He began taking a medication obtained from a Chicago pharmacy—"$25 for first month and $10 for each succeeding month."[41] The nature of the medication, whether for physical or emotional problems, is unknown; in any event, succeeding journal entries give no indication that it helped.

During this period, his father gave him two pieces of advice. First, "get married as soon as I could sell my place on Riverdale" (the sale he had negotiated before the Cornell fiasco had apparently fallen through). Second, give up teaching and go into business.[42] In response to that counsel, his next journal entry, April 21, is a study in optimism, perceived betrayal, despair, despondency, and the indecision characteristic of this troubled period of his life.

He first recorded that he had become an agent to sell Singer sewing machines for a 30 percent commission on sales. Then, this sad quarrel with a father he had always respected.

> Asked father when I could have lot in Franklin he promised me. . . . he said he had given me land on Riverdale instead. I felt my trouble as [about] land had been my detriment [and that] even father had proved false. Had quite a warm conversation in which I spoke plainly all my grievences. Gave him back [the Riverdale] land it not being mine I not having been a party in the change. I thus start without anything. I owed him $500.

He was able to sell ninety acres of land he had near Logan for $450[43]—paid for with a horse, a harness, a buggy, and the remainder in cash. But then it got worse. "Paid father buggy & harness & $100 cash on debt although he wished me to keep it [and] pay when in better circumstances. My horse has distemper, and now has sprained his hawk joint so everything seems going wrong. Even myself for I get so despondent & discouraged that I smoke, and occasionally drink."

40. Ibid., dated January 30, but probably written about February 9.
41. Ibid., March 22, 1888.
42. Ibid.
43. The Smart journals give no information about how or when he acquired this land.

Seeking a Wife (or Wives)

As for marriage to Anna Haines, in this same journal entry he recorded this Hamlet-like soliloquy: "I cannot decide whether to be in earnest in my association or not . . . because she is rather sickly, delicate in her physical organization, probably a little prone to deceive, probably not generally fond of children, rather poor government, not careful and orderly, not truly loving domestic life."

He found in her some redeeming qualities, mostly relating to his own needs: "Because she has always seemed to study my happiness, is a good Saint believing in all the principles, is intelligent & not quite as worldly minded as girls general, because she believes in me, & would look upon me as almost perfect, seems to be pure, innocent, virtuous, womanly and yet child-like in her affection, and encourages me and still be true to me in my troubles, and because would buoy me up with her sympathy I feel to love her." But, on the other hand,

> she is ambitious—progressive, thirsting after a life of popularity and honor. Through her faith in my becoming yet what she thinks I am capable of reaching, she may now be close; but should my life be adverse and I be compelled to pursue the more lowly walks of life—be surrounded with but few of nature's comforts, and fail to fulfill positions of honor and trust—Oh! Then would she be far off when her once sympathetic, pure and devoted love should be the nearer to weak nature in the battlement against the bitter ills of mortal life? This is the question![44]

For anyone keeping score, that listing of assets and liabilities would seem to leave Anna on the losing side. Moreover, his father's skepticism about Anna may have increased his ambivalence. His daughter later wrote: "His family, with their rugged pioneer background, were not too happy about the prospect of this union. She had in her Ohio home been reared in wealth and refinement, and they did not feel a marriage with her would work out. But my father had a dream that reached into far horizons and he chose a wife with his head as well as his heart. . . . she was the mate he needed to help him in the work for which he would be chosen."[45]

One Wife—or Two?

Within two weeks, despite his own and his father's reservations, he decided to take the plunge.

> Having thoroughly decided in my mind, I explained to Anna my affection for her and in conversations then and in Logan in College Pasture, we found mutual love existed. I tried her greatly concerning Pl Marriage—she

44. Smart, *Journals*, April 21, 1888.
45. Elizabeth Smart Rasmussen, "Biography of William H. Smart," seven-page undated typescript in possession of the author.

> showing a willingness, if I desired, to go in second. Also stated that she never knew how much she thought of me until she found me in trouble. Offered to teach school next winter to aid me if I so desired; but I told her we would put this off until we were compelled to do so. Finding her so true, it increased my love for her.[46]

On May 20, though, his journal includes a surprising entry that showed he had additional marital intentions: "Caroline Parkinson [surprising because this is the first mention of that name] and I have agreed, if all parties are willing." But on June 1 he lamented, "Bro. Parkinson would not consent to his daughter Caroline's being my second wife."

Those three journal entries tell much of the state of polygamy among Mormondom in the late 1880s, especially the fact that second and subsequent wives usually had lower status than the first wife.[47] Both the Parkinson and Smart families understood how it worked. Samuel Rose Parkinson, Caroline's father, had three wives. Caroline, twenty-two years old at the time of William's proposal, was the youngest of Parkinson's first wife's eight children. His second and third wives, Charlotte and Maria, were William Smart's older sisters. Three of Parkinson's sons had polygamous wives. When federal marshals increased the pressure against polygamists, Samuel had spent much of the previous decade on the "underground," seldom at home, hiding in the homes of his friends. Often his hiding place was in the home of his father-in-law, Thomas Sharratt Smart, who, in 1868, himself had taken a second wife in a marriage that didn't last. Parkinson was arrested and acquitted in 1876, and then arrested again, this time to be convicted and spend six months in prison in Boise.[48] So he had much personal experience to influence his decision about allowing Caroline to become William's second wife.

The responses of Anna and Caroline leave no doubt about the depth of their commitment to and faith in the principle of plural marriage. Caroline especially, having been raised in a polygamous family, fully understood the hardship and loneliness a plural wife could expect with a husband so constantly absent and in hiding. For her, the decision about William's proposal must have been a wrenching one. She was still willing—perhaps eager, as

46. Smart, *Journals*, May 4, 1888.

47. The Mormon principle of plural marriage was first committed to writing in what became section 132 of the Doctrine and Covenants, dated July 12, 1843, although apparently the revelation had come to Joseph Smith more than a decade before. The practice of plural marriage was first announced publicly in August 1852. Both public and legal opposition followed and became steadily more severe. The Edmunds Act of 1882 barred polygamists from jury service, public office, and voting, and sent some 1,300 LDS men to prison in the 1880s. In 1887, the Edmunds-Tucker Act disincorporated the church and authorized the seizure of church property. See Ray Jay Davis, "Anti-Polygamy Legislation," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:52 and Daniel Bachman and Ronald K. Esplin, "Plural Marriage," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1092–94.

48. Taylor, Samuel Rose Parkinson, 116–30.

evidenced by his statement that "we have had several painful meetings on two occasions she having fainted at the thought of our discontinuing"—but "she dare not consent when her parents stated it was against all their wishes." As for Anna, Smart wrote that she "has shown wonderful faith, love and sacrifice in that she offered to assume the second position when it was evident Bro. Parkinson would not consent in any other way."[49]

The dilemma would soon be solved. Parkinson agreed to William's marriage to Caroline, "provided she be first and take unacknowledged position." That condition, William wrote, "I shall not accept."[50] He would soon ratify his decision by marrying Anna. Later, Caroline would marry Charles D. Goaslind, ironically becoming his second wife, behind her older sister Clara.[51]

In Smart's journal of June 1, 1888, there is a remarkable statement evidencing that more than two years before taking the first step to end polygamy, high Mormon officials were thinking seriously about ending it. Having been called as stake recording secretary of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association,[52] Smart attended the organization's annual June general conference in Salt Lake City. There he recorded: "Tonight attended private meeting of officers where was present G. Q. Cannon, Wilford Woodruff, D. H. Wells, Moses Thatcher, and W. B. Preston,[53] all of whom are not enabled to appear among the public on account of the Edmund's law of polygamy. They feel that the time is not far distant when they shall be able to."[54]

By this time, church president John Taylor had died (July 25, 1887) after spending the last years of his ministry in hiding. Wilford Woodruff, as president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, presided over the church. He was sustained as church president on April 8, 1889, and in October 1890 issued what became known as the Manifesto, in which he declared "I now publicly declare that my advice to the Latter-day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land."[55] The prosecution of polygamists ended, church leaders came out of hiding, and, on January 4, 1896, after long denial chiefly because of polygamy, Utah became a state.

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49. Smart, *Journals*, September 5, 1888.
50. Ibid., June 13, 1888.
51. Mecham, *Family Book of Remembrance*, 580.
52. Smart, *Journals*, May 22, 1888.
53. This was a powerful group of men. Wilford Woodruff, as President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles was, in effect, presiding over the church after the death of President John Taylor. George Q. Cannon, an apostle, had been a counselor to Brigham Young and Taylor and would become first counselor to President Woodruff. Moses Thatcher was an apostle. Daniel H. Wells, formerly a counselor to Brigham Young, was a counselor to the Twelve. William B. Preston was presiding bishop.
54. Smart, *Journals*, June 1, 1888.
55. "Official Declaration–1," October 6, 1890, Doctrine and Covenants.

This manifesto did not end the practice of plural marriage among a people who devoutly believed it was ordained of God and essential to the highest level of exaltation in the hereafter. Such marriages continued, mostly performed in Canada, Mexico, or offshore. In 1904, President Joseph F. Smith issued what became known as the Second Manifesto, announcing that "all such marriages are prohibited, and if any officer or member of the Church shall assume to solemnize or enter into any such marriage he will be deemed in transgression against the Church, and will be liable to be dealt with according to the rules and regulations thereof and excommunicated therefrom."[56] Even then, some diehards continued the practice. One of them would be William H. Smart.

But that would come years later. For now, he was busy trying to sell sewing machines (he only reported selling three), spending six weeks at the United Order store in Logan "gaining merchantile experience prior to going into business in Franklin,"[57] and giving lectures to youth groups on "sexual sins" (at Preston and Fairview one Sunday, at Oxford and Clifton a couple of weeks later). "Was highly commended," he reported.[58] One different kind of speaking invitation he modestly declined: "Asked to be Orator of 4 July which I refused having so much speaking to do & being called to so much lately, I do not wish to over work nor accept so much as to cause that fiend jealousy to work its raviging influence."[59]

Throughout this period there were frequent complaints about his continuing health problems: "I feel very poorly. Head dull and system languid" (June 5); "very sick—puking and purging" (June 24); "am very unwell & despondent" (July 19).

Finally, in October, came his marriage to Anna. His prenuptial activities could hardly be called normal or appropriate for an LDS temple marriage: "Went to Logan, after having been rebaptised & confirmed by Elder Joshua Hawks. Last night drank pretty heavily. . . . This morning refrained from smoking. Found [temple recommend] in mail late Tuesday evening."[60]

Present-day Mormons may find it strange that a man with his weakness for tobacco and liquor would be issued a temple recommend. But the well-known proscription against smoking in the 1833 revelation to Joseph Smith was given originally "not by commandment or constraint, but by revelation and the word of wisdom" (Doctrine and Covenants, section 89). Adherence was spotty during the LDS Church's first century. Not until 1930, in the presidency of Heber J. Grant, did obedience to the Word of Wisdom become

56. *Seventy-fourth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, April 3rd, 4th and 6th, 1904* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1904), 76.
57. Smart, Journals, September 6, 1888.
58. Ibid., July 19, 1888.
59. Ibid., June 24, 1888.
60. Ibid., October 2, 1888.

a commandment in the sense that it was a test of worthiness to enter a Mormon temple.[61]

For a man whose journals were lengthy, detailed, often poetic, and spiritually charged, his account of the wedding was surprisingly brief and prosaic: "Went to temple to be married to Miss Anna Haines. Conversing with Pres. Edlifson found had to have license, hence we went to Court House and obtained same from W. W. Maughan & returned and getting endowments for two dead relatives, we then were married by Pres. Merrill, witnesses being Elders Jos. Hurren and Lorenzo Tibbetts. Anna's mother was present."[62] Apparently, no other family member or any friends attended. Nor was there any reception or other celebration.

Smart's account of their wedding night was modestly restrained: "Returning to her home spent afternoon with family. . . . Retired about 10 OC she first in the neat north upstairs bedroom so cosily prepared for us. When I entered the room she made me welcome & broke away usual embarrassment by pleasantly & womanly addressing me on some unimportant matter. Oh! how my faith & love were augmented at her composed & free manner of deportment!—something I had wished—showing at once culture and purity. We conversed freely as usual, both remarking that our love was wonderfully increased, perhaps through the feeling of ownership."

This woman with whom William H. Smart would spend the remaining forty-nine years of his life was born in Gainesville, Ohio, on October 11, 1867, to David and Elizabeth Highfield Haines. The family joined the LDS Church, and at age eighteen she emigrated with them to Utah. Years later, her youngest son wrote that

> she was a fragile girl and, because of a weak heart it was thought that she would always need protective care. Her Ohio background was genteel. Her parents were cultured and, though not affluent, maintained a gracious home. [She] dreamed no doubt, of pleasant and sheltered careers in education, of settling and rearing children in a select community. . . . This was not her destiny. . . . In her lifetime she would change houses a dozen times. Her husband would be president, in turn, of the Wasatch, Uintah, Duchesne, and Roosevelt stakes of Zion, each in a harsh, pioneer environment. . . . The money would be exhausted in church service and in good works and bad loans for the community. Anna would from necessity teach again, in the rude villages of Randlett and Leota—eight grades in one room. . . . And they would die in genteel poverty. How would gentle Anna face up to all this? Magnificently."[63]

61. Joseph Lynn Lyon, "Word of Wisdom," in Ludlow, Encyclopedia of Mormonism, 4:1584.
62. Smart, Journals, October 3, 1888.
63. Joseph H. Smart, typescript, written for a family reunion, 1978, in possession of the author.

But that was far in the future. For now, the challenge was to establish the foundation of their new family. Three days after the ceremony, William recorded the agreements they reached about marriage intimacies.

> Last night, with perfect union of sentiment & freedom we discussed our plan of association sexually & otherwise both agreeing that too great indulgence may lead to coldness. I told her of my anxiety concerning offspring and the sacredness with which I contemplated her person: spoke of the necessity of our being prudent & especially in intercourse as we are not strong so as to secure as much health to ourselves & vigor to posterity as possible. We decided that our sleeping together as long as would not tend to impropriety in familiar association would be advisable, her idea being that I would be absent all day & this would be the only time to enjoy one anothers society for any length of time. She called me noble when I explained why woman's organization gave her right to assert when sexual union should occur and that no true man would rob her of this right in forcing himself upon her. Our great desire is to begin right to cultivate those little curtesies that will nurture love & thus happiness, to be to each other what we long for our posterity to be to us and to each other.[64]

The newlyweds moved into an old log house given him by his father—18 × 18 feet, a rock kitchen in back, and two small bedrooms upstairs. He described in detail his efforts to restore and make it livable. The repairs plus the modest furniture with which they began housekeeping "cost about $300 which I had the privilege of having Smart & Sons store pay for me, I paying with my wages. The store commenced about this same time, with myself as manager, receiving $175 a month."[65]

An Unlikely Mission

Marriage, a home, a steady income, and a business partnership with his father ought to have set the young couple on a promising and stable path. But the old troubles—despondence, guilt, discontent with the present, and a desire to chase something else—returned: "About this time I was being troubled very much in mind & body through sickness & despondency, I was impressed very forcabley to fill the mission I had been called to the preceding year." The "call" to which he referred was not exactly that, but simply the letter he had received at Cornell from the Quorum of the Seventy urging him to continue his studies and prepare for a future mission. Nevertheless, he "wrote to Pres. Richards that I wished to do so, when shortly I received a letter calling me to start to Europe about the 9 of April."

Apostle Moses Thatcher, with whom his family had long been associated, "encouraged and entertained the idea that I should be sent to the Mexican Mission and that if so my wife could accompany me." That gave Anna an

64. Smart, Journals, October 6, 1888.
65. Ibid., dated October 17, 1888, but probably written in late March, 1889.

opportunity to demonstrate the depth of her commitment to the principle of plural marriage. William wrote: "My wife proposed that if Caroline Parkinson still wished to link her fate with ours, she would be perfectly willing for her to go that I may have a good opportunity to become acquainted with her & she with me—and I could make up in part for her being unable to share an equal am't of my company at home. Once more my loving wife shows her desire to please me and to sacrifice for the gospel & its blessings."

But Caroline wouldn't have it. "I laid this matter before Bro. Parkinson," Smart recorded, "and after seeing her she answered that while her parents gave her the privilege of using her judgement, they were of the same feelings as before & she had too much respect & love for them to do that which they would not advise."[66]

In a round of farewell parties, fifty-seven of his family and friends contributed a total of $82 toward his mission. "Today, on counting my money, I find I have $232. I have given $32 to my wife, hence I start on my mission with hansom little some of $200."[67]

On April 7 he left for Salt Lake City, supposedly on the way to Mexico. "I feel pretty well in starting," he wrote. "I know I shall be protected and blessed if I depend upon the Lord and do my duty. But I fear my self as I am still smoking and feel weak; but I am resolved by the help of Almighty God to overcome & put my self in a possition before Him to be worthy of his protection and blessing." Then followed an appeal appropriate for all missionaries before and since: "I supplicate Him who holds the destinies of all in His merciful hands, to aid me in my divine calling as His Embassador abroad: to give me the gift of faith in abundance; to give me the gift of dissernment that I may know when to pray, when to sing, when to rest, when to work, when to sleep, when to awake: when to remain quiet, when to preach: in short enable me to perform my whole duty, and not go beyond my duty."[68]

The next day he received his missionary training, compressed into one two-hour meeting, in contrast to the months spent in missionary training centers in modern times. In the assembly hall, instruction was given by apostles Lorenzo Snow, Franklin D. Richards, Richard R. Lyman, Moses Thatcher, Heber J. Grant, and John W. Taylor. As recorded in Smart's journal, that instruction was mostly practical.

> They dwelt upon the sacredness and the importance of missionary labor: cautioned us above all things to not become familiar with women—do no sparking—make no engagements: to shun the appearance of evil: to forget as far as possible our home affairs—even our families that we could give attention to our work; not to write much: to keep a diary—especially of the goodness of God and manifestations; to be neat and cleanly: to not

66. Ibid., March 26, 1889.
67. Ibid., April 5, 1889.
68. Ibid., April 7, 1889.

> consider ourselves tramps, but that we are the greatest among them, yet their servants: to inform the president of the mission if we become ill as it is unwise to stay and die: to seek God in prayer in all our prosperity & adversity, for nothing would clear away the cloud of discouragement & despondency like this: to not expose ourselves to danger when it can be avoided: to listen closely to the promptings of the spirit as to what to do & who to approach: no saint goes wrong without having three distinct promptings of his unrighteous course; to not advise a wife to leave her husband to join the Church, nor even to baptize her without his consent unless she was faithfully moved to do so, and demands it at your hands: to take the same course with children: to endeavor to be just as much gentleness as anyone you meet, and if you are not, hasten to copy that which they are your superior in: to avoid crowding the doctrine upon those who have not willing ears, lest we cast pearls before swine.

Then he received a shock. "In the afternoon I was set apart by Apostle Richards to go on a mission to Turkey. I was much surprised at my being called to this place as I had received word I would be called to Old Mexico, Apostle Thatcher having tried to effect this as he thought it would be better for my health. Bro. Richards, however, said some one else could go there and the climate in Turkey would be good for me. . . . I was much pleased with this mission as I had always felt as though I should like to visit the Holy land, but had not presumed to think I should be called there as I knew it a new, hard mission and only those who were bright as well as good were sent there."[69]

This group of missionaries would not leave until the end of the month, so Smart returned home, still thinking of finding a plural wife. "After learning I do not have to leave for some time," he wrote, "my mind again dwelt very strongly upon plural marriage—so much so that I could not sleep. I wondered if there yet would be an opportunity to embrace it before I went. I felt impressed to try and do something. On arriving home, during the first conversation with my dear, faithful, devoted wife, she asked me if I were going to try again. She said she thought it might have happened this way to afford me more time, she was perfectly willing for me to do so and felt quite concerned in regard to it. May God grant that we may take a wise step."[70]

Characteristically, he "entered upon fasting and prayer for the purpose of humbling myself, overcoming sin and supplicating in regard to Plural Marriage." That was on a Saturday. But on Monday he reported: "Kept my fast until now. . . . Have not been able to get any particular manifestation about Marriage."[71]

So that was that. Time had run out, and he would soon be on his way.

69. Ibid., April 9, 1889.
70. Ibid., April 12, 1889.
71. Ibid., April 15, 1889.

Three

An Aborted Mission

From its beginning, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has relied for its growth on missionary efforts. In 1830, the very year of its organization, missionaries were laboring in Canada and among Indians on the western frontier. Formal missions were established by Joseph Smith in England in 1839 and, shortly before his 1844 murder, in Tahiti. After Brigham Young had relocated the struggling church to the Great Basin, he launched a missionary movement that was astonishing in the audacity of its world outreach. Overseas missions were established in Scandinavia, France, Italy, Switzerland, and Hawaii in 1850; Australia and India in 1851; Malta and Germany in 1852; Gibraltar and South Africa in 1853; and Siam in 1854.[1]

The Pacific and European missions prospered well enough. But in the others, distance, strange languages, non-Christian traditions, governmental opposition, and harsh living conditions proved too difficult. All were abandoned within a few years. Not until 1884 would there be another attempt to establish a mission in the non-Christian world. That was the Turkish Mission to which William H. Smart had now been called. Jacob Spori was its first president (1885–87). He was followed by Ferdinand F. Hintze, the president under whom Smart would serve.

In view of Smart's experience in Turkey, it is important to know something of President Hintze. Born in Denmark in 1854, he was baptized a Mormon at age twelve, emigrated to Utah two years later, and filled missions to the northwestern states (1877–78 and 1879–80) and Scandinavia (1885–87). Clearly, he was well qualified to preside over the Turkish Mission, and no subsequent president worked harder to learn the language, understand

1. *Deseret News 2001–2002 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City), 426–28.

the people, and teach them the gospel. He returned for a second term as president (1897–1900), during which period he published 29,000 tracts in the Turkish and Armenian languages, and in 1906 published the Book of Mormon in Turkish.[2] If any president could succeed in that mission, and deserved the respect of his missionaries, it was he.

The conditions under which Hintze and his handful of missionaries labored were at least as difficult as in other non-Christian countries; after years of unproductive struggle, the mission was closed in 1909. For Smart, the difficulties were magnified by his health problems, his inability to stay the course during this stage of his life, his lack of confidence in the mission itself, his bouts of despondence, and, worst of all, the heavy burden of guilt he carried because of his addiction to tobacco.

His record of his voyage en route to Turkey and the first weeks of his mission consisted of long letters to his wife, which she then copied into journals. In the first one, dated London, May 28, 1889, he describes the ocean voyage (he was seasick), a visit to extended family members he had previously visited with his father in the Birmingham area (he was treated well and had "plenty to eat & drink"), and a brief description of the English countryside and the London railroad station ("the largest in the world, the grand dome of glass is no less than 300 ft. wide and 900 ft. long").

Along with the mundane, that letter included this significant statement: "On the evening of the 22 we attended the Saints meeting in Liverpool. I was honored by a seat on the stand. . . . At the close of meeting Bro. Teasdale told me he wished I had been called to the British mission. Said I could go to Turkey, ascertain what could be done there and if I thought I could not spend the time advantageously, to write him."

The man who gave this counsel was George Teasdale, an apostle in the church since 1882. In this role, and as president of the British Mission (1887–90), he had general supervision over missionary matters in Europe and the Near East. He must have sensed some special talents or qualities in Smart to give him this highly unusual and questionable invitation to bypass his mission president and report directly to him. Whatever Teasdale intended, Smart's broad interpretation of it would result in the undercutting of President Hintze's authority and lead to Smart's early release.

Smart's voyage from London to his new mission field took nine days. Two long letters, dated Constantinople, June 7 and June 15, describe it. They filled thirty-one pages of the journal into which, despite her eye problems, the patient and long-suffering Anna was transcribing them. He described at length the sights and fashions of Paris, especially the Paris Exhibition of that year ("the greatest there has been") with its just-completed Eiffel Tower (at 984 feet, "the highest structure in the world").[3] He also witnessed

2. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:390–91.
3. Alexandre Gustave Eiffel (1832–1923), whose most notable achievement was the Eiffel

the commercial beginnings of voice reproduction: a machine into which he spoke, then "placed a little tube running from machine in either ear and heard my same words," and marveled that you could even "take from it a short pasteboard looking cylinder colored black, send it anywhere to another machine and the same voice and words will be produced."[4]

The trip proceeded. At Notre Dame Cathedral in Strasbourg, he was awed by the world-famous clock with its tableau of moving figures. He found Salzburg to be "the prettiest scenic town I have ever seen," and described at length the great buildings, gardens, and monuments of Vienna. He noted the women doing "all kinds of labor even to section hands on railroad" in Hungary; the "very pretty Oxen—nearly white, very long horns" used instead of horses in "Cervia"; the people who "look only partly civilized in Bulgaria," where "we begin to realize we are fast hurrying toward the Turks." Coming from the dairy country of Cache Valley, he was not impressed by Bulgarian cheese. "I then tried the cheese which I thought I should enjoy being a lover of cheese," he wrote. "When passing it to my mouth I found that the dead carcas we had been speaking of as being in the vacinity was this lymburger cheese."

Finally arriving in Constantinople on June 6, he was met by the sole missionary who was serving there. Elder J. Clove,[5] Smart reported, had been eighteen months in Constantinople, had learned the language, and had a single convert, the only other Mormon, apparently, in that city. Seventeen days later, Smart wrote his first report of the mission to Apostle Teasdale in Liverpool.[6] Acknowledging that he knew "only what I have been able to glean from Bro. Clove," he modestly indicated he would not "give, at present, my opinion of the mission as my experience has been nothing." But, he reported, "street preaching is not allowed. Custom forbids going to private homes without invitation," "their houses being a sacred place and rendered unholy by the presence of the unbeliever," so the only way to proselytize was to rent a house and invite people to come to them. Efforts to gain

Tower built for the Paris Exhibition of 1889, was a French engineer and master bridge builder. In 1885 he designed the inner structure of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1968 ed., s.v. "The Eiffel Tower."

4. In 1877, Thomas A. Edison invented a method of recording vibrations that could be played back to produce sounds. His invention involved tin foil wrapped around a revolving cylinder, into which a stylus attached to a vibrating diaphragm made indentations of various depths. Alexander Graham Bell and two associates replaced Edison's tin foil with wax and his rounded stylus with a pointed one. In 1887, they organized a company to produce and market what they called a Graphophone. It was this machine that Smart saw demonstrated in Paris. In 1894, German-born Emile Berliner brought to market a machine that replaced the cylinder with a flat disc, greatly improving sound quality and making the mass production of records possible. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1968 ed., s.v. "Thomas A. Edison."

5. Smart, Journals, December 18, 1889. This was James Clove of Panguitch, Utah. Clove was released a few months later because of poor health.

6. Ibid., June 23, 1889.

permission to print church literature had failed "owing to the influence of Protestants." The people "seem very unstable and it seems they have little conception of the necessity of changing their mode of worship only as a means of procuring pecuniary benefit"; he gave several examples of this. As a result, he reported, the entire mission contained only six German and four native converts. "We can do nothing until we get the language, which will take at least a year," he lamented.

> Even after eighteen months in the field and learning the language, Bro. Clove says he has spent his time in studying Turkish about three hours daily, history, the customs of people, physics, drawing, mathematics, music, poetry, German, in visiting historical places, in rowing for exercise, corresponding with papers, studying scripture, and proselyting when opportunity was afforded. He has seen but little of real missionary experience and indeed has been here so long accomplishing nothing spiritually and studied so hard to inform himself and to pass away the time that he now has to refrain from hard study, exercise in open air much, being troubled with a kind of nervous debility. He is anxious to get out in the country where I think his missionary energy will return which seems evidently to have, to a degree, lost through his circumstances here.

That kind of judgmental analysis is clearly the responsibility of the mission president, not of an untried neophyte seventeen days in the mission field, himself battling his demon of an addiction to smoking. At least Smart recognized the delicacy of his position: "I have written some points of personal maters I should have refrained from, had you not desired them, and would be pleased to have them remain with you." But there's no question he intended to continue his role of mission analyst: "Bro. Clove thinks I shall go in the interior. If so, I shall have an opportunity to form some idea of the prospects there & give you further particulars with my conclusions concerning the mission as soon as I can arrive at any."

In a June 23 letter to his wife, Smart expressed optimism about his efforts to overcome his addiction to nicotine. During his seasickness on the ocean voyage he had not smoked, he told her, but when his appetite for food returned so did the appetite for tobacco, with such force he decided to make no effort to quit until he reached the mission field.

> I continued smoking here secretly until the night of the 14—Friday—when I threw them away again, told Bro. Clove not to prepare any meals for me until I told him to, and asked him for his prayers, which he said was pleased to grant. I fasted and prayed with much feeling and earnestness for three days. I have not smoked since. . . . My head and lungs, while being a little painful, are not to be compared with their conditions when I have endeavored to quit before. I have not been nearly so nervous. . . . Dear wife, to think how much I have suffered while endeavoring to quit at home where I was midst a temperate people, where I was ever encouraged by a loving

> wife and friends, and then cast my thoughts here where the national beverage is tobacco, where the habit of smoking is indulged so greatly that even women smoke, and find here I have been able to control myself—I can only turn unto God and say: O Lord thy power is infinite and thy mercy inexhaustable! I know I have had your prayers too, I take no honor to myself, neither do I now boast as a conqueror, as but little over a week is past—but I can say I have but little hankering and unless I am tempted much beyond what I have been, I am secure.

It is well he did not boast. His victory over addiction was still years in the future.

This letter expresses clearly his feeling about the mission: "I, of course, am almost idle as yet, my system being overturned by indigestion, hence language study, the first lesson of which I took June 11, is going slowly. . . . So far none of us have studied hard. We spend about three hours daily studying and the remainder in looking at the city, reading papers, etc. . . . It does however seem to me that the majority of the bretheren[7] laboring here have & and are spending the majority of their time in self-improvement & interest. . . . until we get the language . . . we're dead for a year—no use at all."

Along with these discouraging thoughts, Smart was facing money problems. "This is the most expensive mission there is," he told Anna, and "where the money is coming from I don't know. Somehow, I do not feel to write to anyone for it—but I suppose the Lord will provide a way if I do my duty." Delicately, he suggested a way Anna could help.

> I give you an idea of my expenses & how I am situated on this mission that you may be able to answer any inquiries concerning it. Father may like to know, or the bishop, or the president of my quorum, or some of the boys, and that you may perhaps be able to better answer if anyone wants to know if I need anything as I do not expect to mention this part of my program to anyone, unless I am forced to. Yet I do not want you to trouble about it, but you can make these facts known as my representative to any source your wisdom shall direct you, and I feel that all will be right. Otherwise if the Lord wants me to undergo another season of fasting I am here to be found.

By June 29, he had received two important bits of news. One, in a letter from Anna, was of her pregnancy with their first child.[8] His response was tender and eloquent.

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7. Turkish Mission MS History and Historical Reports, microfilm, LR 14250 11, LDS Church Archives. Although Smart's journal does not mention them, mission records report that two other new missionaries, Frederick Stauffer and Edgar D. Simmons, also arrived in Constantinople on June 6.
8. Elizabeth Smart Rasmussen, "My Memoirs," 1 and 10. This would be Elizabeth Smart, born November 1, 1889, at the home of Anna's parents in Logan, where she was teaching at Brigham Young College. Elizabeth, or Bessie as she was known, would marry James P. Rasmussen and bear six children, three of whom would live to adulthood.

> You say in one part: "Another life that is becoming so dear to me," and tell me not to trouble about you only pray. Darling, not a day passes but my most fervent prayers ascend—I hope—to the throne of God in your behalf. Although 9000 miles stretch out their forbiding arms between us, yet you and that dear "life" grow ever dearer to me, and as I contemplate you in maternity, you appear not only that blushing, shy, tender, loving and winning maid and bride of the past, but your former attractions blend with a thoughtful, self-sacrificing, contented, saintlike, experienced, maternal air that savor of semblances of a better sphere.

The other news came in a telegram from President Hintze announcing that he was to be transferred. "I had not thought to leave here," Smart wrote to Anna, "and hence have written less than I should have done about the city, but I must hurry briefly over it now." He then filled what would be twenty-eight journal pages with a remarkably detailed, descriptive, informative account of late nineteenth-century Constantinople—its people, their lifestyle and forms of religious worship, its buildings, both ancient and modern, and its history, dating back to Roman times. Clearly, although the three weeks spent in Constantinople produced no missionary effort except sporadic language study, Smart found no barriers to energetic and exhaustive sightseeing.

With his departure from Constantinople, he ended the practice of having his letters copied by his wife into journals. Henceforth, he would write his journals directly, in the field. "I find," he confided in introducing his first journal, "in the events that occur in a missionary's experience some are not such as it would be wise to write in her pregnant state, therefore I deem it prudent to discontinue that mode." Not mentioned was any consideration of sparing Anna, with her troubled eyesight, the burden of transcribing them.

A New Field of Labor

The city of Aintab—to which Smart and his twenty-six-year-old companion, Edgar D. Simmons of Salt Lake City, now reported—is today known as Gaziantep, a city of three-quarters of a million people in southern Turkey, near the Syrian border, 3,500 feet above sea level and near the northeast corner of the Mediterranean Sea. It was probably founded by Hittites before 1000 B.C., was captured by the Turks early in the twelfth century, and became part of the Ottoman Empire in the early sixteenth century.[9]

Upon their arrival on July 9, Smart and Simmons were met by the full complement of Mormon missionaries in southern Turkey: President Hintze, who in his two-and-a-half years in the mission had traveled widely through the county and had a good command of the language; C. U. Locander of Salt Lake City, who had been six months in the mission; and George

9. http://www.greatestcities.com/Middle East/Turkey/Gaziantep_formerly_Aintab_ancient_Doliche_city.html?redir=1> (accessed June 1, 2003).

Dieterle, a German who had been converted in Palestine. They had baptized two converts, one having left for employment in Aleppo, the other "George Vezirian [Vazerian], a young Dr here, [who] has been ordained a teacher and is using his influence for the gospel."

On his very first day of meeting these men, Smart was able to reach the conclusion and confide in his journal that "Bro. Hintze feels encouraged and thinks the mission will open up successfully. All the other bretheren here, together with Pres. Teasdale have little faith in it."[10] That assessment of how Teasdale felt in far-away Liverpool is questionable, to say the least. It differs sharply from an entry six months earlier in the diary of L. John Nuttall, secretary to the First Presidency: "By letter from Bro. FF Hintze at Haifa Jerusalem Dec 22/88 through Bro Geo[rge] Teasdale we learn that the Turkish Mission is prospering & he calls for 6 more elders."[11]

The contrast between the optimism of a seasoned, dedicated mission leader who for two and a half years had given his all to the work and the pessimism of a recent arrival, virtually untried in church service, is striking. Perhaps Smart, although hardly knowledgeable, was simply more realistic; indeed, the mission did fail after twenty-five years of struggle. Or perhaps his lack of missionary conviction was related to his deep-seated guilt over smoking.

On Sunday, July 14, the tiny group met in sacrament meeting, where "President Hintze gave us encouraging advice, telling us the mission is yet but a trial and that we have come to aid in the test and warned us against discouragement. Told us to preach repentance continually for the people are rife in lying, stealing and many ungodly things. Also said that our skirts are cleared when we preach the gospel faithfully if we fail in converting one soul. He then moved that I be sustained as President of the Aintab [Gaziantep] and surrounding Mission which was unanimously endorsed."

The next day, Hintze and Locander left on horseback, leaving that area in Smart's hands. Hintze would go to Constantinople for another try to get rights to print and proselytize, and Locander to Antioch to try to open a branch there. From now on, the newly-sustained district president would look not to his mission president but to an apostle of the church—or higher—for his direction.

Four days later, after just nine days in southern Turkey, Smart wrote his second letter to Apostle Teasdale, giving his conclusions about the Turkish Mission and its future prospects. Notwithstanding Hintze's plea to avoid discouragement, his report was anything but hopeful.

> My conclusions were, on account of rigidness of government, its unstability, the difficulty in reaching the people, their little desire to receive the gospel that I thought but little would be done now. . . . The gov. now is

10. Smart, Journals, July 9, 1889.
11. L. John Nuttall, diary, January 26, 1889, MSS 790, Special Collections, Brigham Young University.

> really based on the Koran, and the Protestants having bought rights have become really part of government and they use their influence against our obtaining right of preaching, printing etc. . . . I reported my limited faith in the mission at present and told him I should leave him to decide what I should do adding that I had a desire to labor wherever I was appointed and not change to better my personal condition.[12]

His smoking continued, as did his written expressions of anguish over his inability to stop. On July 20, after two days of fasting about this problem, he apparently fainted, with the resulting fall causing a slight wound over his right eye and "several sore places on different parts of my body . . . whether it was the result of a fall through a dizzy spell, or whether it was an attack of evil spirits on account of my present spiritual endeavors are questions. . . . Am praying earnestly also for God to increase my faith in this mission if I should remain, and decrease it if I should have my labouring field changed, and that [ignoring Smart's mission president] he will direct Pres. Teasdale."

During the following weeks he met occasionally with George Vazerian, helping this convert understand his newly found religion, and with groups of visitors in gospel or philosophical conversations that were translated by Vazerian. An Armenian contact loaned Smart the works of Milton, and he read *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. The experience so affected him that he "fell imploringly upon my knees again for divine mercy and aid in another strong endeavor to place my life in conformity to the Gospel of Christ who so mercifully rendered up his life to redeem me from this primeval fall." These works may also have been the inspiration for his decision to read the New Testament, "this being my first attempt to read it through."[13] After completing that, he tackled the Old Testament, also for the first time, and finished most of it by late August.[14]

Despite this immersion in the scriptures, he reached a fateful—and highly presumptuous—decision. Increasingly despondent, he would place the decision about his future not in the hands of his mission president, Hintze, or even Apostle Teasdale. He would go to the highest authority, the president of the church, Wilford Woodruff. An uncharacteristically brief journal entry, on August 21, records simply: "Confessed my sins in a letter to President Woodruff." (This letter was not found in the correspondence of President Woodruff in the church archives.) Presumably, in confessing his sins, Smart also raised the question of release from his mission.

Six days later, having received a letter from his wife relating a dream she had about his smoking, he further bared his feelings to his journal and

12. Smart, Journals, July 18, 1889. This letter was not found in a search of the correspondence of Apostle Teasdale in the LDS Church Archives. The Teasdale files of this period mainly contain outgoing but not incoming correspondence.
13. Ibid., August 4, 1889.
14. Ibid., August 24, 1889.

identified what he felt were additional sources of his anguish: "Sometimes I have become so utterly hopeless in over coming smoking and rendered so despondent that I have sat and smoked one cigarette after another." But there was more than that. Together with his guilt, the complete absence of missionary spirit was overwhelming him.

> The awful seclusion and monotony of life here together with the non congeniality of my spirit with that of Bro Simmons and my little faith in this mission have augmented greatly my troubles. . . . All my past sins have risen up to destroy me, and I felt I could not exist any longer without making them known to the President. In the day I reflect, pace the court, read and sometimes weep which are often continued until towards morning. Therefore I am suffering the greatest mental agony day and night. When I read the above letter I felt so keenly how unworthy I am of my wife and the fangs of the monster sin and the non deserving of father's and brother's kindness that I rent my hair and weeped in the most bitter anguish. Oh God! Can you pardon? Shall I be lost, or shall I ever assume manhood and honor! . . . And why have I been so, for from my youth I have had an intense desire to work righteousness! Through hereditary and the weakness of the flesh Satan has again prevailed."[15]

Monotony, incompatibility with his companion, and a lack of faith in the mission are understandable, if not adequate rationalizations. Smart's notion of hereditary addiction is also not without merit, considering that his older brother Thomas, who had given substantial support to his mission, was a smoker and drinker during much of his life.[16]

In this troubled spirit, Smart began a practice he would follow, on occasion, until the last days of his life: "I arose after a poor night's rest . . . and walked through the extensive grave yard north of the City on the hills sloaping north. Headstones very rude. Could smell dead bodies. Shallow graves. Animals had dug into some and ate all but a few bones. Passing over this onto the summit, I gathered stones and built an altar, dedicated it, and prayed, pleading with God to forgive my sins, beseeching Him to shield me from sin in future especially smoking."[17] In later years, he would build and pray at many such altars during his Eastern States mission and in the foothills of the Uinta and Wasatch mountains of Utah.

September 3 brought a reply to his letter to Apostle Teasdale, "deciding," Smart confided in his journal, "we had better remain here and giving much good counsel." But the letter was more than that; although expressed in kindly apostolic language, it can only be called a scolding.

15. Ibid., August 27, 1889.
16. American Psychiatric Association, *Manual*, 268. The American Psychiatric Association reports that "the risk for smoking increases threefold if a first-degree biological relative [such as a brother] smokes. Twin and adoption studies indicate that genetic factors contribute to the onset and continuation of smoking."
17. Smart, Journals, August 30, 1889.

> Your interesting favor of July 18 has come to hand and contents noted. I am sorry to hear you have so little faith in the mission assigned you. The gospel has to be preached in Turkey in Asia . . . [and] it has fallen your lot with those who are with you to perform that labor. You must expect, my dear brother to meet with some difficulties and have your patience tested. We all have this to meet wherever our lot may be cast. . . . There is no mission that I know of but what requires patience and faithful labor to make any success. The Lord said before the church was organized that no one can assist in this work, except he shall be humble and full of love, having faith, hope, and charity, being temperate in all things . . . . remember you are sent to the Turkish Mission to labor and ask God to give you the spirit of your mission and the language of the people, and no matter how discouraging the outlook may appear you put your trust in God and do your duty. . . . Do not be discouraged, remember you are a servant of God laboring where you are sent. If He needs you in another field He will so order it.[18]

That rebuke and firm instruction was clearly not what Smart expected, in light of his interpretation of Teasdale's invitation in Liverpool that "I could go to Turkey, ascertain what could be done there and if I thought I could not spend the time advantageously, to write him." But no matter; he was no longer relying on counsel from his mission president or even from the apostle who presided over mission affairs in Europe and the Near East. He had turned to a higher authority, the president of the church. In the meantime, as he confided in his journal, "I have decided to take a trip to Palestine while awaiting the answer of President Woodruff concerning their decision on my case, and hope by breaking monotony and in changes of scenery to overcome smoking. Besides I think surely my sins are too great for them to allow my remaining on a mission."[19]

So with approval from no one and contrary to an apostle's specific instructions, he essentially abandoned his mission to go sightseeing, rationalizing that President Woodruff's response to his letter would end his mission anyway. To compound his insubordination as presiding elder in the Aintab District, he took Elder Simmons with him, leaving the German-speaking missionary, Dieterle, and the young doctor convert, Vazerian, on their own.

Sightseeing in the Holy Land

On September 12, Smart and Simmons set out for Palestine by muleback, with Smart rationalizing in his journal that "the cause of our visiting now is, that I cannot put my mind to study until I receive an answer to my letter to Pres. Woodruff, and thought the time would be best spent this way." Four days' journey brought them to the seaport of Alexandretta, where they took ship to Jaffa.

18. George Teasdale papers, 1831–1907, microfilm, MS 13496, reel 12, LDS Church Archives.
19. Smart, Journals, September 3, 1889.

En route, at the port of Beirut, he displayed a burst of anger and violence uncharacteristic of the calm, persuasive way of solving problems he later practiced throughout his life. In a dispute over the fee charged by a boatman, he records: "I sprang and grabbed him by the throat and choked him until his clique broke me loose. . . . the thing was settled by our giving him 10 instead of 11 piasters. I looked rather unlike a missionary with roth upon my face, shirtsleeves dirty and blood smeared upon it from him. But I was thoroughly out of patience with this nation of thieves as they seem as far from knowing honesty as the night is from knowing day. We left about 6 p.m. but I still burning with anger."[20]

At Jaffa, the travelers met two missionaries from Salt Lake City, Janne Mattson Sjodahl, presiding elder over the Palestine District, and C. U. Locander, who had just joined him there. Of Sjodahl he wrote: "He has not been long in the church, but seems honest, humble, unassuming. He is well learned having been a minister. Understands Hebrew and is a good logical writer and corresponds with the *Deseret News*."[21] That Smart was impressed by Sjodahl is not surprising. Born in Sweden in 1853, he had not been a minister, but had attended the Bethel Seminary in Stockholm and Regent's Park College in London and had served several years as general secretary of the Norwegian Baptist Union. Baptized in Manti, Utah, in 1886, he had been ordained a Seventy (an office in the higher, or Melchizedek, priesthood) in November 1888 and called to the Turkish Mission, serving in Palestine. Like Smart, he would be released from the mission early.

During their brief stay in Jaffa, Smart had his closest approach to a real missionary experience.

> The missionary work has been meager. The Germans say they want to hear no more of Mormonism. The Arabs could be rapidly converted with a promise to emigrate them or aid them in some way. As soon as Bro. Sjodahl came here one came and said he wanted to be a Mormon. . . . There was another about the same time. But he put them off and explained the gospel for three months. They still wanted baptism and as they showed no spirit that justified refusal I told Bro. S. I thought they should be baptised so that Bro. Locander baptised them. I confirmed one, bro Sjodahl the other, these being the first of the Ishmaelites baptised.[22]

What qualified Smart to make a recommendation that the more experienced missionaries would follow is not evident. With the exception of this event, he "passed the time by reading, walking, smoking, eating and sleeping. . . . I have had some Palestine wine which I like."[23]

20. Ibid., September 17, 1889.
21. Ibid., September 19, 1889.
22. Ibid., September 20 and 22, 1889.
23. Ibid.

For nineteen days, September 28 to October 16, Smart and Simmons were unabashed and energetic sightseers of the sacred and historic sites of Palestine. They seemed to miss nothing, spending days in Jerusalem and its environs and traveling as far as Jericho and the Dead Sea, where he found the water warm and soothing, its buoyancy "even beyond that of Salt Lake . . . all in all it was the most enjoyable bath I think I ever had."[24]

Smart's compulsion to keep a meticulous, comprehensive journal filled 111 pages with information about this expedition, including not only the sites and each day's incidents, but much of the history of the area, with Biblical references to the events that occurred there. As just one example, we learn from him the following about Jaffa, the Joppa of scripture: that it is believed to have existed since before the flood; that here (giving the appropriate scriptural references) were unloaded the cedars of Lebanon to build Solomon's temple; that Jonah, fleeing from the Lord, sailed from this port for his encounter with the great fish; that here the apostle Peter received the revelation to include the gentiles in the fold of Christ; that here Peter restored Dorcas to life. And we learn that of the fifteen to twenty thousand inhabitants at the time of Smart's visit, about a thousand are Christians, a few are Jews, and the rest are "Mahomedans."

The travelers finally returned, footsore and suffering from a variety of ailments. Two days later, Smart got an answer to his letter to President Woodruff.

> He sympathizes greatly and says he is very sorry that on having received so many blessings [I] should have given way to sin so great. Tells me he sees by my letter I have suffered much remorse and that I have truly repented. Exhorts me to strive the remainder of my life to serve God, and not allow Satan to cause me to feel there is no use. Says to get rebaptized and have all my priesthood and former blessings resealed upon me, but not to be in a hurry in doing so; meantime to apply myself diligently in magnifying my calling as a missionary. It is charitable and encouraging.[25]

Disobedience and Disharmony

Charitable and encouraging this letter may have been, but the injunction to magnify his missionary calling was not what Smart hoped to hear, at least as far as the Turkish Mission was concerned. Three days later, ignoring counsel even from the man he believed to be the Lord's prophet, he took the opposite course. He wrote a formal request to Apostle Teasdale for release from the mission, and cited in his journal this litany of grievances, including what seems to be a wholly unwarranted criticism of his mission president.

> I have been so discouraged at the outlooks of the mission, lack of plans of

24. Ibid., October 3, 1889.
25. Ibid., October 18, 1889.

> Pres. Hintze; food I cannot get used to; housing up in our place with hard study under the many unpleasant circumstances together with a deep sorrow over my past life, and sleeplessness; can not study advantageously on account of these things—especially ill health—therefor I concluded the best to do before I became entirely useless was to be released and appointed to some field where I could travel more and where I could labor without such heavy preparation. Bro. Sjodahl has also written for release, but to return home. Has been here a year, but is tired and unwell.[26]

Things were far from well in the Palestine District of the mission. Not only was Sjodahl, the district president, seeking release, but Locander, the other missionary stationed there, was determined to go as well. Of him, Smart wrote: "The spirit of apostacy seems to be grieving on him. He is incessantly finding fault with the authorities, etc. Using all his influence to discourage Simmons's going back to Aintab, as he intends leaving mission and desires him to do same to somewhat take away the reproach as they are both from Salt Lake. I tell Simmons to pay no attention to him."[27]

Apparently Simmons followed that counsel. No doubt with a heavy heart, knowing his companions would be going home, he returned alone to his station in Aintab. He paid for his faithfulness with his life; on February 4, 1890, he died in Turkey of smallpox. Learning of this death during a brief stay in England while en route home, Smart wrote in his journal: "This news rendered me sad indeed, and I could not help but thank God that I am here, as had I remained there I should have been very likely to meet the same awful fate."[28]

So, besides President Hintze, only one missionary with whom Smart associated in Turkey or Palestine served out his full mission. That would be the German-speaking Friederich Diederle who, soon after his release, came to Utah in 1892. The other Mormon in Aintab, the young doctor and convert George Vazerian, continued to preach after the elders left, and a branch of the church with his converts was organized in 1890. According to the mission history, he later "fell into transgression and apostatized."[29]

Nearly two months dragged by while the missionaries awaited Apostle Teasdale's response to their requests for release. Walking, reading, receiving and answering mail, studying scripture, and sitting in cafes filled some of the hours, but "there is absolutely nothing to do," Smart lamented. "No one scarcely ever calls, and almost nothing here is done in preaching the gospel. . . . Time wearily drags." His poor health continued: "Am troubled with tightness of chest, colds, & severe cough and general weakness."[30] So did

26. Ibid., October 21, 1889.
27. Ibid., October 24, 1889.
28. Ibid., February 22, 1890.
29. Turkish Mission MS History and Historical Reports, July 7, 1889.
30. Smart, Journals, October 29, 1889.

sleepless nights: "Fleas and bed bugs are almost unendurable."[31] Idleness festered into irritation with his companions: "Locander fault finding and endeavoring to get us to travel sight seeing while Pres. Teasdale's answer is coming, but I refuse. I don't care to be associated with him any more than I can help."[32]

Notwithstanding President Woodruff's expressed confidence that Smart had repented, the smoking continued. So did his attempts to rationalize his weakness.

> Feel very unwell. Bad cough. Went for Pres's letter—none. . . . Have read [in his journal] an account of my great mental sufferings while in Aintab which so vividly brings up the awfulness of that life that the tears start and shudders sweep over me. I saw that unless I succeeded in throwing off some of the bitter remorseful thoughts I had, and enjoy moderate smoking for the time at least, as best I could, that I should certainly go insane; so since coming here I have not attempted to quit, as there seems to be all the miseries I can possible stand without this.[33]

This decision is a typical example of addictive behavior, yielding to the addiction as a mechanism for coping with seemingly intolerable problems. In fact, Smart's entire ordeal with smoking precisely fits the pattern medical science describes (see chapter 2). During these years of early adulthood, Smart suffered all the symptoms of nicotine withdrawal, not just occasionally but over and over again during his oft-repeated efforts to quit. In his case, a moral factor was joined to these physiological consequences—a heavy burden of guilt because of disobedience to his church's teachings.

He and Sjodahl were out of money, adding to their troubles during this period of idleness while awaiting their release from the mission. They decided to go to Haifa to stay—free of charge, they hoped—with a German-speaking convert, George Grau. As a blacksmith, Grau was well-to-do, Smart reported, having vineyards, a "good rock house," and a shop. "He feeds the elders when they come seems pleased to have them come; read, preach & pray for him, but never forgets to remark unpleasantly about the cost, and show his pleasure on their departure."[34]

In S. J. Sjodahl, Smart was finding a kindred spirit. His journal of December 6 records a remarkably prescient exchange of ideas.

> I gave Bro. S. the ideas I have had for some time as to the need at home of a thoroughly religious paper, containing not only points of instruction and interest concerning our own people and church, but history of religion generally & biographies etc. I thought the Deseret Weekly would be well adapted to this line; also that there should be a competent editor for this

31. Ibid., October 31, 1889.
32. Ibid., November 12, 1889.
33. Ibid., December 1, 1889.
34. Ibid., December 8, 1889.

> department whose mind, ideas, and inclinations fitted him for so important a position. . . . In my opinion he would be a fit person for this work.[35]

Sjodahl did indeed join the staff of the Deseret News shortly after returning from his mission, and became its editor in 1906. In that year, the Deseret News expanded the religion coverage Smart envisioned to two pages, but not until 1931 was church news published as a separate section.[36] In 1914, Sjodahl was called to the British Mission, where he became associate editor of the Millennial Star. Later he compiled a highly-regarded commentary on the Doctrine and Covenants.

Finally, on December 13, the long-awaited letter from Apostle Teasdale arrived. It did not contain the answer Smart hoped to hear. Teasdale wrote that he had sent the requests for release on to church headquarters, but he told the missionaries that he wanted them to remain until spring. Having no funds to purchase his passage home, Sjodahl decided to follow that counsel. But not Smart. "With the weaknesses I have in body and mind, and remorseful conscience still priding me," he wrote, "I fear the pressures are entirely too great for me to battle with the hard circumstances of this mission, including the learning of such difficult languages. What to do, I do not know. Our welcome is already run out at Bro Grau's."[37] His indecision was brief; having received Grau's assurance that he would loan him the money for passage home, Smart confided in his journal on December 18 that

> I have mailed a letter to Pres. Teasdale today in which I give reasons why I have concluded to return now instead of spring. My reasons are, that I cannot speak any language that can be understood here sufficiently to do any missionary work: I should be expending means—limited—to no purpose: My body and spirits are not in a healthy condition. I express myself as feeling assured if he were well acquainted with the circumstances he would thus decide; and this being the case, and as it takes so long to receive answer to a letter, I excuse myself on returning without present permition. I call his attention to the fact, also, that in England he gave me licence to leave the mission if I did not feel my time would be spent advantageously.

Smart's unwillingness to follow counsel from an apostle or even from the church president reflects the difficulties of the mission, his lack of faith in it, and his own frequently mentioned episodes of depression aggravated by his burden of guilt. But something else was festering in him. His earlier efforts to take a second wife either soon after or in connection with his marriage to Anna suggest his strong convictions about the principle of plural marriage. Now, in his journal, he confided a remarkable declaration of conscience and of disharmony with church leadership over what he felt

35. Ibid., December 6, 1889.
36. Wendell J. Ashton, *Voice in the West* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1950), 304.
37. Smart, Journals, December 13, 1889.

was dishonesty in the church's response to the government's anti-polygamy pressure. Probably his disharmony concerning one issue, his mission, fed his dissension concerning the other.

> I cannot say whether it is an evidence of lack of faith and implicit confidence in church counsel; but I must admit ever since the active persecution of the polygamists began, and we have not only evaded in every way the officers, but gone into court and made untrue statements; have placed a clause in state Constitution in conformity to the Edmunds law; have endeavored to make the world believe we are now not entering into polygamy, or violating the law by cohabitating with our plural wives previously married; have condescended to subscribe to test oaths that stretched our consciences to the extreme, in order to vote in spite of the test oath that was to the effect that no mormon could vote; and last, but not least, taught our children to equivocate on points relative to the domestic circle and thereby nurture them in the immoral conduct of lying,—I have been prone to question the righteousness and propriety of these policies.

Then, seeming to reflect an attitude at this period of his life that he knew better than the church leaders did, he left no doubt of the course he felt should have been taken.

> I cannot but hold that if we from the outset had maintained a straight forward course—proceeded in filling our sacred covenants to God, and petitioned the officials for redress of grievances as commanded by revelation, that sooner would persecution have reached its climax; and sooner would God have made bear [bare] his arm in behalf of His people. Then, too, when the climax had been reached, what a history of constancy and heroism would have been left as vantage grounds to future generations, and how with pride they would have perused those pages and would have dropped tears upon those heroic expositions as homages of united pride in love!

He was, however, humble enough to concede that possibly there "may be an invisible virtue and wisdom in this course better known to God and His immediate council on earth, and that time in her slow but constant exposition of divine wisdom may erase all doubts of expediency."[38]

This ambivalence—not to say dissension—about polygamy was not unique in late nineteenth-century Mormondom. It was a troubled time, during which the church wrestled with a problem that threatened to split it apart. Church officials were in hiding to avoid prosecution and prison. The government was empowered to disenfranchise polygamists and seize church property. It was under such pressure that President Woodruff issued the Manifesto against plural marriage in 1890.

The declaration was unanimously approved in that year's general conference, but not unanimously followed, either in conscience or in practice.

38. Ibid., December 18, 1889.

Some church leaders, and many members, continued to believe the principle was essential to exaltation—and to act on their beliefs. It was not until church president Joseph F. Smith proclaimed the Second Manifesto in April 1904 that contracting a plural marriage was made grounds for excommunication. Some deeply committed members, William H. Smart among them, were not persuaded.

Finally, a Release

On Christmas Eve, the missionaries got their long-awaited releases—possibly just in time, in view of the depths of despondency reflected in Smart's December 22 journal entry: "Life now to me is burdensome, loathsome, disinteresting, except when my soul is as by magic lighted up by thought of the 'dear ones at home.'" The release, stemming from President Woodruff and relayed through Apostle Teasdale, included both Smart and Sjodahl.[39]

Teasdale was instructed to send them money to return home, but Smart was too impatient to wait for that. He advised Teasdale that he would borrow money from their host to get himself and Sjodahl to Liverpool. It was clear why he felt confident in getting the loan. As he told his journal: "Bro Grau's hospitality having been taxed so heavily by the brethren staying with so much . . . and as the people make snearing remarks about our being here, he is very anxious to have us go. . . . He would rather loan us the money and chance receiving it again, it seems, than have us remain longer."[40]

On January 2, he and Sjodahl jolted for eight hours in a "dead axle wagon"—in the rain—to Jaffa and caught an English merchant vessel to Alexandria. There, although "still very unwell . . . I feel but little like going out," his passion for sightseeing won, and they visited Pompey's Monument, which he described as a solid stone of red granite, sixty feet high and nine feet in diameter. He marveled that to bring it so far (from the quarry at Aswan, six hundred miles up the Nile) and put it in place proved "that the early fathers were not ignorant of mechanical apparatus."[41]

The next day, January 11, they boarded an English steamer for Liverpool, occupying "a berth on the aft part of the deck over the screw and where we would get the full benefit of the tossing of the vessel." He got that "benefit" in the Bay of Biscay, where a "perfect gale" with "waves almost mts high" kept him in his bunk for six days, hardly tasting any food. However, "although almost deathly sick not a fear crept into my heart, and my thoughts were alternately lifted to the promises and goodness of my Divine protector and

39. L. John Nuttall, secretary to the First Presidency, noted in his journal of November 25, 1889: "By letter to rest Geo Teasdale, Liverpool, Bros J[anne] M. Sjodahl & W[illiam] H Smart were released to return home from the Turkish Mission on account of ill health." Jedediah S. Rogers, ed., *In the President's Office: The Diaries of L. John Nuttall, 1879–1892* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2007), 394.
40. Smart, Journals, January 2, 1890.
41. Ibid., January 10, 1890.

falling fondly upon those dear ones at home who were praying for me."[42]

The ship docked at Liverpool on January 26, and Smart went north to the Birmingham area to visit his father's relatives. He found his Uncle George had "died by drinking poison for whisky last May," bought twenty-five books "of religious and profane history, some other religious works, & Logic, philosophy, etc. . . . at a cost of about $35 . . . as my fare, I think will be paid home," and returned to Liverpool on February 1 to check in with Apostle Teasdale.

The First Presidency's instructions to Teasdale had been clear; the missionaries were to return home. Sjodahl apparently did, but Smart did not. "President Teasdale . . . advised me to try missionary work in England awhile to see how it would agree with me if I felt well enough. As I am feeling better this meets my mind." Teasdale agreed that the church would repay the £12 borrowed in Jaffa for his passage to Liverpool, and a letter from home brought £10 from his wife, £4 from his father, £4 from his brother Tom, £1 from James Webster, and £1 from his sister Eliza. So he was once again solvent.

He was assigned to labor in the London Conference as a companion to Hyrum Ricks.[43] For a month, with mixed success, they did what missionaries did then and do now—distributed tracts, held gospel conversations, and studied the scriptures. He was learning more about the doctrine he had come to preach: "Wednesday 26th—finished reading Pearl of Great Price. This is a splendid work: so logical and eloquent." During this time Smart recorded a few instances of poor health, but none of smoking. On March 2, the two companions were able to report in a priesthood meeting that they had distributed about two thousand tracts and held fourteen gospel conversations.

On March 6 came a scare: "Was awakened from slumber last night by a smothering or suffocating spell. Hyrum was also awakened by my gasping for breath. In much fear and agitation, he raised me up in bed and administered to me." But the crisis passed by morning, and during the day they "distributed tracts and had three gospel conversations."

He was getting into the spirit of the work, and perhaps feeling a bit proud about it. "I am pleased the Lord has opened up the way that I am getting second conversations with people and am getting our writings before them," he confided on March 8. "Hyrum cannot understand why I get to hold more conversations than he, and also find people who will hear me again and read our works. I can't either, so we don't fall out in arguing the matter—but are united feeling whatever is done is for the glory of God."

42. Ibid., January 19, 1890.
43. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:472. Hyrum Ricks was born in Farmington, Utah, on July 24, 1852, a son of Thomas E. Ricks. He served as bishop of the Rexburg Third Ward from 1907–1910.

But on March 19 he wrote: "Slept very poorly last night. Health not so good. Pres Learing [his district president] asked me today if I did not think I ought to go home. I told him I wanted him to use his judgement in matter." By April 2 it was settled: "Pres Learning having (on his own accord) suggested my release on account of my health, to Pres Teasdale, the letter sets the 12th [of April] for my departure."

Sunday, April 6, he noted, was the sixtieth birthday of the church and his own twenty-eighth birthday. It was also his last church meeting during a mission that in the main can only be called a painful failure, but that at least gave him some satisfaction at the end. In his final meeting he "expressed regret that I had not been able to accomplish as much as I desired, yet did not feel to complain against anyone unless myself. If through my breaking the laws of nature in the past, I have sowed the seeds of dissolution, I groan not in reaping the harvest; if, perchance, I reap from my ancestors' sowing [again, that suggestion of genetic causes for his addiction], I do so [illegible]; if, in the wisdom of God's mercy, He, for some unknown reason is returning me, broken, to my home, then I thank Him for it."

But he could not forgo recording that "during the Priesthood meeting, Bro. Hyrum Ricks, in giving our report, said most of the conversations must be credited to Bro. Smart." He added that "he had taken much pleasure in his company and could testify that he is a 'man of God.'"

This writer of such voluble journals was clearly tired of writing, and perhaps tired of the entire experience. All he recorded about his long trip home, dated April 7 but obviously written much later, was this: "Having been released honorably, and my fare paid home, I arrived about April 25th. Found all well."

Four

A Repentant Sinner Finds Himself

The next eight years saw profound changes in William H. Smart's life. His family grew from one infant daughter to four children. Despite his continued smoking, he resumed teaching at the church-owned Brigham Young College and filled various church callings, none of them positions of leadership. One crucial change was in his financial condition, and in the way he improved it. He returned virtually penniless from the failed Turkish mission. After three more years of struggling financially as a schoolteacher, he finally gave it up and became a full-time player in the then-burgeoning sheep industry. Within three years after that decision, he had achieved the financial independence that would enable him to spend his life in church service. More importantly, he seems during this time to have shed much of the indecision, vacillation, self-deprecation, and despondence that had plagued his life. And by the end of that period he had finally cast off his greatest burden—his addiction to smoking.

He began modestly enough, spending the summer following his return from his mission in the lowliest of occupations, herding his brother's sheep in the mountains above Franklin and Bear Lake. For that summer's work he earned $100. In the fall, he took stock. After expenses, he reported to his journal, "all we have—besides our home—to commence with is $50."[1]

But he had a job, rejoining the faculty at Brigham Young College in Logan for $1000 a year. His teaching load seems heavy and certainly eclectic: elocution, rhetoric, penmanship, bookkeeping, arithmetic, algebra, U.S. history, and civil government. Expenses were low; rent for a three-room house in Logan was $6 a month, and he recouped part of that by renting

1. Smart, Journals, September 1, 1890.

out his house in Franklin for $4. For a while, in his spare time he taught ten-week elocution courses in Logan, Franklin, Lewiston, Smithfield, and Hyde Park—at $75 per course, regardless of the number of students. So the young couple struggled and made do.

Despite his addiction and personal torment during this stage of his life, he must have been an excellent teacher. In his autobiography, John A. Widtsoe, a distinguished scientist, university president, and Mormon apostle, wrote of entering Brigham Young College in 1889, at age seventeen. Of twenty-seven-year-old William H. Smart and three other special faculty members, he wrote: "They were not holders of high academic degrees, but their learning was sound, and their teaching ability surpassingly good. I have known none better. . . . The teachers simplified their subjects, and led the students onward by easy steps. There was no attempt to make a show of learning, or to confuse the student by requirements beyond their reasonable reach. It was real teaching."[2] In Smart's file of personal correspondence are no fewer than nine letters from Widtsoe, several expressing gratitude for his inspiration and help.[3]

Another testimonial about that help came to Smart's son, Thomas Laurence, when he was a student at the college.

> One day I was riding from town up to the college when a man sat down by me and put his arm around my shoulder. I turned and was astonished to see that it was John A. Widtsoe, the president of the college. He said, "Laurence, I have wanted to tell you something about your father." He then told me that when he was a student at B. Y. College he had quit school in order to go to work and support his widowed mother; and that father convinced him that he could do much more for his mother by finishing his education. He went back to school and became one of the greatest authorities on irrigation, the president of the Utah Agricultural College and later of the University of Utah, and finally one of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of the church.[4]

Nor was Widtsoe the only student helped by Smart. Young Laurence was elected class president, and in that capacity was held responsible for an interclass fracas that spoiled a school dance and injured a student. Summoned to the office of George Thomas, the school disciplinarian, he later recalled that he was told: "'You should be asked to leave school, but I cannot send the son of William H. Smart home.' He told me that when he was a student [there] he had so much difficulty mastering the course of study he quit school and took a job herding sheep, and that father, his teacher, had gone

2. John A. Widtsoe, *In a Sunlit Land* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1952), 21.
3. Widtsoe to Smart, February 29, 1916, August 15, 1919, and April 16, 1921, Smart Papers.
4. Thomas Laurence Smart, "Personal History of Thomas Laurence Smart, December 5, 1873-April 27, 1980," 20, typescript, undated, in possession of the author.

out in the hills, induced him to come back to school, and helped him with his studies. This man later became the president of University of Utah."[5]

But such accolades were far in the future. For now Smart's challenge was to put food on the table. At the end of 1890, he settled his accounts with the church in the customary Mormon way: "Paid my tithing for 1890. $40 tithing orders [apparently the value of that much work pledged on church projects], and $10 cash. We pay a monthly poor offering of 50 cents."[6] If this amount represents the honest 10 percent the church asks of its members—and there is no evidence Smart was less than honest in his tithing, then or later—it is clear he was hardly getting rich. But that would soon change.

Change was also coming on a much broader scale, involving the church itself. Almost since its founding, and especially after the church relocated to the Great Basin, Mormon relations with the federal government, never good, deteriorated. Six times, beginning in 1849–50, petitions to Congress begged for statehood. Six times, even in 1887 after a Mormon-approved proposed state constitution prohibited polygamy, the petitions were denied; Congress also demanded that church leaders specifically disavow polygamy.[7] And there was another major problem standing as an obstacle to statehood—the Mormon tendency of bloc-voting in support of its People's Party.

Throughout his long presidency of the church (1847–77), Brigham Young was implacable—and occasionally vitriolic—in defending the church and its practices against federal interference. His successor, John Taylor (1877–87), was no less obdurate. In Taylor's last public discourse, he declared that "I cannot as an honorable man . . . trample these holy and eternal obligations [plural marriage] under foot, that God has given me to keep, and which reach into the eternities that are to come."[8] He then went into hiding for the final two and a half years of his presidency rather than yield to the government.

Wilford Woodruff, his successor, was more pragmatic. Although not sustained as president until April 1889, he was, as president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the de facto leader of the church from the moment of Taylor's death in 1887. Early in his ministry, and during the less-hostile administration of U.S. President Grover Cleveland (1885–89; 1893–97), he began the process of modernizing the church. His 1890 Manifesto, advising church members to refrain from practicing polygamy, ended federal efforts to disenfranchise Mormons, seize church property, and send

5. Ibid., 19–20.
6. Smart, Journals, January 5, 1891. For a discussion of tithing and the various ways of paying it in the LDS Church, see Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 133–45.
7. Edward Leo Lyman, "Statehood for Utah," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allen Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994) , 529–30.
8. *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, February 17, 1885, 1.

convicted polygamists to prison. Then, in 1891, the Mormon People's Party was quietly disbanded, and Mormons were encouraged to join either the Republican or Democratic Party, both of which had recently been organized in Utah.[9] The intent was to divide their membership equally between the two parties. Indeed, tradition holds that some congregations were divided down the middle, assigning members sitting on one side of the chapel to be Republicans, and on the other side, Democrats.

Smart's journal entry for October 8, 1890, records these two seminal events, adding something of his own feelings.

> Recently Pres. Woodruff has issued a Manifesto declaring his advice to the Saints is to discontinue entering into plural marriage in U.S. The same was received by vote by the Conference on the 6th at Salt Lake City. He says the sin will fall upon those who have caused it to be a crime in the U.S. He asserts having communed with the prophet Jos. Smith and that there is still communication between Heaven and the Saints. The Manifesto has caused many Saints to feel that through persecution we are becoming faint-hearted.

Smart's reporting, without comment, the president's assertion of communion with the dead Joseph Smith and with heaven concerning the polygamy issue leaves unclear how he himself felt about this claim. But the journal entry he had made on December 18, 1889, in the closing days of his Turkish mission, leaves no doubt that he was among those who felt that the church was becoming faint-hearted.

Of the division into political parties, on June 16, 1891, he wrote: "Instead of the Political parties Liberal & People, we shall now join issues with the two great parties of the nation, Democratic & Republican. The Saints are free to join either. Some of the leaders are going Republican, some Democratic. My present sympathies are with the Democratic Party."

The division into two parties proved to be anything but simple. In the church leadership councils, party affiliation became a source of conflict for decades.[10] Among members, political affiliation still continues to fluctuate, and is seldom close to equality. As for Smart, his Democratic sympathies didn't last. Throughout his presidency of four stakes, he voted a straight Republican ticket and didn't hesitate to use his office to encourage others in that direction. He served a term as a Republican senator in the Utah legislature.

Smart's journal of April 1, 1891, notes two other events, one of world and one of national importance, but with an understatement that may reflect an incomplete awareness of what was going on, a provincialism born

9. Lyman, "Statehood for Utah," 530.
10. See Thomas Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986). Also see Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

of isolation, or both. First, he reports: "This has been a most extraordinary winter for its sickness. The disease la grippe or influenza has inflicted many, and the mortality has been great. It is less violent here now, but is going East. Recently in one week Chicago reports 920 deaths." The reference is to the so-called Russian flu of 1889–90. While far less deadly than the Spanish flu that would kill more than twenty million people thirty years later, it was worldwide and was the most devastating influenza epidemic up to that time. Beginning in central Asia in the summer of 1889, it spread north into Russia, east to China, and west to Europe, eventually striking North America, parts of Africa, and major Pacific Rim countries. By conservative estimates, 250,000 died in Europe, and the world death total was two to three times that.[11]

Smart's other report was similarly understated.

> There have been excitements among the Indians for some months past, they claiming the Savior has appeared to them. The Saints are charged by the U.S. as having worked this deception upon them to incite them to insurrection, but as an evidence of the falsity of this, the Indians are not inclined to war, but they say they are to come into possession of peaceful home in America and the Great Spirit is going to fight their battles.

That is an approximate description of the non-militant, quasi-religious Ghost Dance movement among western Indian tribes in the late nineteenth century. Claiming to have had contact with spirits of departed Indians and with the Supreme Being, a Nevada Paiute mystic named Wovoka—known to the whites as Jack Wilson—urged that dancing the traditional circle dance would cause the whites to disappear. The movement spread widely. Militant leaders among the Lakota Sioux, angry over the hunger and sickness of their people, seized on the dance as a symbol for the violent overthrow of the white man's rule, claiming that the sacred ghost shirt would protect them against soldiers' bullets. That led, on December 29, 1890, to one of the last Indian-white armed conflicts, the Wounded Knee Massacre.[12] Writing three months later, Smart must have known of the tragedy, which, unaccountably, he fails to mention.

On March 31, 1891, Smart took the first step on the path that would lead him to affluence and enable him to spend his life in church service.

> Went to Franklin today and sold James W. Webster the house and lot which was given to me by father—the old homestead. The consideration is as follows.—$300 Cash within fifteen days; a span of bays, one horse of which is five years old, [the] other a mare, four years old: Seven cows with calves to

11. Lehigh University, "History & Epidemiology," http://www.lehigh.edu/jgm4/history.html (accessed August 26, 2003; site no longer available).
12. Jerry Keenan, *Encyclopedia of American Indian Wars, 1492–1890* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 252–54.

> be good average, not over four years old. . . . The mare is now lame in the left hind foot, and he is to keep her until well, and if she does not become entirely sound he is to pay me in her stead $50 Cash.

Webster was his brother-in-law, having married his younger sister, Mary Jane, who had been born in that house. Smart's later involvement as a sheepman would be in partnership with Webster.

The Newest Sheepman

A month later, he took the next fateful step. Although still struggling financially to support his wife and daughter, he invested the entire $300 in his brother Tom's infant sheep business. The terms were simple and based entirely on brotherly trust: "One year from shearing time next, whatever he has of mine, he is to pay me interest on according to the business of the past year. I have left him to divide the profits of this money in equity between us according to the relative value of my capital and his skill & labor."[13] So now he was a capitalist, although on a most modest scale.

In the fall of 1890, a sheepherder chipped off a bit of rock in the Bear River Mountains west of Cache Valley. It proved to be galena, assaying four hundred ounces of silver to the ton. When the snow melted the following spring, some fifteen hundred prospectors rushed into the area. The boomtown of La Plata, on the border of Cache and Weber counties, sprang up in days, and contained two stores, saloons, a barber shop, a post office, a boarding house, and dwellings—some sixty buildings in all. Half a dozen mines were opened that summer, with the ore hauled by wagon to the railroad at Ogden and shipped on to smelters in Salt Lake City.[14]

Smart joined the rush. On August 15, 1891, his journal reports: "I went to Laplata, the mining Camp where I remained the greater part of the time until the 15 of Oct. Prospects of lead and silver have been found in many places. . . . I have been taking charge until organization completed. Received $140 for my services." But the neophyte capitalist wanted to be neither a caretaker nor a prospector. Borrowing $500 from his brother, he invested it in the Sundown and Laplata Company.

For most investors, the risk didn't pay, as the small lodes were soon played out. The Sundown owners, of whom Smart was a minor one, drove a 190-foot tunnel under the original strike, but found nothing. No one else found a major ore body, and what ore was shipped turned out to average a miserly ten ounces of silver a ton. The silver panic of 1893 dealt the final blow to this enterprise, and by the summer of 1964, the last mine was closed. For Smart, that didn't matter; by good planning or, more likely, good luck, he

13. Smart, Journals, April 28, 1891.
14. Stephen L. Carr, *The Historical Guide to Utah Ghost Towns* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1972), 18.

had sold his mining stock in the summer of 1892 for a $1000 lot near the agricultural college in Logan.[15] With 100 percent profit from a one-year investment, he was learning about the power of money to make money, and also about the risks involved.

His modest $300 investment in his brother's sheep operation paid off as well. "During this year I have done fairly well under the arrangement," he confided in his journal on October 27, 1892. "Besides keeping my family and finishing paying up some accounts I made $500 which I paid to my brother for amount borrowed into Laplata Mine."

Solvent now and seeing the possibilities, he entered the sheep business in earnest, on what seemed to be, for him, highly favorable terms: "In the fall of 1893 James W. Webster and I bought a band of sheep he putting in $2360 and time against my time and we would divide profits equally. We paid for half of them $1.90 and for the other half, which belonged to Thomas Smart, my brother, $2."[16] That would have been a small band, perhaps about a thousand sheep, but it was the beginning of the Smart & Webster Livestock Company that very shortly made Smart a wealthy man. One clause of the contract, rigorously adhered to throughout their association, was that before settlement of any other debt they would pay an honest tithing.

Smart spent parts of two more years teaching, which he characterized as unselfish public service: "My health being better and the Franklin schools being in a very bad shape I engaged to teach the advanced grade and be Principal of District. . . . Received $90 per month." That school year, 1893–94, lasted seven months. The following year, with his wife working as his assistant for a combined salary of $125 a month, the school continued for six and a half months before closing for lack of funds. He managed to put a positive spin on that unhappy ending, and added a bit of self-congratulation. "The schools are in good condition now," he told his journal, "and having thus done some good to my birth place I feel now to retire from the profession of teaching."[17] For the next several years, he would give his major attention to raising and marketing sheep.

Smart's decision to become a sheepman could not have come at a more profitable time for him—or a more ruinous time for the mountain and desert ranges he would use. Sheep husbandry began in the Great Basin within a year of the Mormon pioneers' arrival, when a few small flocks accompanied the 1848 immigrants. The mountainous terrain and arid desert lands, both unsuitable for cultivation, proved ideal for sheep. The range was open and free, and Brigham Young encouraged the practice of raising sheep to provide homespun fabric to help his isolated people become self-sufficient.

15. Smart, Journals, October 27, 1892.
16. Ibid., dated October 27, 1892, but obviously written later.
17. Ibid.

So the industry mushroomed, but the land paid a terrible price. The 1880 census, just thirty-three years after the Mormon arrival, recorded: "The once best grassed and most valuable pasture grounds of the territory present now scarcely a trace of their former abundant forage grasses or browse feed. . . . In 1880 there was not a single locality west of the Wasatch Mountains from Cache Valley to the basin of the Rio Virgin which did not exhibit effects of overgrazing."[18]

It got worse. As one range expert described conditions in the late nineteenth century,

> vagrant stockmen roved about the region pasturing their flocks wherever they could find forage. Their "four-footed locusts" frequently denuded a whole range in a single passage. To protect themselves against these tramps, the resident stockmen grazed their animals more heavily each season than before. With the arrival of spring each grazier would drive his animals at once to the earliest green pasturage, then to the next, and the next, striving always to keep ahead of competing stockmen. This practice of early grazing became particularly destructive when the animals closely followed the retreating snow-line, cropping the earliest vegetative growth almost as soon as it appeared. . . . In many localities the range was so crowded that it was grazed continuously throughout the season. . . . Consequently many ranges were practically ruined.[19]

Despite such competition, Smart prospered. His journal-keeping was sporadic during this period, but his infrequent entries report remarkable growth. The thousand sheep with which Smart & Webster Livestock started business in the fall of 1893 had grown to 5852 by the spring of 1895.[20] That was while Smart was still teaching school. After he quit to give full-time attention to the sheep, the business mushroomed. That summer and fall, the partners "spent July in traveling through the Snake River country" and bought a quarter-section of land for $1,350; "bought and sold sheep," borrowing $22,000 in the process; in October "took about 8500 head, mostly lambs, to Shelton, Nebraska, to feed," and another 1,500 cull lambs to the Snake River to fatten before sending them to market. Total expenses for the year were $49,268.81; the proceeds, $52,196.51.[21]

The next year, 1896, in spite of a bad spring and poor lambing, he reported that they marketed about 12,000 lambs, received about $12,000 for their wool clip, ended the year with "about 20,000 ewes . . . and some 4,000 tail end weathers and lambs," and showed a profit of $5,106.45 for the year.

18. Langdon White, "Transhumance in the Sheep Industry of the Salt Region," *Economic Geography* (July 1926): 418–19.
19. Ibid., 416–17.
20. Smart, Journals, March 27, 1895.
21. Ibid., October 15, 1895.

They were expanding geographically as well as financially. Smart "spent part of the winter in the southern part of the State of Utah where I bought & wintered two bands of stock sheep." The following summer, 1897, they were ranging their sheep not only in Beaver Canyon above Bear Lake, but also in the Snake River Range and the Teton Basin country. Their twelve bands totaled 35,755 sheep and lambs.

A December 18, 1897, letter from LDS Church headquarters enquiring about his willingness to serve a church mission would soon change Smart's life forever. It caused him to reflect on his financial success and on his purpose in life.

> This call was a great shock to me. Since making a business of sheep I had devoted my best energies to it and was anxious to accumulate wealth as rapidly as possible while giving it my whole time. For three years, or since I had been giving the business my time, we have been very successful. We commenced with very little credit & with one band of sheep & owing for them all as far as I was concerned. Our credit has gradually increased and also our herds until at this time we have 12 herds at home (range sheep about 31,000) and 6500 in Nebraska, and owe about $50,000. . . . Just now at the receiving of the first letter I was negotiating for a loan of $100,000 with which to carry out a scheme in my mind of handling merchant sheep the coming year, and I had received promise of it from Greer Mills & Co–Chicago on certain terms. I mention this to show to what extent our credit has grown, and also to show in what condition of mind and circumstances I was at the time. I had also built a permanent feeding plant at Chapman [Nebraska] a part of which was a line of corn crib, granary & grinding Elevator. . . . For our wonderful prosperity I have always given God the glory feeling always that He was helping us. I was ambitious for means that I might be able to get into circumstances where I should not have to be worrying about such things and that I might devote myself to the kingdom of God both by my means and by my own works. I know this is reversing things, but I must acknowledge it as true.[22]

There were other factors in their success. One was Smart's boldness, based on his confidence in his own abilities. He acknowledged as much: "At the commencement of this year's [1897] business, my partner and I agreed that should we be worth $60,000 in six years, or at any time previous that we should be equal partners in the business. He has about $3000 more invested than I and he has agreed to enter into this arrangement believing my time to be that much more valuable to the business than his. I proposed it believing that I could so manage as to effect this gain."[23]

Another factor was his meticulous attention to detail. His journal records pages of what he calls "Observation Notes" of what he was learning about the

22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., "Heading: Business Agreement."

sheep business. There are twenty-four "notes" like these: "Moreno ewes are poor mothers, & poor mutton, hence coarser sheep more profitable." "Never buy cheap article for breeding. Get what you want or don't buy." "Never send herds where you presume there is feed. Either hunt feed thoroughly, or give responsibility to herders entirely." "A Corral 28 rds. around or 40 sq. rds. will loosely hold 2650 ewes and lambs." "Move ewes and lambs morning and evening—otherwise lose lambs." The process of lambing involved twelve additional "notes," such as: "Have plans well matured and everything ready in season, & not leave things to last hour." "Have stake ropes or fencing for bad cases." "If ewes are hobbled better do so fore & hind so can be caught. I like staking better." "Have ready good scare-crows & plenty of sacks or such things to lay lambs on if necessary." "Grub enough to last."[24]

But the major factor in his success, except for, or perhaps part of, whatever divine guidance he may have received, was his impeccable timing. Smart and Webster rode the crest of the dramatic rise of the sheep industry in Utah, and by the time of its meteoric fall, the company was solidly established and continued to prosper. Its growth and profitability were typical of those of many Cache County sheepmen. In 1880, some 10,000 sheep roamed the county; by the turn of the century, the number had soared to 300,000. With free and uncontrolled grazing in the forests and on the desert lands to the west, profits multiplied. But it couldn't last. The range was being ruined, the streams were polluted—full of silt, and often flooding—and the citizens were getting angry. William Peterson, a geology professor at Utah State Agricultural College, described conditions during that period.

> In 1903 I undertook to map the glacial geology of the Bear River range as a special problem under the direction of the University of Chicago. I knew this range intimately and proposed to work it with merely a saddle horse and a pack horse. The area covered was from Blacksmith Fork Canyon to Soda Springs on the north and from Cache Valley on the west to Bear Lake Valley on the east. . . . As I had known the area, the tops of canyons and the high cirques had never been grazed, so I started with a small amount of grain, feeling that I could graze my animals as the work proceeded. I cannot over-exaggerate the conditions found. The first night out my animals were tied up to keep from wandering, because there was absolutely no feed available. I purposely visited the very head of the canyons, those areas which were most generally inaccessible, but greatly to my surprise sheep had been there and had transformed what had previously been a luxuriant growth of grass and flowers into a dirty, uninviting barren spot. Only one night do I remember I was able to graze the animals out and that was by partially building a trail that got the horses onto a ledge where sheep had not been able to climb. This was the only

24. Ibid., April 27, 1895.

night of actual grazing given to my animals during the six or seven weeks I rode the Bear River range.[25]

Facing such conditions, the Cache County Commission called a public meeting to discuss the possibility of creating a forest reserve to save the land. The Logan Journal of February 18, 1902, reported the event: "Mr. Hillyard of Smithfield was afraid people would be prevented from getting wood from the mountains and thought reservoirs would conserve the water best. George Bell, being a sheep man, of course protested against the reserve." "Mr. Hobbs from Benson . . . thought the brush should be destroyed as it scratched his pants when he got out wood, and anyway, a timber reserve was a humbug. Prayer was the thing, just straight prayer and faith."

But those sentiments were in the minority. "President [James H.] Linford of the B. Y. College, made a telling talk in favor of the reserve, calling attention to the manner in which public health is being endangered by the grazing of large herds of sheep along our watercourses." Professor Swendsen argued that "sheep have eaten off all the weeds and grass, have destroyed the underbrush and trampled the earth solid along our watersheds. The result is that the moisture cannot sink to replenish the spring, but is carried away by spring freshets and is lost to us. Logan River is now lower than it has ever been." Jed Blair declared, "you can do one of two things, gentlemen, either take this land as a timber reserve and thus preserve it for the public, or let it remain as it now is and have it purchased by private individuals, then you will have a private reserve, upon which no citizen will dare to venture without permission. . . . What do you want? A public reserve with pure water and a beautiful canyon, or a private reserve, impure water and mountain deserts."

But Moroni Price gave perhaps the most compelling argument: "I've been here since the mountains were little hills, and not until recent years have I suffered for lack of a decent drink of water, but after seeing the dead sheep and other animals that continually find a burial place in our streams, I have about reached a decision to drink whiskey from now on." Given that sobering thought, the assembly almost unanimously approved a resolution to President Theodore Roosevelt urging creation of a public reserve in the watersheds of the Little Bear, Blacksmith Fork, Logan, Little Muddy and Cub rivers, "or so much thereof as may upon investigation be deemed expedient."[26]

The investigation soon followed. Albert F. Potter, former associate chief of the Forest Service, arrived in Cache Valley on July 1. He spent the next four weeks meeting with Cache Valley stockmen and others and riding the ranges in question. His first meeting was with William H. Smart's

25. William Peterson, *Utah Centennial History Suite*, CD-ROM (Orem, UT: Timeless Software, 1998).
26. *Logan Journal*, February 18, 1902, 1 and 5.

older brother Thomas, with whom he spent two days riding Logan Canyon, Providence Mountain, and Spring Creek, where Smart ran his sheep. Smart, he reported, agreed that the range was severely overstocked. His solution was typical of local sentiment: keep out the itinerant herds "from Idaho and less favorable parts of Utah" and leave the grazing to "stock which are owned in the county."[27] In the vast amount of country he covered by horseback, Potter discovered ample evidence of damage. In Cowley Canyon, he "saw much evidence of excessive sheep grazing, the range being very seriously tramped." Above Meadowville: "All of this country has been very heavily grazed; most of the grass has been tramped out." Up Blind Hollow: "This country has been very heavily stocked with sheep and much damage done in tramping the soil." And so it went. His conclusion: "It is safe to say that 150,000 sheep were grazed in Logan River basin last year. From general appearance of the range I think the number allowed within the proposed forest reserve should not exceed 50,000. And it might possibly prove to be necessary to cut the limit down lower."[28]

From Cache Valley, Potter went south, spending the rest of the summer examining ranges covering almost the length of Utah. His report brought quick results. On March 29, 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt established the Logan Forest Reserve. In 1908, the reserve was renamed the Cache National Forest, and by World War I, fewer than a third as many sheep grazed there than at the turn of the century. Sheep culture would never again be as profitable. But that would not concern William H. Smart; his attention had turned to other, less worldly matters.

Making of a Real Missionary

Smart's response to his church's letter of December 18, 1897, asking if he would be available to serve a mission, started him on a new course. "I answered that it would be agreeable to my feelings, but asked them to be Judges as to the rest. I explained my connection with our business, general condition of affairs, told them I was not keeping the word of wisdom (smoking) etc." The reply, dated December 29, advised that "I put myself in a moral and financial condition to fill a mission as soon as I could conveniently do so and report as soon as I was ready. I answered that I would do so."[29]

He quickly set about getting ready, engaging an agent, John Petrie of Chicago, to look after his business affairs, getting fitted for eyeglasses, and seeking "medical aid for a rectal trouble that has also pained me and retarded my work for a long time." But his major problem—his addiction to tobacco—remained. That, at last, was about to change.

27. Albert F. Potter, diary, July 1, 1902-November 22, 1902, 1, typescript, copy at Logan District Office, U.S. Forest Service, Logan, Utah.
28. Ibid., 9.
29. Smart, Journals, "Heading: Mission Notification, 1897."

In Chicago on sheep business, while fasting and praying "to get more control of myself," he met with LDS Church apostles Francis M. Lyman and Matthias F. Cowley, who were returning home from a mission tour. He recorded: "I was full to overflowing with mixed emotions of repentance, remorse and spiritual Joy, and I felt as though in some way I had been blessed to meet these brethren here and that they would be messengers unto me of strength." That afternoon, "I went to the Church office and was administered to by the above apostles. Bro. Lyman was mouth and he promised me that if I would keep the commandments of God I should get well of my rectal trouble. After this Bro. Lyman admonished me to keep the word of wisdom and I gave him to know how I desired in my heart to do so.[30]

For years, Smart's life had been an agonizing series of repentances and backsliding. Over and over he had suffered, and succumbed to, the pains of withdrawal. As discussed earlier, his suffering was a classic example of the withdrawal symptoms described in medical literature. But this time was different. Whether through the apostolic blessing, because of self-confidence gained in his recent years of financial success, because, at age thirty-four, he had matured, or perhaps by a combination of all three, he now mustered the strength to quit—permanently. His triumph took one more day, though. On the day following the blessing,

> Monday the 14th—Valentine Day—I continued my fast and also my smoking until about 5 p.m., when I took my last regular smoke. I fared pretty well until about the same time the following day or a little before, when I allowing myself to be overcome walked into a tobacco store, purchased a sack of tobacco, rolled a cigarette, threw the remainder back on the counter, lighted the cigarette and walked on. I had not gone far when I turned very ill—so much so that I could hardly proceed. I threw the cigarette down and recovering somewhat walked on. Still weak after walking a block further I decided to return to my room. Arriving at place where I left the cigarette I was tempted to pick it up and relight it. I mastered the temptation and walked on. It is now April 2nd and that is the last I have tasted; and may God grant I may never yield again.[31]

He never did. A year later, while serving as a devoted and highly successful missionary, he fasted four days in celebration of his year-long abstinence and recorded in his journal: "Yesterday [Valentine's Day] was observed by myself and family as a day of thanksgiving for God's blessings since and on last Valentine's day, and invoking His blessings upon us in the future."[32] For years afterward he remembered Valentine's Day as the day of his deliverance.

30. Ibid., February 13, 1897.
31. Ibid., "Heading: Victory Through God."
32. Ibid., February 15, 1889.

Following that last cigarette, Smart's journal rarely speaks of sheep or other worldly affairs. He spent weeks in the Salt Lake Temple doing work for the dead ancestors whose names he had discovered in England with his father. That done, he wrote to church headquarters, "informing them that I was ready for a mission whenever they wished me to go. . . . On my return [from the church's April general conference] I found a letter desiring me to start for the Eastern States immediately after Conference." He would have received that letter about April 7 or 8, and wasted no time. His journal, dated April 11, 1898, records: "I with about forty others who had been called on missions convened in the Salt Lake City Temple to receive instructions and to be set apart for mission to the Eastern States."

Many of the instructions seem directed specifically to him, or, perhaps because of his past, these are the ones he most remembered and recorded. From Apostle John Henry Smith: "We must not allow ourselves to go away with sins burdening us down. . . . we must be on our guard for when habits are once formed we are prone to fall into them again." From Seymour B. Young of the First Council of the Seventy: "Don't be curious to see bad society or go where the Holy Ghost cannot enter. Keep the Word of Wisdom. Referred to blessings predicated upon keeping the Word of Wisdom concerning health and admonished us to live so that we shall inherit them." From Apostle Heber J. Grant: "Do not go to any place of ill repute. Keep far away from temptation like the Irish hack-driver away from the precipice." And, again from Apostle Smith, counsel that reflects the church position on polygamy in the years following the 1890 Manifesto: "Do not preach plural marriage is practiced or should be under existing conditions, but defend it as an eternal principle. Say we are keeping law of land and believe in law of God, but are not forsaking wives and children already given."[33]

The next day, Smart "gathered our children around me and in company of my wife talked to them about my mission and admonished them to live pure lives while I am away so that their prayers in my behalf would be answered by God: to be obedient to their mother. I read to them the Word of Wisdom in the D. and Co., and gave them a special charge to keep scrupulously this word." The following day, April 13, he boarded a Union Pacific train for the next stage of his life.

33. Ibid., April 11, 1889.

Five

Putting a Shoulder to the Wheel

The Eastern States Mission to which William H. Smart reported on April 11, 1898, had a long, although sporadic, history. First opened in 1839, it was the second organized Mormon mission, two years behind the British Mission. It was closed in 1850, reopened four years later, but closed again in 1858, after elders throughout the church were called home because of the approach of a federal army in what became known as the Utah War. It remained closed during the Civil War, reopened in 1865, closed four years later, and finally reopened for good in 1893.[1]

When Smart arrived, it included eight divisions or "conferences"—Brooklyn, Maryland, New England, New York, eastern Pennsylvania, western Pennsylvania, northwestern Virginia, and southwestern Virginia. It also included a vast area not yet organized into conferences—North Carolina, Delaware, upstate New York, Washington, D.C., and Canada, from Ontario east to the Atlantic Ocean and, theoretically, north to Hudson Bay. The entire area counted only 975 members in 1900,[2] but during the previous half-century, thousands had emigrated from there to Utah, including the third president of the church, John Taylor, who had been baptized in Canada.

This, then, was the theater in which, after his earlier years of indecisive, guilt-ridden, self-doubting failure, Smart in the next two and a half years would develop, prove himself, and discover himself as a dedicated, energetic, self-confident, well organized, highly effective servant of his church, a role he would fill virtually full-time for the next thirty years.

1. *Deseret News Church Almanac, 2001–2002,* 425ff.
2. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1941).

His leadership role began immediately. In their first meeting, mission president A. P. Kesler appointed him president of the newly-reorganized Brooklyn Conference. "There are very few members here," Smart reported in his journal, "and it seems but little systematic work is done. My responsibility is great and I pray God He will strengthen me for it."[3] That was on May 5. He lost no time getting "systematic work" under way. On May 7 , he met with the missionaries under his direction, instructed them in their duties, and established a bi-weekly meeting in which each elder would give a report of his activities.

On May 9, he began his own tracting ("Distributed 12 tracts and had one gospel conversation. Treated kindly"); on May 16, wrote his own lesson plan (a "diagram of systematic references on the first principles of the gospel as a skeleton for speaking on those principles"); on May 29. held his first street meeting and gave "my first open air speech here and really my first in preaching the gospel to unbelievers. God blessed me with clearness of mind and strength of voice, so that held the audience fairly well. There were about 50 present." By the time of the first report meeting with the elders, on May 31, he recorded his own activities: "I have visited 5 families, had 24 gospel conversations, distributed 581 tracts, sold 1 Voice Warning loaned 2 V of W,[4] held 9 hall meetings."

So, throughout that hot New York summer, the work went forward, gathering momentum each month. There are no mentions of conversions, nor baptisms, but despite that, the journals of this period contain not a single discouraging word, not a negative thought except for a couple of brief mentions of physical ailments—a remarkable contrast to the litany of negativism, discouragement, and even sullen rebellion in the journals of Smart's earlier Turkey-Palestine mission. Conditions in the two missions were, of course, drastically different. But so was the spirit in which he faced his challenges.

Ironically, on the same day the *Greenpoint Weekly Star* printed an article by Smart on plural marriage, news came that church president Wilford Woodruff had died. Smart's feelings may well have been mixed. Earlier, while on his mission in Turkey, he had expressed sharp disagreement with Woodruff's policy of disavowing polygamy; later he would confirm those feelings by taking a second wife. But there was no ambiguity in the feelings expressed in his journal about the president's death: "I thought of his busy, simple, noble life. I also noted that it is quite peculiar that the Pres[ident], Bismack [*sic*], & Gladstone all have died so close together. These are great

3. Smart, Journals, May 5, 1898.
4. *A Voice of Warning*, an important early missionary tract, was written in 1838 by Apostle Parley P. Pratt, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, while serving as one of Smart's predecessors as president of the Eastern States mission. The title is from the Doctrine and Covenants, 4:4: "And the voice of warning shall be unto all peoples, by the mouths of my disciples, whom I have chosen in these last days."

lights that have gone out and lost to the world, to be lighted again in another sphere."[5]

America that summer was celebrating the successes of its military forces in the Spanish-American War. Smart's journal of August 20 noted the triumphant arrival of the ships that had destroyed the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Santiago, Cuba. Characteristically, he saw it as a metaphor for man's—and perhaps his own—journey through life.

> There were six man of war—Texas, New York, Brooklyn, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Oregon. They sailed up the Hudson to Grant's tomb. The sailors were all dressed in white uniform and presented a very beautiful appearance. . . . All along cannon were booming, factory and boat and ship whistles were screaming and humanity cheering . . . the thought uppermost in my mind was, how glorious is the welcome to the successful, while how ignominious is that of defeat. I drew a parallel between this magnificent welcome home and that of the heroic saint who, after victorious battle with evil here he sails into the haven of heavenly welcome and heres this address of welcome Well done thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over few things, I shall make you ruler over many; enter thou into the Joy of thy Lord.

At the end of the day he was still thinking in exalted terms. At Manhattan Beach, he witnessed a reenactment of the fall of Manila. He noted the "beautiful fire works, tumbling, rope walking, diving from a great height into water, blowing up of the Maine etc. It was grand. The firing and exploding of shells etc was realistic, and such beautiful fire works I never saw before. I thought: 'What hath God wrought'! What must be the glory and magnificence of celestiality when man can achieve so much." But in all the excitement, he still remembered what he was there for: "Missionary labor is proceeding as usual. Our street meetings are quite well attended and orderly as a rule."

On September 9, 1898, the twenty-five missionaries laboring in and around New York met in conference. According to Smart, most of their reports were not good. On Long Island the work seemed to be progressing, but in New Jersey—Patterson, Newark, and Jersey City—street meetings were either forbidden or unproductive, and tracting was unsuccessful.

According to his journal, Smart's report from Brooklyn was "more encouraging having distributed lots of tracts, held quite a number of Street meetings and engaged in a goodly number conversations." In a pattern of self-congratulation that would run through his journals for the rest of his life, he also confided what others said about him.

5. Smart, Journals, September 3, 1898. An interesting coincidence is that Wilford Woodruff and William H. Smart were two of the most consistent and voluminous journal-keepers in the church.

> Brother H. P. Hansen who has been laboring at office as sec'y, reported and among other remarks said work had been discouraging at times but of late there had been a good Samaratin who had always had a word of encouragement for him and the brethren, and that was Bro. Smart. The brethren, he said, here are blessed in having such a man as he as Pres, and if there is any one can encourage them in their labors he can. Elder L. B. Laker spoke in much the same strain saying Pres. Smart was able, and a friend in time of need.

Though that sounds like flattery, it impressed mission president A. P. Kesler. He combined the Long Island and New Jersey conferences into a single Brooklyn Conference, with Smart as president. Kesler "exorted Elders to do as I told them and they would be successful," Smart recorded. "Said Elders were not working as hard as should. Said the Brooklyn Elders had distributed three times as many tracts as had been distributed by same number Elders elsewhere, and he was pleased with their labors."[6]

Saving a Mormon Bank

As the work went forward under his expanded leadership, Smart was involved as well in another, quite different, way to serve his church. His journal records the first of many occasions when he placed his funds at the disposal of church leaders, or used them in ways he felt would build or strengthen the church.

> Received today letters from Apostles [Heber J.] Grant and [Matthias] Cowley acknowledging a letter I had sent Elder Cowley. These brethern were called upon a mission to raise by donation from the Saints 80 or 90 thousand dollars this fall to save the good name and credit of Zion through the names of leading brethern who are officers in a bank in Ogden which is in financial jeoperdy. The money is to go to the depositors and not to the stock holders. I did not know the cause of this donation. Just being informed by my niece Luella Cowley [wife of Apostle Cowley] that these brethern had been called to this mission. Feeling that God had wonderfully blessed us financially I wrote that we would assist them by loaning or donating anywhere from $1,000 to $20,000. . . . Their answer blesses me for my liberality—and says that through it I and posterity will be preserved in the faith forever provided I remain humble. They name no sum as it is a voluntary consecration.[7]

The "bank in Ogden" was the Utah Loan and Trust Company (UL&T), and "financial jeopardy" barely describes its desperate condition.[8] Its liabilities grossly exceeded its assets, and most of the assets were in loans made

6. Ibid., September 9, 1898.
7. Ibid., September 30, 1898.
8. See Ronald W. Walker, "Heber J. Grant and the Utah Loan and Trust Company," *Journal of Mormon History* 8 (1981): 21–36 for a full account of the efforts to save the bank.

uncollectible by hard times. Its failure would mean bankruptcy to many of its shareholders, most if not all of them Mormons. But failure would do more than that. Though not owned by the church, it was regarded as a Mormon institution, with two apostles—Joseph F. Smith, then a counselor in the First Presidency, and Francis M. Lyman—as well as other prominent Mormons serving as directors. The church itself was deeply in debt to eastern bankers; the bank's collapse could bring demand for payment of those loans, forcing the church into receivership. Criminal prosecution for accepting deposits when the bank's liabilities exceeded its assets could send Smith, Lyman, and other directors to prison.

It was not the first financial crisis the church had faced. Six years earlier, during the panic of 1893, Apostle Heber J. Grant, then thirty-six years old, had saved the church from bankruptcy by wangling a series of seemingly impossible loans from New York financiers. Now, only months after he had survived two near-death medical crises, the First Presidency called on him for another miracle—to raise $75,000 or more in outright gifts from prosperous Mormons, some of whom had already refused to make loans to save the Ogden bank. Apostle Cowley was assigned to assist. Even though the two were armed with a letter signed by the First Presidency urging church members to donate and promising blessings to those who did, it was a daunting task.

Grant started by calling on two of Mormondom's wealthiest men. Alfred W. McCune, a successful mining speculator, turned him down flat until Grant shamed him by comparing his own $2,500 contribution when he was $50,000 in debt to McCune's situation where a $5,000 gift would amount to two days' income from one of his mines. McCune finally wrote a check for $5,000.

The next target was Jesse Knight, made wealthy by his Humbug Mine, so named by skeptics because he claimed a voice had directed him to stake it out in order to preserve the church's credit. Knight also declared he wouldn't give a dollar to save the bank. Grant refused to take no for an answer, and after two more visits begged Knight to pray about making a $5,000 donation.

That night Knight prayed, and the answer came: "Give Heber ten thousand dollars." "I wasn't praying about any $10,000," he complained to the Lord. "Heber didn't ask me for $10,000." Again the answer came: "Give Heber ten thousand dollars." He did, and informed Grant that the next time he came with a letter from the First Presidency asking for a donation, he wasn't going to pray about it.[9]

Given that experience, Grant must have been astonished when a letter came, unsolicited, from the far less prosperous William H. Smart, offering

9. Walker, "Heber J. Grant," 31.

up to $20,000. Apparently Smart learned that $5,000 was the amount of most requests, because within a week, he was on his way to Chicago to arrange financing with his bankers, and on October 10 reported to his journal that

> I wrote Apostle Cowley enclosing a draft for $5,000 (five thousand dol's) as a donation to the Church with a promise to duplicate it provided it was required to maintain the honor and credit of Zion. I also wrote my wife explaining this action and asking her cooperation in it. I also wrote my partner J W Webster and wife advising them of same, exhorting them to unite with me in the consecration that they and posterity may receive the blessings which will attend it, but further told them if they do not desire to do so to inform me so and I shall bear it all. I thank God He has made it possible for us to make this donation, but more especially do I thank Him for the faith he has given to prompt it."

Webster did agree to bear half the cost of the donation. Shortly thereafter, Smart received Grant's acknowledgment of and gratitude for the gift, along with a letter from the First Presidency, dated October 25, 1898.

> Dear Brother:
>
> We have just seen your letter enclosing donation for $5000 from Smart & Webster, for which we tender you our sincere thanks.
>
> May both of you and your loved ones have a great abundance of peace, prosperity in this life, and may you all enjoy an eternity of bliss in the life to come is the profound and heart-felt prayer of,
>
> Your Brethren in the Gospel,
> Lorenzo Snow
> Geo Q. Cannon
> Jos. F. Smith

The response Smart recorded in his journal speaks eloquently of the attitude of stewardship he would carry the rest of his life, especially during his ministry in the Uinta Basin: "I am very thankful to receive the approval of the Brethren of my action in this matter and my humble prayer is that God will also accept it approvingly, and that Satan may not have power to lift me up in self-righteousness and cause me to take the honor all upon myself. I desire to feel that I am God's and therefore that which is in my possession is also His, and I pray I may be a wise steward, knowing also when to retain and when to disburse."[10] Years later, he ended his Uinta Basin stewardship in poverty, which suggests that his disbursements, while wholehearted and single-minded, were perhaps not always wise.

For months Grant continued his often-disappointing and sometimes humiliating efforts in what he called "one of the most unpleasant tasks of

10. Smart, Journals, October 31, 1898.

my life." He was mostly successful. Although the LDS Church lost $50,000 in subsidies and defaulted loans, Grant's campaign saved the reputations of its leaders and preserved the church's credit. The shareholders lost their investments when the bank finally closed on August 31, 1900, but the other debts were satisfied and the depositors were made whole.

In Smart's file of personal correspondence are no fewer than fourteen letters from Grant, spanning more than a quarter century. Included are statements like the following. From Yokohama, Japan, on September 24, 1901: "I shall NEVER forget while I live the grand and glorious aid which you rendered to me and Elder Cowley in that great mission which we were called upon to perform in saving that Ogden bank." From the office of the First Presidency, November 19, 1921: "I shall never forget while I live your splendid donation of five thousand dollars to save the Utah Loan and Trust Company from failure. This donation of yours and your partner, Bro. Webster, was one of the important factors in helping save that institution, and its failure would have reflected materially upon the good names of Presidents Joseph F. Smith and Francis M. Lyman." From the same office, August 16, 1929 (seven years after Smart's last leadership calling in the church and when he was struggling in poverty): "It is a long while since I heard from you. I hope things are prosperous with you. I shall never forget the wonderful help you gave in assisting to save the reputation of our brethren interested in the Ogden bank which was rescued from failure by the generous donations made by yourself and others."[11]

A Missionary's Work

During the fall and following winter of 1898–99, Smart carried on the work of a typical missionary: tracting, holding street and cottage meetings, and meeting with and encouraging the church members. The work brought only limited success; he recorded five baptisms on October 9, but no others in the next four months. As district president, he met with newspaper editors and wrote articles for them, mostly defending attacks about polygamy, but managed to get only one published, in the Brooklyn Eagle on October 30. He tackled a couple of cases of disharmony among the missionaries, meeting with them and counseling reconciliation and obedience, and reported good results.[12] He attended the funeral of a lapsed member and mourned that the departed was buried in a dark suit rather than in temple clothing. "Oh Lord, I beseech thee to save me from such a buriel!" he pleaded.[13]

During this time he was encouraged by a letter from his partner, James Webster, reporting that the sheep business was going well ("he says he goes

11. Grant to Smart, September 24, 1901, November 19, 1921, and August 16, 1929, Smart Papers.
12. Smart, Journals, November 14 and December 22, 1898.
13. Ibid., December 22, 1898.

into winter with about 26,900 ewes, 7500 lambs and 760 head of bucks"),[14] saddened by news that after a seven-month pregnancy his wife had aborted a baby girl, but strengthened by her declaration that "I was thankful even in the midst of the pain and trouble for the gospel assurance and for the reliance on God that, come life or death, all would be well."[15]

He attended a meeting at the Plymouth Church to discuss sending a mission to relieve suffering in Cuba after the Spanish-American War. His description of conditions in Cuba as a result of that war of liberation were echoed a century later in Afghanistan and Iraq, following the American wars of liberation there.

> Their homes were in ruins, industries stifled, fields devastated and implements of labor scattered and destroyed. The years of misrule and semi-slavery had rendered them incompetent, and they were now even with liberty in their hands helpless—not knowing how to use the blessing now theirs. . . . We have given them freedom but we must not stop—our duty is not ended until Cuba is reconstructed: until She has a stable government and until her people are placed upon a self supporting basis.[16]

The B. H. Roberts Ordeal

Back home in Utah, political events were unfolding that would raise national opposition to Mormonism and polygamy to new heights, as well as intensify challenges to the Eastern States Mission over which Smart would soon preside. In October 1898, Brigham H. Roberts, a Democrat, member of the First Council of the Seventy, and avowed polygamist, was elected to Congress, 35,296 votes to 29,631. His election brought no joy to the church's leadership. President Lorenzo Snow publicly proclaimed in a letter to the New York World that "non-Mormons" aided in Roberts's nomination and election, and that "he was not a church candidate in any sense of the word."[17] George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency had objected to his candidacy in the first place, because he feared that a "whip" would be made of Roberts's domestic affairs, to the injury of the church.[18] The truth of that prophecy is demonstrated in numerous entries in Smart's journals.

On November 17, he noted that "he [Roberts] has plural wives and the religious denominations claim they will use their influence to prevent his taking his seat." On November 20, he reported that "the *New York Herald* devoted in today's issue a whole page to an article from the pen of Eugene Young,

14. Ibid., November 19, 1898.
15. Ibid., November 28, 1898.
16. Ibid., November 13, 1898.
17. *New York World,* December 30, 1898. Quoted in B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 6:365.
18. B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 247.

disaffected grandson of President Brigham Young. He reviews the history of the Church and attempts to prove that the Church is still controling politics in Utah and is laying down the gauntlet to the nation in making polygamy an issue by influencing the election of Elder B. H. Roberts to Congress."

On the same day, speaking at a meeting with his missionaries, Smart saw it differently. His interpretation included what appears to be a faint but recognizable echo of his declaration of conscience while on his Turkish mission, expressing his disagreement with the church's ambiguous defense of polygamy. "I believe the hand of God is over the nation," he wrote. "He has permitted the Election of Elder B. H. Roberts to Congress. The Religious Denominations intend to prevent his seating if possible. If they succeed God will permit it because we need correction at home, or for the same reason that He permitted the best blood of the 19th Century [that of Joseph Smith, Jr. and his brother Hyrum] to be spilt in Carthage jail. Nothing will transpire except it be for the final triumph of God and His people."[19]

In the months between Roberts's election and the opening of the congress to which he had been elected, the storm gained strength as Brigham Young's grandson and others continued their attacks. On November 9, 1899, a notice in front of the Tremont Baptist Hall in Boston announced: "Mass Meeting: To enter a public protest against the admission into the 56th Congress of the avowed polygamist Brigham H. Roberts. The speakers will be Mr. Eugene Young—grandson of Brigham Young—and Rev. Josiah Strong." Smart attended to monitor the proceedings. "Many things were said against us," he reported. "Polygamy and the power of the priesthood were especially attacked. Resolutions were passed at the close to petition Congress to eject Bro. Roberts from Congress and to make a Constitutional amendment prohibiting any polygamist to hold office." That meeting, of course, was only one of many as a national campaign filled newspapers, magazines, and lecture halls with charges that the seating of Roberts would represent an attack on the sanctity of marriage.

On November 23, Smart's journal reports: "Brother Roberts stayed with us last night leaving this morning. He goes to Washington today to prepare to take his seat." And, on December 4: "Today Congress convenes. The *New York Journal* boasts that they will have near the speaker's desk the huge petition of about 7,000,000 names against the seating of Elder B. H. Roberts for him to confront when he goes to be sworn in. The *New York Herald* and *Journal* are the worst against him, the *Brooklyn Eagle* heretofore rather friendly is now somewhat opposing him, while the *New York World* is favorable."

The petition as presented to Congress was indeed huge—twenty-eight rolls, each two feet in diameter, and encased in an American flag. No matter that many of the seven million signatures were of children or duplicated; its

19. Smart, Journals, November 20, 1898.

effect was overwhelming.[20] It took the House one day to briefly consider the matter of seating Roberts and, in its usual matter of doing business, refer it to a committee. Smart saw little hope of a favorable outcome from what he considered a stacked committee.

> Today Taylor of Ohio argued in the House of Representatives in favor of the resolution he introduced to not allow Bro. B. H. Roberts to take his seat, but to keep him out until a committee appointed by the speaker should try the case. An hour was given him, an hour to Richardson of Tennessee, & half an hour to Bro. Roberts. Richardson gave part of his time to Bro. Roberts. 302 voted for the resolution & 30 against. While the vote was mixed those against were very largely Republicans. The speaker, Speaker Henderson then appointed a Committee of nine. . . . They are mostly Republicans [six Republicans, three Democrats] and all men who voted for Taylor's resolution, he (Taylor) the house leader against his being seated, the chairman of the Committee. I tremble for the future of this government. He is not even tried or investigated by his peers—almost condemned beforehand it would seem. I wrote Bro. Roberts letter of sympathy proffering any assistance we can render not inconsistent with our calling.[21]

The committee investigation took six weeks. During that time, Roberts received no pay from Congress, no compensation for his travel, no per diem, not even stationary or a postage allowance. His letters to Smart during this time reveal the unhappy state of his finances. On December 13, he wrote that he felt "a little uneasiness [about] the $100 that I borrowed from your office. I had hoped before this that I should have drawn my mileage, which would amount to something over $800. But the House seems a little slow with reference to that matter." Smart responded immediately: "As Elder B. H. Roberts is evidently short of funds I have offered to loan him any part of or all of $1,000 to assist him in his expenditures at Washington."[22]

Roberts thanked him in what proved to be an overly optimistic letter dated December 16.

> I do not think that there will be any real occasion to draw upon the account, as I am still in hopes, and very stoutly believe, that I shall finally win this fight; but in any event, it is most delightful to receive such expressions of friendship, and meantime, if occasion should arise for drawing in part upon the amount that you have so generously placed at my disposal, I shall avail myself of it in the same generous spirit that it is tendered to me; for to act otherwise would be unworthy of your generous offer.

The occasion soon arose. "These Philistines down here have sure enough held up my mileage, amounting to $1,000 until I am either sworn in, or

20. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 249.
21. Smart, Journals, December 5, 1899. Selected parts of the Roberts correspondence are appendix B.
22. Ibid., December 15, 1899.

kicked out," Roberts wrote on December 22, "and consequently I find myself under the necessity of taking advantage of your very kind offer, or at least part of it, temporarily. Would you therefore kindly forward to me a check for $300." He added a paragraph that virtually snarls with the frustration and anguish he was feeling during this controversy.

> Will I preach while in Brooklyn [responding to an invitation Smart had tendered]? Well, I'll attend meeting and break bread with you, but under the circumstances I think it would not be prudent for me to speak; and then, moreover, there is no telling just what kind of a discourse I might deliver if I attempted one as there would stand back of it the white-heat of suppressed rage and indignation rolling and tumbling about in the darker recesses of my consciousness. I confess that I have not of late entertained the very kindest and most Christian spirit; the fact is there has been a heap of old Adam bubbling up the surface of my usual secrenity [sic].[23]

In mid-January, the blow fell. The committee's report was negative, and the full House voted overwhelmingly to deny Roberts his seat. On January 18, exultant headlines in the New York Journal, one of the nation's largest newspapers and one which had led the anti-Roberts fight, proclaimed: "Bar Roberts is the Verdict" and "The Journal's Fight for the Purity of the Home and the Honor of American Womanhood is Won." From Roberts to Smart came an undated letter that described, in the bleakest terms, his financial distress and state of mind.

> Have not been able yet to bring anything to a head relative to my salary and milage, now amounting to some $2,000. I cannot remain in Washington however more than two or three days longer. I lack about $100 to settle my bills here and reach home. And as you have extended a brotherly hand to me before, and as one good turn deserves another, I make myself bold to ask you to loan me that amount until I reach home. This will make $500 all told that you have advanced me. I shall be pleased to give you my note for that amount until either the government pays me or I can make other arrangements to raise it after getting home. . . . Of my defeat, I can say nothing. I had hoped for better results but hoped in vain. I take it, however, that it is nothing to a man's discredit that he has been overcome by mob law, which is nonetheless real because the mobbing took place in the House of Representatives and under the thin guise of law.

With that acceptance of the outcome, Roberts could return to a quieter life of service in his church calling. But the firestorm raised by his candidacy subsided only briefly. Four years later, Utah elected Reed Smoot, an apostle, to the Senate. The resulting congressional investigation was far more intense, lasting four years, and brought church president Joseph F. Smith himself and other Mormon leaders to the witness table. The

23. Roberts to Smart, December 13, 16, and 22, 1899, Smart Papers.

outcome this time was different; Smoot was finally seated and became one of the most powerful senators of his day. He was not himself a polygamist, and perhaps his victory best reflects the remark attributed to Pennsylvania senator Boise Penrose: "I don't see why we can't get along just as well with a polygamist who doesn't polyg as we do with a lot of monogamists who don't monog."[24]

It took Congress six months to compensate Roberts for his expenses. When it finally did, he sent Smart a letter from Salt Lake City, enclosed a check for $500, and wrote, in part,

> I do not add interest on the amount for the reason that when I suggested that you take a note of me for the amount you said that smacked too much of the spirit of the world, and was altogether too cold-blooded, and you did not wish the act of brotherly kindness marred by such an act; and, as likely you still entertain the same view, we will not make this a cold business transaction on the part of either of us. The interest on the amount shall be paid in my appreciation of your brotherly friendship, and in my prayers to Almighty God for you and for your great consideration of me when truly I was in sore distress and great need. I hope you have not been incommoded by your generosity, and that this shall remain a bond of friendship between us for all time to come.[25]

A New Mission President

By this time, Smart's mission responsibilities had magnified greatly. On March 1, 1899, just eleven months after arriving in the mission field, he received a letter from church president Lorenzo Snow calling him to succeed Alonzo P. Kesler as president of the Eastern States Mission. He would be the mission's fifteenth president. His predecessors included such church notables as Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Samuel Brannan, Jesse C. Little, Wilford Woodruff, and John Taylor. Perhaps reflecting his recognition of that heritage, his journal entry that day conveys the depth of his humility, the pain still felt from his earlier unworthiness, and the faith he had by now developed in the church's leaders.

> Never have I been so overwhelmed as I am at this news. All my past errors and sins and all my present infirmities—moral, mental and physical—unite in crying out against this responsibility and sacred trust. But to refuse is to deny the inspiration of the Presidency. I answer them so and accept throwing myself entirely upon the mercy of God for success. I cannot do otherwise, for with all my faults I revere the Priesthood and desire to be obedient to it."[26]

24. Frances T. Plimpton, "Reminiscences," *Readers Digest* (June 1958): 142, recollections from his time at Amherst College.
25. Roberts to Smart, August 31, 1900, Smart Papers.
26. Smart, Journals, March 1, 1899.

After a sleepless night and doubtless much prayer, he found a deeper meaning and reassurance in the call: "I have been praying that my heavenly Father would, in some way, manifest to me that I am accepted by him, and that my repentance for past imperfections is accepted. It comes to my mind (and yet I hardly dare presume so great a blessing) that it may be He has answered me in this way."[27]

The Eastern States Mission over which Smart now presided included 147 missionaries in thirteen organized conferences in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and New England. His first act as the new president was a letter to the First Presidency asking how soon he could expect replacements for seven missionaries about to be released, how tithing and sales of books should be handled, and a thinly veiled expression of his own dissatisfaction with the mission quarters. Should mission headquarters be kept in Brooklyn, he asked, and if so should he continue "the very economical policy" regarding the general appearance of the office, or "do you rather wish us to endeavor to maintain more respectable and commodious apartments?"[28]

He reported that he had called Edward H. Snow of St. George and John M. Whittaker of Salt Lake City as counselors and Arthur F. Burton of Afton, Wyoming, as secretary.[29] Painfully aware of his lack of experience, he sent Burton to the Southern States Mission "to obtain all information of value in missionary work" from the veteran president Ben E. Rich.[30] It was probably from that visit that an agreement was reached by the two presidents to transfer six northern Virginia counties from Rich's mission to Smart's.

In June, George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency and, later, Apostle Heber J. Grant arrived on business and to meet with the Saints. Having had no encouragement from his letter inquiring about moving from the "very economical" to "more respectable and commodious" quarters, Smart took advantage of the opportunity to press the matter personally. He was not thinking small: "I asked Pres't Cannon his advice on opening up a missionary family hotel where we could take care of Elders and traveling Saints, and also have respectable office room; also whether he would advise a hall for meetings. He approved of both providing we could maintain them without entailing expense to the church."[31]

Smart assigned his first counselor, Edward Snow, to find such property. Snow reported that "I spent several days tramping over New York and Brooklyn and finally came to the conclusion that nothing less than $700 a year would suit us. We finally concluded that the finances of the mission

27. Ibid., March 2, 1899.
28. Eastern States Mission Record Book, MS 85, Reel 4, Box 5, LDS Church Archives.
29. Smart, Journals, May 20, 1899.
30. Ibid, May 3, 1899.
31. Ibid, June 3, 1899.

were such that we could not afford it."[32] When Smart left the mission, the office was still in what he considered disreputable quarters at 50 Concord Street, Brooklyn.

The seventeen months of his labors as mission president were not particularly remarkable, except for the painstaking detail in which he reported them. He did what mission presidents do—touring the mission to reorganize or create new conferences; instructing, counseling, encouraging, and assigning missionaries; and traveling tirelessly to meet with and preach to the Saints on a remarkable range of subjects.

Conditions were often primitive. Near Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, "we met in a grove of timber where they hold their meetings."[33] At Hurricane, West Virginia, the minister barred them from the Methodist log church where they had arranged to meet, so a local citizen, John Raborn, offered to tear out a partition in his house to make room.[34]

Smart gave special emphasis to selling church-related books and pamphlets. "An elder should not feel it beneath his dignity to be a book pedler for God's work," he preached, "when Pres't Lorenzo Snow as the financial head of the Deseret News Co. was the great, general book publisher and seller of church literature." Other priorities were placing the *Deseret News* and Mormon scriptures (the Book of Mormon, Pearl of Great Price, and Doctrine and Covenants) in leading libraries and, most emphatically, encouraging payment of tithing in support of President Snow's plea for tithing to bring the church out of bondage.[35]

The mission's annual report reflected the results: $1,685.97 had been paid in tithing, and $600 of that was sent to Salt Lake City, the first since the mission had been reopened in 1893. Seventy libraries had received the *Deseret News*, Mormonism's standard works, and the Articles of Faith, and 8,192 books had been sold or given away.

The 165 elders had visited 34,401 families and revisited 12,550, had held 69,500 gospel conversations, written 2,532 gospel letters, distributed 323,976 tracts, and held 656 outdoor meetings, 2,197 hall meetings, and 3,127 cottage meetings. All this activity brought only 139 baptisms, but, the report claimed, "great improvement in the spiritual development of the elders was most marked and its good effects were likewise felt among the saints."[36]

32. Edward H. Snow, missionary diary, June 11, 1899, Eastern States Mission Record Book, 1899–1901. The original of this diary is found in MSS 2051, box 2, folder 3, Special Collections, Brigham Young University, and a typescript copy is found in BX 8670.1, Sn6121m, Special Collections.
33. Smart, Journals, June 29, 1899.
34. Ibid, October 8, 1899.
35. Ibid, July 22, 1899.
36. Eastern States Mission Record Book, December 31, 1899; Smart, Journals, February 20, 1900.

Good things came to him during his mission. One was news from church headquarters that his wife Anna could and should join him. This word came in a letter from Apostle Matthias Cowley, one that also indicated that Smart had not entirely overcome his earlier emotional problems. "He counseled me," Smart wrote, "to try to overcome the bad habits of depreciating myself and giving up to despondency. He said he had to guard against them; but said we should remember that we are all God's children and He can make something out of us as well as others if we will but put our trust in him."[37]

Anna arrived with their six-year-old son, Thomas Laurence, on December 30. Smart's journal mentions little about her activities as mission mother, but the mission record reports that "Sister Smart, while in Brooklyn, was actively engaged in missionary labors, assisting the elders in holding meetings, visiting lady friends and investigators, and did considerable good in this line."[38]

Other good news came in periodic reports that back in Utah and Idaho, the sheep business was doing extremely well. Smart sent instructions to his partner James Webster: "that we pay a full tithing that we comply thereby with the present word of the Lord through Pres't Lorenzo Snow. Also that we free ourselves from financial bondage entirely by Dec. 31–99, that we commence the morning of the new century entirely free from all debt. Pres't Snow is advising the Saints to get out of debt." All of this was done, and on November 11 he recorded: "Received statement today dated Nov. 1 from Greer Mills & Co–Chicago which shows that this fall we have shipped 47 cars of sheep at a net valuation of $35,340.11; and that our [account] with them including all notes is thereby entirely balanced . . . and there was a balance to our credit to the sum of $22,153.82. This makes me rejoice for it marks the time when we have ample cash to pay every bill we owe and have enough left to see us through the winter. I feel to praise the Lord for his great blessings."

But there were bad times, too. In Everett, Massachusetts, a missionary, Ephraim Jensen, had fallen out of harmony with his companion. His conference president sided with the companion and recommended that Jensen be transferred. Smart concurred, and sent Jensen $10 to pay the cost of his transfer to western New York. In what today seems an incredible act of defiance, Jensen returned the $10, refusing to leave "until the spirit moves him."[39] Remembering the pain from his own earlier experience, Smart counseled patience rather than the early mission release the controversy seemed to require. After letting time soften the dispute, he went to Massachusetts, meeting individually and then together with the antagonists. "We felt the spirit of the Lord was with us," he wrote. "Finally all matters were amicably

37. Smart, Journals, December 22, 1899.
38. Eastern States Mission Record Book, January 30, 1900.
39. Smart, Journals, August 4, 1899.

settled and so great was the spirit of penitence, humility and forgiveness present that we were all melted in tears as we extended the hand of fellowship and asked forgiveness of one another. O Lord, I thank Thee that Thou did meet with us and that Thou didst bless Thy servants with this spirit and with the spirit of counsel."[40]

Another event ended less happily. On June 20, 1899, a missionary, H. R. Hamson, drowned in Lake Keuka, one of the smaller Finger Lakes in upstate New York, despite the efforts of his senior companion, H. Amasa Belnap: first, to dissuade him from swimming in the icy water, and then to save him when he apparently cramped. Smart had the sad task of consoling the grief- and guilt-ridden companion, recovering the body, and arranging to ship it home. He didn't fail to draw a lesson from the tragedy, recording in his journal that

> he was a fine looking strong boy and strong will and intellectually. He seemed to have no idea of system in government of priesthood or respect thereto. He would make his plans irrespective of his superiors. He did not seem to do it wilfully, but simply because obedience seemed not to be an element in his nature. . . . This headiness followed him to his death, for instead of listening to the impressions of Elder Belnap, his senior, he carried out his own plan and went to his death. I hope I shall never forget this sadly and dearly bought experience and lesson.[41]

On March 5, 1900, a letter from the First Presidency invited Smart to attend the annual April conference of the church in Salt Lake City. It implied that he might soon be released, but that "they would not make any change in the presidency of the mission until they talked with me." His associates in the mission field harbored no doubts that this was a release. Snow recorded that at a farewell gathering of the Brooklyn Conference elders, "all spoke of the love and confidence in Prest Smart. . . . I regretted to part with him for although his health had been poor for a long time and he could not work at routine duties, yet his order, discipline and presence did more than we realized to hold things together and keep union and push together."[42]

Smart's trip home was leisurely. On March 13, he took the train to Washington, D.C., where he spent three days visiting the recently built Library of Congress ("cost over $60,000,000 exclusive of grounds it is said to be the finest building in the world. . . . About 748,000 books and 245,000 pamphlets . . . 3 editions of the Book of Mormon, 1830, 1837, & 1840."). He found time to visit the Smithsonian Institution, the National Gallery of Art, the White House, the U.S. Treasury, the Capitol, the Navy Yards, and the Washington Monument, where he walked down the steps

40. Ibid, February 14, 1900.
41. Ibid, June 22, 1899.
42. Snow, missionary diary, March 24, 1900, Eastern States Mission Record Book.

inside its 555-foot shaft ("the States have contributed inscribed stones and they are seen at various places as we descend. I was proud to see Utah or 'Deseret' represented by a beehive with the inscription 'Deseret' and 'Holiness to the Lord.'")

In Pittsburgh he visited the Carnegie Steel Works at Bessemer ("some of the important hands get as high as $8 per day while common laborers get from $1.50 to $1.80"). For six days in the vicinity of Zanesville, Ohio, he and his wife Anna visited her relatives and childhood friends, and on April 3 they arrived home "in fair health and spirits finding the children quite well."

The next day "I went to Salt Lake today to communicate with the presidency as to whether they wish me to return to the Eastern States Mission. I had a conversation first with Pres. Snow. He wanted to know how I felt about going back. He said I was entitled to an honorable release if I so desired, but unless I so wished he would like me to return. After expressing my feelings of unworthiness, he said he had not heard one word against my management but on the contrary good reports."

He next met with Joseph F. Smith, then a counselor to President Snow and soon to assume the presidency. Apparently a decision that he was to be released had leaked and appeared in the *Salt Lake Herald*.

> The presidency felt bad about this and said they had not warranted it. Pres. Smith wished me to return for this as our [one?] reason but not unless I felt like it. He gave me high compliments. Said no one could have done better under the circumstances and that I had the full confidence and fellowship of the presidency. I expressed to him that I had been sinful and wayward in the past and that I had been humiliated in presiding over my more worthy brethren in consequence. While he sat encouraging me I could not refrain from kneeling before him and burying my face in his lap while my being was racked with grief. He said that "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin" if we have not sinned unto death in the shedding of innocent blood or like evil; that by true repentance and obedience God had forgiven my sins of youth, but that it is a trick of the adversary to darken my mind and bring the past up before me. He said to take my burden unto the Lord and pray for absolution and peace and to sin no more, but to live in the future a life of purity and uprightness and I should grow and expand and prosper, and he sealed a blessing to this end upon my head. . . . With a fervent heart I arose and thanked him for all and told him now that they understood my full feelings, and conditions in the East as well I could return with joy if they so desired. He said he felt impressed to say to me to return, make a tour of the mission and in a few months I would receive my release when I could turn everything over to my successor properly.[43]

43. Smart, Journals, April 14, 1890.

The Family Peacemaker

So it was settled; he would return to the mission. But first there was a matter of family business, the resolution of which would demand his highest talents of persuasion and conciliation. It involved two of the most frequent and contentious sources of dispute: money and family feuding.

The tiny general store established in 1862, the year of Franklin's settlement, by Samuel R. Parkinson, Smart's brother-in-law, had evolved into the Franklin Co-operative Mercantile Institution during the ZCMI movement, and then into the Oneida Mercantile Union. By 1899, its operations included not only a retail store but also a furniture store, blacksmith shop, woolen mill, and creamery. Its shares were held primarily by the Parkinson and Smart families and by former apostle Moses Thatcher.

At age sixty-eight, Parkinson decided to sell out. As the major stockholder, Thatcher could dictate the value of the stock he proposed to buy, especially after persuading some members of the Smart family, especially William's older brother Thomas, to go along. Parkinson felt that the price was unfairly low, and appealed first to Apostle Anthon H. Lund and then to the First Presidency. He was told to take his case to the Cache Stake High Council. But Moses Thatcher had been stripped of his apostleship in 1896 because, among other reasons, he refused to sign the First Presidency's "political manifesto" that no general authority would run for political office without prior approval of the presiding church authorities.[44] With this cloud on his church standing, Thatcher felt he could not get a fair hearing in a high council court.

William H. Smart also dreaded going that route, for a different reason. His brother Thomas was at that time lukewarm as a Mormon, and William feared an unfavorable decision in such a court might drive him out of the church entirely. Both Thatcher and Thomas Smart had responded to being summoned to a high council trial by denying the right of the church to try what they considered a civil matter. William felt he must step in.

"The feeling came upon me with great force," he recorded in his journal, "that I must ask these brethren—Bro. Parkinson and his son—to approve of my applying to Apostle [Marriner W.] Merrill—Pres of Cache Stake—to postpone this trial to give me time to try to bring about a peaceable

44. William G. Hartley and Gene A. Sessions, "History of the Church 1878–1898, Late Pioneer Utah Period," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:628. Other factors in Thatcher's dismissal from the Twelve were contention with George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency over their involvement in a mining company, and Thatcher's persistent absence from Quorum meetings. For fuller accounts of the Thatcher case, see Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Moses Thatcher in the Dock: His Trials, the Aftermath, and His Last Days." *Journal of Mormon History* 24 (Spring 1998): 55–88 and Edward Leo Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case," *Dialogue* 18 (Summer 1985): 67–91.

settlement."[45] With what must have been a great sigh of relief in hopes of avoiding a messy trial, President Merrill approved the delay.

William faced a sticky situation. Though no longer an apostle, Thatcher was president of the Cache Valley Board of Trade, director of the Utah Northern Railroad, a brilliant businessman with many interests, and perhaps the most powerful man in the area. Moreover, in earlier years he had been the man to whom William, facing important decisions, had frequently gone for what he considered inspired counsel. Thomas Smart, Thatcher's ally in the dispute, had dug in his heels against any compromise, not only over the money involved but also because of the animosity he and some other family members had developed toward Parkinson, his brother-in-law.[46] William's task was to convince these two powerful men, his brother and Thatcher, that their course was unjust.

He first met with his aging father, Thomas Sharratt Smart, pleading that "injustice was being done, that we were parties to it and the time had come for him to take a stand for right, to make friends with Bro. Parkinson, bury the hatchet, setting an example to us then use his influence with Thomas to make amends in this matter." His father agreed and "decided to do all in his power to make peace."[47]

Thomas was a harder case. In a private meeting with him, William wrote that

> I . . . took up the past troubles of the families, endeavored to show him how these things had mitigated against the progression of all concerned . . . spoke of the danger lying in his pathway when taking a stand with Moses Thatcher in the face of moral law. . . . The spirit of opposition was very strong in him and it seemed that he could not be moved. . . . I was overcome with emotion and falling upon his neck I beseeched him by the memory of our beloved mother that he would listen to the voice of reason and take a brave stand for right.[48]

For most of the next two weeks, Smart worked in his role of conciliator, shuttling between Thatcher, Parkinson, his Smart siblings, and others, pleading not only for fairness but also for restoration of harmony between the Parkinson and Smart families. Finally, on May 10, all parties signed an agreement that, like most compromises, satisfied no one completely but laid the matter to rest. Parkinson summed up the settlement this way.

> Me and Frank [Franklin C., his son] went to meet Moses Thatcher, J. Mack, T. Smart Jr and W. Smart at Logan to settle up for our stock in the Union and the best we could do was to give all my stock, $5350. The [woolen] factory was put in at $4100 and me take the factory. All other stock was sold

45. Smart, Journals, April 24, 1900.
46. Ibid, April 26, 1900.
47. Ibid, April 25, 1900.
48. Ibid, April 27, 1900.

> at sixty cents on the dollar. I let it go this way for peace and stated let God judge between you and me. . . . We came home with W. Smart who brought about this settlement with his continuous explaining of justice to the parties as he got it as near right as it is.[49]

With that difficult task well done, Smart could return to his mission duties. Before leaving, he met twice more with President Snow. Once was to describe his efforts to settle the Parkinson-Thatcher-Smart controversy. "He very heartily approved of what I had done and commended me warmly for it," he wrote. "I also saw and talked with Snow's Counselors—Geo. Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith who also made favorable mention of my labors for peace."[50]

The second visit is typical of what became his practice—to consult and take counsel from the First Presidency on important matters, including his personal business and financial decisions. Invited to become a major investor in a proposed bank in Rexburg, he "expressed myself as not feeling satisfied to take hold of it without laying the matter before Pres. Snow." Meeting with the president, he first asked if it was "lawful" to consume his time on financial matters. "He made me very welcome and said anything is lawful for me to talk to him about." President Snow generally favored the investment, but urged caution: be sure the men to run the bank were both honest and capable; invest as little as possible until it proved successful; and none at all "if there is likely [likelihood] of losing any money." Apostle Heber J. Grant, also present, "was rather more discouraging," and after five days of thought and, doubtless, prayer, Smart decided not to invest.[51]

Communitarian Dreams

His mind was running to much bigger things. On the third day of his train trip back to the mission field, he outlined a plan for an extended Smart family business/financial organization that was audacious in its scope, closely structured along church lines, and "pointing toward United Order principles."[52] The Smart family had been deeply involved in the Franklin

49. Taylor, Samuel Rose Parkinson," 101.
50. Smart, Journals, May 17, 1900.
51. Ibid, May 21, 22, and 26, 1900.
52. "United Order" is the term describing the Mormon cooperative and, in some cases, communitarian efforts first introduced by Brigham Young in St. George in 1874. In Utah and adjoining states, as well as in Mexico, it took three general forms. The Orderville type was essentially communal: its members contributed all their property to the order, shared equally in the product of their labor, and generally ate together as a large extended family. Several such orders were established in southern Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and Mexico. The last survivor, in Orderville, was disbanded in 1885. In a second system, the St. George type, members contributed their property to the order and received pay and dividends according to their investments and labor. Few United Orders of this type succeeded; within three years, when Brigham died, none were left. The least communitarian, most successful, and longest lasting was the Brigham City model. It involved

Co-operative Mercantile Institution—the "One-eyed Co-op"—established in 1868 and dissolved and merged into the Oneida Mercantile Union in 1889, so he was familiar with the concept. But he envisioned a far more paternalistic organization, patterned closely along church lines. There would be a president and two counselors (or vice presidents) and a board of twelve directors—a council of twelve. Each director would head one of the following departments: agriculture, stock-raising, mining, law, medicine, religion, finance, merchandise, manufacturing, commerce, banking, and education. The way he saw each department operating illustrates his concern for the personal as well as the economic welfare of family members. For example,

> the dept. of religion would especially look into the rightfulness of all business proceedings and foster religion among members and families and employees. That of law would look into the legal phase of all matters pertaining to the affairs of the firm and the individual interests of all connected. That of medicine would look to the health of all departments, sanitization etc. . . . Education would preserve the proper tone of progress in each department among members' families and employees, see that school advantages were secured, and suggest at all times scientific improvements in the various departments for development.

Two days later, as the train rattled on, he was still dreaming of what his plan would do for family members and the church: "My mind today again took up a train of financial thoughts especially looking to the betterment of condition of relatives that the forces of their lives may be more economically utilized and thus made to yield more to the church, especially in tithing the present point of interest among the people." But, characteristically, he insisted that nothing would be done without the "advice and approval of the church presidency."[53] Nothing ever came of this ambitious plan, whether because he later realized it was impractical; because, despite his polygamous ambitions, his own family never became large enough (only five of his children reached adulthood); because he would soon become totally absorbed in other matters; or perhaps all of the above.

The Mission's Final Days

On May 30, 1900, Smart arrived back at Brooklyn, reviewed mission conditions with his counselor, Edward H. Snow, and was gratified that Elder Snow's spring conferences "succeeded in firing [the missionaries] with

no consecration of property to the order, but members pooled their capital to establish cooperative enterprises. Some of these continued into the 1890s, and at least one, in the Logan Second and Third wards, lasted until 1909. No doubt William H. Smart was thinking of this model. See L. Dwight Israelsen, "United Order," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1493. For a discussion of the cooperative movement in Cache Valley, see Robert C. Sidford, "To the Devil by Any Road They Please: Cache Valley's Entrepreneurial Challenge to Cooperation," *Utah Historical Quarterly* (Spring 2004): 119.

53. Smart, Journals, May 27 and 29, 1900.

new zeal and determination." The following Sunday, fast day, he bore testimony that "when we say we know the gospel is true and that God directs us through the priesthood and then fail to keep the commandments we show ourselves to be either hipocrites or else very weak." The next day, somewhat in contradiction to that testimony, he made his affirmation of polygamy clear, despite the Manifesto a decade earlier supposedly discontinuing it. In counseling with a prospective convert, "I talked to him concerning the law of sacrifice including tithing, plural marriage and other principles."[54] Clearly, President Snow's increasingly emphatic statements disavowing polygamy had not changed Smart's heart.

On June 7, he assigned himself to tour the mission, reporting on proceedings of the general conference. In conference after conference, eighty-seven meetings in all,[55] he repeated the same message: revere, honor, and obey the priesthood, and respond to President Snow's urgent appeal to pay an honest tithing to relieve the church's financial bondage. His message was compelling. For example, he told the Brooklyn Conference that "our names shall not be enrolled among the people of the Lord unless we are tithe payers."[56] Because he would soon be released, the tour included often teary farewells to the missionaries and church members. Frequently, he recorded expressions of gratitude for and praise of his services, usually adding that he felt unworthy of such expressions.

On August 27, the expected letter from the First Presidency arrived, dated August 22, 1900, releasing him and naming his counselor, Edward H. Snow, to succeed him. His recorded response included the mixture of humility and faith found so frequently in his journals in these years, as well as throughout his life.

> Elder Snow was filled with humility and a sense of incapacity and was visibly moved. . . . as for me, my heart was measurably light with the thought that soon the mission would be wholly behind me with its grave responsibilities, and that my brethren, God's oracles were now commending me for my devotion to my labors, and that while I had made many blunders and exhibited weaknesses, God had kept me from entirely failing.[57]

Snow's diary confirms Smart's light-heartedness and gives an unsuspected insight into his personality. "We had a splendid dinner," he wrote. "All just as funny as Bro. Smart is at times. He was happy about the happiest man I know of or had seen for some time."

With transfer details completed and final farewells said, Smart left for home on September 1, with the satisfaction that, as the Eastern States Mission Record Book recorded, "the elders . . . are taking hold with greater

54. Ibid., June 2 and 4, 1900.
55. Ibid., August 24, 1900.
56. Ibid., August 20, 1900.
57. Ibid., August 27, 2000.

zeal and energy. From the Presidency down to the latest arrival, we feel there is a spirit of love and union that augers well for the future."[58]

En route, he stopped overnight in Chicago and heard Labor Day speeches by William J. Byron and Theodore Roosevelt, then campaigning for election, on opposite tickets, as President and Vice President, respectively. "They were able addresses," he noted, "but Mr. Byron failed to keep within non-partisan lines."[59] That breach of political etiquette did Byron no good; he lost to the Republican ticket of William McKinley and Roosevelt. William Smart was no help to Byron; he and his wife voted a straight Republican ticket.[60]

Another stop en route was at Independence, Missouri, designated in Mormon scripture as the "center place" of the future City of Zion.[61] He visited the property where a temple was to have been built had the Saints not been driven from Missouri, and met with a member of an offshoot branch from Mormonism called the Hedrickites, who owned the property. "They claim to have had a revelation not long since that the time has come for the building of the temple and that they were to call upon other factions of the church to assist. They sent delegation to our authorities in Utah and to the Josephites [the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints] in Lamoni Iowa, but receiving no encouragement nothing has been done."

But Smart had faith something would be done in the future: "As the shades of night came on more deeply I walked back to the temple block and under a tree kneeled and engaged in secret prayer—praying that I may live that I may be privileged to assist in building up this centre Stake of Zion."[62] His faith was misplaced, but not for lack of effort on his part. In his private papers are receipts for voluntary donations to a fund "for the purchase of land in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri [specifically the Hedrickite-owned temple site], and the redemption of Zion": $200 in the form of Salt Lake Knitting Works stock on April 18, 1904; $300 cash, February 13, 1904; and $100 cash, December 30, 1911.

There's also a sad letter from President Heber J. Grant, dated November 19, 1921, acknowledging receipt of fifty shares of knitting works stock but stating "I certainly hope that your faith in this business may be realized, but am free to confess that I do not believe that stock will ever recover or have any actual value." If the knitting works was defunct in 1921 (making worthless any stock Smart still owned), so is the "redemption of Zion" fund today.

Arriving home from his mission on September 9, Smart's only comment

58. Eastern States Mission Record Book, September 1, 1900.
59. Smart, Journals, September 2, 1900.
60. Ibid., November 6, 1900.
61. Doctrine and Covenants, 57:1–3.
62. Smart, Journals, September 6, 1900.

about his children was that "they all said they had kept the word of wisdom since I was here at conference." In view of his own history of addiction, that must have been gratifying, but hardly a surprise; his oldest child, Elizabeth, was only eleven, William nine, Lawrence seven, Ruth five.

The next day he called on church leaders, and reported that President Snow "gave me a cordial welcome, told me I was free now to spend my time with my family and business, but gave me to understand there would be other missions. . . . Subsequently I met counselors Geo. Q. Cannon and Jos. F. Smith who received me very kindly—especially Bro. Smith."[63]

Financial Help to "Worthy Brethren"

An interview with Apostle Matthias Cowley followed. Impressed with the prosperity Smart had achieved in the sheep business, Cowley "desired to know if he could not invest some means in business with James Webster, my partner, and I. All of his time being taken up in spiritual matters he has no opportunity in this line and he wishes to progress in this line . . . instead of always drawing for support." Smart wrote to Webster, proposing that Cowley be admitted as a partner with a dividend of 8 percent a year, but that "we should control the upper limit of his investment."[64]

It was soon made clear that he saw this not so much a business decision as another way to use his wealth for the good of the church and its leaders. Two days later, he confided in his journal that Apostle Reed Smoot had told him of the financial difficulties of fellow-apostle John W. Taylor, and of how Smoot was trying to straighten out Taylor's affairs.

> There has come to me since a desire to assist in some way worthy brethren that are in such conditions. . . . I have thought of suggesting to James [Webster] the advisibility of offering Apostle Taylor the same privilege I have suggested to offer to Apostle Cowley, and upon getting his consent laying both of these matters before the presidency of the Church for their approval or disapproval. I hope these thoughts are inspired of the Lord and not by my own selfishness and hunger of notoriety or rule. If the latter be true then evil will befall me, but if the former be true then will the Lord bless all efforts looking to the benefit of His servants.[65]

The offer that was finalized with Cowley, much better than what Smart first proposed, was one Cowley could hardly refuse. His investment was to be $5,000. Of this, Cowley was able to raise only $2,000, so Smart & Webster loaned him the needed $3,000 at 8 percent annual interest. That rate of interest would seem to be no problem, since Cowley was to be paid interest on his $5,000 investment at "the rate % of our net gain for the year." The

63. Ibid., September 10, 1900.
64. Ibid., October 27, 1900.
65. Ibid., October 29, 1900.

net gain the previous year had been 46.77 percent,[66] and there appeared to be no reason to doubt that such success would continue. Even if it didn't—if the entire enterprise collapsed—Cowley would be made whole; the agreement specified that "he is not responsible for any losses of business or of his investment further than loss of interest provided our business makes nothing."

With the deal complete, Smart wrote his partner, "advising him what I had done and impressing him with the responsibility of having an investment of an apostle and encouraging integrity of business principles and an endeavor to so manage that our gain would be praiseworthy."[67] Ironically, it was these two apostles, Taylor and Cowley, who would be, respectively, excommunicated and disfellowshipped for encouraging and performing post-Manifesto plural marriages, including that of Smart himself.

With the sheep business going so well, Smart proposed to branch out. His first attempt was not a small one: "to try to effect a corporation here [in Rexburg, Idaho] taking in Banking, Mdse, Stock, agriculture etc," apparently along the lines of the United Order. He outlined his proposal to Thomas E. Ricks, leader of the Mormon colony called to settle the upper Snake River country in 1882, founder of Rexburg and fourteen other communities in the area, and at that point still president of its first stake since it was organized in 1884. Concerned that Rexburg's only bank was controlled by an outsider, Ricks endorsed the plan with enthusiasm, and entrusted Smart with a letter to church president Lorenzo Snow conveying "our hearty approval."

The meeting two days later with eighty-six-year-old President Snow, who Smart described as "feeble and troubled with a hacking cough," produced mixed and puzzling results. "I explained in more detail my plans for corporating with ends of union and redemption to be attained," Smart wrote. President Snow "then reviewed his experiences in Brigham City along these lines. He said that God had but one perfect plan and he referred to it in some 16 different places in the Doc. and Cov. That is—Consecration or United order." He emphasized that "we should not allow control to go out of our hands and should so arrange as to not let outsider influence control." Then, after what seemed to be encouragement, came a different decision: "He said the bank matter as begun should not go on and to tell Pres. Rick & the brethren so."

That counsel did not satisfy the leaders in Rexburg. Ricks, his counselors, and a few others, including Smart and his partner, Webster, discussed it at length. The prevailing sentiment was that "the matter had gone too far to stop," and that "the bank [without the other elements of the plan] better go on now as begun." But Smart wouldn't have it. With obedience to counsel

66. Ibid., December 16, 1900.
67. Ibid., January 12, 1901.

that would characterize his future ministry, "I stated to the brethren that we had done our duty and the matter would end here."[68]

These were heady days for thirty-nine-year-old Smart. Impressed by his ready access to church president Lorenzo Snow, his bishop approached him with a scheme to ask President Snow to use $3,000 of Smart's 1900 tithing to pay off an old debt incurred to build the ward's amusement hall. The wealthy David Eccles had managed a similar deal for his ward, the bishop told him. Smart demurred, telling the bishop he wanted no part of asking for special treatment because he was a heavy tithe payer, and that he should have no more voice than "the poorest widow who had contributed her mites." If he accompanied the bishop, it would be only "as a humble representative of the lay members of the ward." In that spirit they went, and simply asked for a $3,000 appropriation. President Snow gave them no encouragement, explaining the church's burden of debt, and saying only that their request would be given consideration along with other requests. He then dismissed the bishop and proceeded to give Smart broad hints of what was in store for him.

He confided that the First Presidency had disapproved the request of Angus Cannon, president of the Salt Lake Stake, that Smart be called as bishop of the Third Ward, and "told me not to get myself tied up . . . but to prepare myself and hold myself in readiness so that I could be used by them. He said that I had a great future and that I should be required for greater and more extensive operations. . . . Remembering all my struggles and weaknesses I was almost overcome, and felt to wither under this display of confidence from the representative of the Lord on earth."[69]

From other general authorities came similar encouragement, and from Apostle Cowley, explicit counsel that the First Presidency was "pleased with my record in the Eastern States Mission," and urging that he should keep himself "always in readiness." Clearly, a change was imminent. It seemed, he wrote, that "in spite of all my short comings and weaknesses of body and mind I was fast being hurried along to some unknown responsibility which I feared." He shared the news with his wife, along with his fears, and got a wifely scolding, urging him to forget his past noncompliance and "resolve to accomplish good in the future let what ever come."[70]

His confidence was reinforced the next day, when his bishop invited him to join the ward prayer circle, beginning a practice that for years would be a treasured part of his leadership ministry. His journal makes clear the importance he attached to a rite that was practiced throughout the church at this time.

68. Ibid, December 22, 24, and 27, 1900.
69. Ibid, January 8 and 9, 1901.
70. Ibid, January 12, 1901.

> "I accompanied the brethren upstairs into the Circle room. We first removed our shoes in an adjoining room. We engaged in prayer in behalf of the sick, and for the general interests of the ward, Stake and Church. I felt the sacredness of the place and my unworthiness to be here, but also a strong desire to be worthy."[71]

Another Full-time Calling

The "unknown responsibility which I feared" was soon made known. Meeting him on the Logan depot platform on January 25, Apostle Cowley reported the unanimous vote of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve to make Smart president of Wasatch Stake, replacing Abram Hatch. The change was to be made in Heber at the next stake conference, February 9–10. Hatch was the first president when the stake was organized on July 15, 1877, and after twenty-three years it was probably time for a change. According to Smart's journal, though, Cowley indicated other reasons. At age seventy-one, Hatch, he said, was "becoming infirm," and besides, "the people in Wasatch Stake are cold and unfaithful and the brethren felt that I could do a good work among them."[72]

Unspoken, but perhaps another factor, may have been the stake members' resentment of Hatch as a businessman who, according to one critic, took "a course to crush every man in the stake that will not comply with his wishes and trade at his store," and who, though the stake president, did not fully support the church effort to establish cooperative businesses in the valley.[73]

Whatever the reasons, Smart accepted the news with his usual expressions of humility, unworthiness, and faith.

> I was full of joy at this evidence of the confidence of the Lord and my brethren in me, but full of sorrow that I am not more worthy. In spite of my frail body & mind and my many failings I have had a burning desire that the Lord would find me something to do to assist His great work. But to preside over my brethren has seemed beyond my capabilities and what I deserved. But I bow humbly to the will and infinite wisdom of my Heavenly Father and trust Him to make me equal to the grave responsibility.

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71. Ibid, January 13, 1901. Today, the Mormon prayer circle is associated mainly with the temple endowment ceremony. It was apparently a part of early Christian worship, and was introduced in modern times on May 26, 1843, when Joseph Smith invited his close associates to join one. From 1851 to 1929, prayer circles were formed for priesthood groups, stake presidencies and high councils, priesthood quorums, and ward bishoprics—usually in response to and under authority of the First Presidency. In 1973, during the presidency of Harold B. Lee, prayer circles outside the temple were discontinued by instruction of the First Presidency, although they are still held during weekly meetings of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. George S. Tate, "Prayer Circle," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* 3:1120.
72. Smart, Journals, January 25, 1901.
73. Jessie L. Embry, *A History of Wasatch County*, Utah Centennial County History (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Wasatch County Commission, 1996), 30–31.

Assurance soon came. After fasting and pouring out his soul in prayers of thanks, and pleading for aid, and forgiveness of sins, he became "somewhat settled in my feelings . . . and informed my wife who accepted of the call in the same spirit as myself. We both felt that the Lord had been managing all things for our good and that in this choice of Stakes we acknowledged his hand."[74]

74. Smart, Journals, January 25, 1901.

Six

On-the-job Training in Heber Valley

In addition to his business acumen and spiritual dedication, William H. Smart had a knack of fortuitous timing. He established himself solidly in the sheep business during the boom years, before grazing restrictions to save the watershed drove less provident sheepmen out of business. He sold his stock in the LaPlata silver mine just before the ore pinched out, the stock became worthless, and the area became a ghost town. Now, on February 9, 1901, he arrived in Heber Valley to become the new stake president, the highest Mormon authority there, just sixteen months after the arrival of the railroad promised to bring prosperity and growth to that formerly isolated area.

Sheltered behind the Wasatch Mountains on the west and north, the Uinta Mountains on the east, and the Tavaputs Plateau on the south, Heber and the adjoining valleys are high—5,800 feet and more—with long and severe winters and short growing seasons. For centuries, Indians hunted and gathered there in summer but spent the winters in warmer climes. Mormon settlement began in 1859, after volunteers from Provo hacked out a rudimentary wagon road up Provo Canyon. The first settlers built a fort, laid out a town in the customary Mormon fashion, drew lots for twenty-acre plots of land, and named their infant town for Mormon Apostle Heber C. Kimball. Winters were brutal, with temperatures down to forty degrees below zero, water buckets freezing solid next to the fireplace, and the logs in buildings cracking from the cold.[1] "Communication with Wasatch County is entirely cut off by the snows that have fallen and drifted in heaps in Provo Kanyon," the *Deseret News* reported in 1862.[2]

1. See Embry, *History of Wasatch County*, 10–55 for details of the settlement.
2. Quoted in Embry, *History of Wasatch County*, 24.

Still, with arable land becoming scarce in the valleys west of the Wasatch, people kept coming, and communities sprang up, including Heber, Midway, Center Creek, Charleston, Wallsburg, and Daniel. The territorial legislature created Wasatch County in 1862, running from the summit of the Wasatch to the Utah–Colorado territorial line.

In 1860, Brigham Young called Mormon Battalion veteran Joseph S. Murdock as bishop over all the tiny settlements in what would become Wasatch County. Seven years later, Abram Hatch was called to leave his Lehi farm and store to replace Murdock. Ten years after that, in 1877, Wasatch Stake was organized as the church's nineteenth stake, and forty-seven-year-old Hatch was installed as its president.[3] By that time he had become the valley's dominant business leader.

Smart's journal entry for February 9, 1901, illustrates how rapidly Heber Valley was entering the Utah mainstream. Instead of days of torturous and dangerous wagon-road travel up Provo Canyon, Smart was able to board a 7:50 a.m. train in Salt Lake City, change trains in Provo, and arrive in Heber "about 11 O.C. and went to conference which was in first session." He found there the "very substancial nice Tabernackle which cost about $25000 and took 4 years to build."[4] Between sessions, he was invited to lunch by President Hatch, where "I was kindly received at his magnificant stone home."[5]

Such ease of travel was an almost new experience in Heber Valley. For years, its residents had yearned for a railroad to end their isolation. The nearest access was the Union Pacific line to Park City, and even there service was sporadic. Finally, with the help of Heber Valley citizens to buy rights-of-way and the depot site, the Rio Grande Western carved a rail line up scenic Provo Canyon and on to Heber. The first train arrived on September 22, 1899, just four and a half months before Smart arrived. Its completion meant that not only could residents easily travel to Provo, Salt Lake City, and beyond, but the valley's sheep, sugar beets, building stone, and other products could reach outside markets.

In the afternoon session of his last conference as stake president, Hatch spoke of those earlier days and reported on his stewardship. As Smart recorded it, Hatch

3. *Deseret News Church Almanac, 2001–2002* ,256.
4. The tabernacle was built between 1887–89, on Heber's town square. In 1961, church leaders announced that it would be demolished and replaced by a new stake center. A public outcry postponed the demolition, and the new stake center was built elsewhere. For the next quarter century, preservationists and local leaders struggled to save the tabernacle, but were unable to raise the needed funds or settle on a viable use for it. Meanwhile, deterioration continued. Finally, in 1987–88, with the aid of a $311,820 federal economic development grant, the tabernacle was converted into the Heber City Hall and the county senior citizen center.
5. Years later, the Hatch home was days away from falling to the wrecking ball when Roy Simmons, president of Zions Bank, reversed a decision to destroy it and instead remodeled it into a branch of the bank.

> "said he had been called here from Lehi some 34 years ago and from saje brush plains there had sprung up 12 wards [Heber East, Heber West, Midway, Charleston, Wallsburg, Buysville, Daniels, Centre, Elkhorn, Francis, Woodland, and Bench Creek] and there are now nearly 5000 people. He said the tithes of the people had increased: that in 1898 the stake paid about $7869; in 1899 about $14395 and in 1900 about $16772. Pres. Hatch then offered his resignation, and hoped that his successor would be a gentleman, a scholar and a million heir."[6]

In those days, changing a stake presidency was a major event, and in this case it took three apostles to do it—Francis M. Lyman, Abraham O. Woodruff, and the newest apostle, Reed Smoot, sustained only ten months earlier. All three spoke at length, expressing confidence in and support of Smart as the new stake president and urging stake members to sustain him. In addressing his new flock, Smart "told the people not to vote for me unless they really felt to do so, as otherwise I should rather return home. While the people were much surprised they seemed to accept the situation very well." Whatever reservations they may have had were not made immediately evident; the voting for the entire slate of officers, including Smart's choice as first counselor, Joseph R. Murdock, was unanimous. The post of second counselor was left vacant.

From the apostles came specific challenges and counsel, some of it surprising. Despite the anti-polygamy manifesto issued by his father ten years earlier, Woodruff declared "that he could not sustain a man for office who does not believe in the principles of plural marriage[,] who makes light of the authorities of the Church, who does not believe in and live the law of tithing, and who does not believe in and is [not] endeavoring to keep the word of wisdom." Smart, by then, qualified on all four counts.

Lyman, emphasizing the political manifesto issued by the First Presidency in 1895, "advised me that the presidency and bishoprics were expected to not run for political office nor go on the stump lectioneering in politics. Could have our political views but not antagonize the people of the oposit side by parading them." Smart's relentless efforts to promote the Republican ticket in the presidential and state elections of 1902, and his political activism throughout his ecclesiastical ministry, indicate that he soon forgot or chose to ignore that counsel.

Woodruff's major challenge to the Wasatch Stake was "that our strongest efforts during the next six months be upon tithing in endeavoring to lessen the [stake's] list of non tithe payers." Smart family tradition holds that one of the reason for changing the stake presidency was that tithing from Heber Valley had largely dried up. Hatch's report of increased payments of tithing would seem to question that tradition, but Woodruff's call for greater effort indicates the church was far from satisfied.

6. Smart, Journals, February 9, 1901.

In Hatch's farewell remarks, he pledged his support of the new president, and "said he understood that I am a wealthy man and he hoped I would come and build a fine mansion. He expressed himself that he could not support a man who had to be kept by the church." Smart's response focused on less worldly matters: "[I] said I lay no claim to riches, but would that I might have the riches of the Holy Spirit to guide me in my duties."

A Rough Road Ahead

Smart was ordained a High Priest on February 10, 1901, by the three apostles Lyman, Woodruff and Smoot, and set apart as president of Wasatch Stake. He faced challenges probably not unique to new stake presidents of the times, but certainly heavy. At the just-concluded stake conference, Lyman had assured the people that their stake was "above an average of the stakes of Zion,"[7] but his statement may have been a not-entirely-sincere attempt at positive reinforcement.

Other testimony was different. Apostle Rudger Clawson recorded that in a January 24 meeting with the First Presidency, "I suggested that some action should be taken in reference to the Wasatch Stake presidency—conditions being such as to render a change very desirable. After some discussion, it was decided to sustain Elder Wm. Smart [as] president of the Wasatch to succeed Pres. Abram Hatch, who would be asked to resign because of the many unfavorable conditions existing in that stake."[8] Cowley had told Smart the people there were "cold and unfaithful." Clawson would shortly tell him they were "spiritually dead."[9] In a conference-ending meeting of the stake's youth, Woodruff warned that it "is a good time for the people to reform," and estimated that not more than half were observing the Word of Wisdom. Former president Hatch himself acknowledged problems; while taking Smart on a tour of the valley the next day, he pointed out many homes where the occupants "were born in the church but hardly considered themselves so now."[10]

So there were challenges to awaken people spiritually, build faith, and increase activity in the church. That meant tireless efforts to reshape and strengthen ward organizations and, through sermons and individual counseling, to call people to repentance. Smart wasted no time. Among the first tasks he set himself was to visit every ward and stake organization, "putting in order every quorum & organization and then establish a yearly ward conference as in other stakes."[11]

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7. Ibid, February 9, 1901.
8. Stan Larson, ed., *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 242.
9. Smart, Journals, February 14, 1901.
10. Ibid., February 10 and 11, 1901.
11. Ibid., May 13, 1901.

His efforts bore early fruit. Six months after the new presidency was installed, and after his visit to the Wasatch Stake conference, Apostle Cowley reported to the Quorum of the Twelve that "Stake President Smart is doing well, and the Saints are pretty well united. Said that Brother Abram Hatch acknowledged the hand of the Lord in the change recently effected in that stake."[12] Six months later, after the next conference, Apostle Teasdale (who twelve years earlier had been involved in Smart's premature release from his Turkish mission) stated: "Pres Smart doing a good work. Good feeling among the priesthood. Seventies improving."[13] And six months after that, Apostle Smoot noted that the stake conference "was well attended, and better order and attention from the young people than ever before. Pres Smart doing a splendid work."

But not all was well. Having observed the "evils of selling whiskey and males & females bathing promiscuously" at Luke's Hot Pots in Midway, Smoot reported to the presidency that the Hot Pots were a source of evil, and that he had advised the owners that changes had to be made or the stake would establish its own pleasure resort.[14]

The Tithing Campaign

When Lorenzo Snow began his brief presidency (1898–1901), the church's chief challenge was its deplorable financial condition. Years of anti-polygamy prosecution and the seizure of assets had left it deeply in debt. In May 1899, he announced to a St. George congregation his inspiration that the way out of debt was through the honest payment of tithing. He preached that doctrine in meetings on the way back to Salt Lake City.

In July, the president convened a fast-day solemn assembly in the Celestial Room of the Salt Lake Temple. Called to the meeting were all general authorities, all seven stake presidents and their counselors, all bishops, and the general boards of all auxiliaries. As reported in Apostle Abraham Woodruff's diary, the president quoted section 119 of the Doctrine and Covenants, stating that unless church members "pay one-tenth of their interest annually . . . they shall not be found worthy to abide among you." "Had the people paid an honest tithing the last 10 years or 12 years there would be at least now in the treasury of the Church $10,000," the president declared. "Half a tithing is no tithing at all in the eyes of God. The payment of our tithes will secure us against our enemies. The law of tithing is the first law and most important law. The Lord has shown this to me most clearly that this is what we shall tell you."[15]

12. Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 308.
13. Ibid., 394.
14. Ibid., 473.
15. Abraham Woodruff diaries, July 2, 1899, Abraham Owen Woodruff Collection, Vault 777, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University.

Snow died on October 10, 1901, leaving that revelation and campaign about tithing as perhaps his greatest legacy. His death jolted Smart into action. "Decided to take up the subject of tithing in a systematic way throughout the stake as it has not been done since Pres. Snow's special movement," his October 15 journal records.[16] Two weeks later, he told a special stake priesthood meeting that "we are candidates for Celestial glory. . . . Tithing culminating in consecration being laws of that Kingdom, we cannot attain to it without observing that law."[17] Consequently, he instructed every ward, in addition to its regular—and heavy—schedule of meetings, to hold a special conference on tithing. All twelve meetings were compressed into one snowy week in early December. Smart attended and spoke at every one. In this stake and throughout Mormondom, members responded so well to President Snow's challenge that by 1907, the church was entirely free of debt. Clearly, one characteristic of Smart's leadership was decisive action to correct any status quo he considered unsatisfactory.

Another example. Two years into his ministry, he felt the stake needed a drastic shakeup. Within a few weeks in 1903, he reorganized the two Heber wards into three—the Heber First, Second, and Third wards—and divided the Midway Ward into the Midway First and Second wards. In contrast to that evidence of growth, he combined two feeble wards, Daniels and Buysville, into one (Daniels Ward) and two others, Center and Lake Creek wards, into Center Ward. Two even weaker wards, Elkhorn and Riverdale, were annexed to Heber Second Ward, and three others, Francis, Bench Creek, and Woodland, were transferred to Summit Stake. All this, of course, meant wholesale reorganization of the bishoprics.[18]

After four years of intensive effort, he was still not satisfied with the spirituality of his stake. On January 2, 1905, he and his counselors felt it necessary to visit the families of every stake officer and bishopric and catechize each wife and child as to his or her spiritual and moral state, "encouraging them and admonishing them when necessary." As usual, action quickly followed decision. His own family endured the ordeal the following day. "As a rule each member of the family answered creditably the questions propounded," he reported. Inquisitions in the homes of other leaders soon followed.

Early Searches for Spiritual Strength

Of importance to Smart's search for spirituality, his own as well as his stake's, were two practices little known among church members today—second endowments and prayer circles. On February 14, just four days after

16. Smart, Journals, October 15, 1901.
17. Ibid., October 30, 1901.
18. William James Mortimer, ed., *How Beautiful upon the Mountains: A Centennial History of Wasatch County* (n.p.: Wasatch County Chapter Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1963), 51.

his installation, seeking encouragement and counsel, he met with President Lorenzo Snow. The instructions he recorded describe something of the inner workings of the church at this time.

> Be careful in recommending saints for their second washings and annointings. I alone am responsible for this and not the bishops. They should be men who are living their religion not too young not to have been placed in circumstances to try their faith; past lives should have been without unredeemable sin. As a rule should be men active in the Lords service or else aged men who have been but who are now retired. He ask if I had received mine and when I answered "no" he instructed his sec'y Geo Gibbs to make me a recommend to the temple for the same. Said they are helps and safeguards to the worthy, and that after receiving mine I should better understand who to recommend. Here's another grave responsibility for my wife and I to carry. I felt almost overcome with emotion as I contemplated the mercy of God as shown in this His forgiveness of sins.[19]

This was a day full of deep spiritual emotions. At the invitation of Apostle Lyman, he—and presumably Anna, though he does not mention her—attended the prayer circle over which Lyman presided in the temple. As he sat there, remembering his past, he felt even deeper emotions.

> I was particularly moved as I dwelt upon the fact that just three years ago today I took my last smoke in the City of Chicago. . . . Apostle Lyman with Apostle Cowley just previous had laid hands on me at my request, that I might receive strength for this achievement . . . and now today just three years from date of my triumph under the blessings of the Lord . . . I am associating with the First Presidency of the Church & the Apostles, receiving their good will and counsels, and now in Apostle Lyman's prayer Circle in the most glorious House of God so far built in this dispensation. Oh! That I could feel that my inward spiritual growth had been comensurate with these outward appearances.

There would be still more. At the invitation of Apostle Abraham O. Woodruff, he spent that night in the small two-story log farmhouse built in 1859 by the apostle's father, Wilford Woodruff, and lived in by that future president of the church for twenty-five years. "Finding myself in the stillness of this room," Smart wrote, "I felt a sense of unworthiness to be a guest of an

19. This sacred ordinance—known variously as Second Anointing, Second Endowment, Calling and Election Made Sure, or More Sure Word of Prophecy—is based on the teachings of Peter (2 Pet 1:3–10, 16–19) and the Doctrine and Covenants, 131:5: "The more sure word of prophecy means a man's knowing that he is sealed up unto eternal life by revelation and the spirit of prophecy." Joseph Smith further taught that "when the Lord has thoroughly proved him, and finds that [a] man is determined to serve him at all hazards, then the man will find his calling and election made sure." Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet*, 149. See also Roy W. Doxey, "Calling and Election," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* 1:248 and Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958), 102.

apostle in the home of his late father-prophet: and before retiring I bowed myself before God and acknowledged my gratitude and prayed earnestly that I may be able to so live that I shall be worthy of meeting him and associating with him. Again I contrasted this blessing with my condition three years ago."[20]

In the next general conference, in April, there was further evidence of the emphasis the church placed on second endowments. Smart recorded that "second annointing was dwelt upon impressively" by President Snow. Stake presidents had the responsibility of recommending recipients, he taught, and the privilege was not to be confined to a chosen few leaders: "All who have been tried and were found true and had and were doing something and of whose past record we are assured we should recommend. . . . Abraham never could have sacrificed his son had he not received such strength as is given by second annointings and all should strive to live worthy of same." Joseph F. Smith of the First Presidency added that "no man can receive the highest gifts in the Melchisedec [*sic*] Priesthood without second annointings. . . . See that you are right then infuse this spirit in others."[21]

Despite such emphasis, it was not until May 31 that Smart, with his wife Anna, appeared at the Salt Lake Temple to receive this ordinance at the hands of eighty-year-old John R. Winder of the Presiding Bishopric. His account of the event was uncharacteristically brief: "These are the greatest blessings that are bestowed upon man in the flesh. We were both melted in tears and I felt the patriarchial spirit of pure affection more than I have done before." His account of the next day's celebration at "Salt Air Beech" of the 100th anniversary of Brigham Young's birth occupied far more journal space.[22]

The prayer circles that so impressed Smart, and seem to have given him such spiritual assurance, functioned not only among the General Authorities but widely in wards and stakes until the late 1920s. The practice gradually declined until 1973, when President Harold B. Lee discontinued them except in the church's temples.[23] In Smart's time they were not created casually; creation was by authority of the First Presidency, with an apostle

20. The small log home, since stuccoed, has been restored and is still occupied as a home, at the address 1604 South 500 East in Salt Lake City. Two doors to the south, at 1622 South 500 East, is a later home built by Woodruff, known as The Villa, where he lived as president of the church for four years. Half a block farther south, at the intersection of 1700 South and 500 East, is a small park noting the area where the main body of the Pioneer Company camped when they first entered Salt Lake Valley, July 22, 1847. In the surrounding blocks are no less than seven other still-standing homes built by the Woodruff family on what was then the extensive Wilford Woodruff farm.
21. Smart, Journals, April 8, 1901.
22. Ibid., May 31 and June 1, 1901.
23. D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *Brigham Young University Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 79–105.

usually presiding. President Joseph F. Smith himself traveled to Wallsburg to create that tiny ward's circle. Membership was by invitation, based on carefully examined worthiness.

A week after Smart's installation as Wasatch Stake president, Apostle Woodruff disbanded the stake's three existing circles and created two new ones. Smart was named president of the first, with his counselors, members of the high council, and others he might choose as members.[24] Past stake president Hatch was installed as president of the second circle, which was dissolved two years later because by then the wards had their own prayer circles.[25]

Not only in Wasatch Stake, but throughout his Uinta Basin ministry, Smart used the circles as an important administrative tool in his community-building as well as in ecclesiastical affairs. Among other instructions in creating his first one, Woodruff said "[we] should think of circle during week and should notice around us for objects to be mentioned in circle prayer." In Smart's circle, that "object" often was something the community needed or a problem it faced. Once the matter had been prayed about, it usually became a matter of discussion and decision by the stake presidency and high council.

But prayer circles saw more than a discussion of administrative matters. Douglas L. Todd, called by Smart in 1917 as Duchesne Stake clerk, recorded a life-saving spiritual manifestation he witnessed in Smart's prayer circle there. His memoir describes a room, dedicated specifically for prayer circle use and kept locked at other times, with an altar and small compartments for each member's ceremonial clothing.

> One morning the prayer circle was in session, and one of the High Councilmen, by the name of Timothy, was leading and all were following [repeating each phrase] as was the pattern. Suddenly he stopped; there were no more words, and the silence in the room was deafening. It remained thus for what seemed a long time, when Brother Timothy's voice was heard again. He said, "President Smart, my mind has become a complete blank."
>
> Like someone picking up a part in a play, President Smart launched forth into one of the most powerful prayers I had ever heard. . . . Not many words were spoken until President Smart was calling upon the Lord to protect, guide, and preserve a family who were traveling from Salt Lake City to Roosevelt over the very dangerous Provo Summit in the dead of winter.

Todd's memoir then describes his own crossing over that high, snow-choked mountain pass. In such a place, hooves and sleigh runners packed down the snow, storm after storm, until there would be a trail of packed snow five or six feet deep, with that much soft, unpacked snow on either side. New or

24. Smart, Journals, February 17, 1901.
25. Ibid., August 9, 1903.

drifting snow would make the "snow road" indistinguishable from its surroundings. Experienced horses would feel their way along the "road." An inexperienced one would repeatedly flounder off into the bottomless powder, become frightened and unmanageable, and often lunge downhill. "It was about as much as your life was worth to get in front of them when they would start on those wild plunges," he wrote. "We would have to dig and tramp a path, and then get the crazy horses turned back up hill and back on the road. . . .When you reached the point of exhaustion, you just kept right on; there was nothing else to do." His memoir then continues:

> This family who were caught on the Provo Summit [unknown to any of the prayer circle] had all of the problems we experienced, plus horses that had never been in snow, a dark day, and a heavy snow storm which obliterated all road markings. In addition they had women and children along. They had completely lost their bearings, had struggled on to the point of exhaustion and were in utter despair. They had prayed and had done all that they could. At this moment of despair, there was suddenly an opening in the clouds, and the sun came through bright and clear. The snow stopped and they made their way to safety. Upon reaching Roosevelt and checking the time, they found that the sudden change in their situation happened exactly at the time of President Smart's prayer.[26]

Plunging into Temporal Affairs

For Smart, there was more than the task of building his stake spiritually. He also recognized, accepted, and on his own initiative went relentlessly about the task of building the valley's infrastructure and its business and financial strength. The dual task of building both church and community demanded strong leadership. In the pioneering and development of early Utah, that leadership was usually focused in one man, with the two tasks often overlapping. Smart's career, beginning in Wasatch Valley and even more evident in his later efforts in the Uintah Basin, is as good example as any. He energetically used his church position and authority to build the community, and his personal economic and financial strength to build the church.

The people expected no less; before he had settled in as the new stake president, he attended a farewell testimonial for the former presidency, and "at the close of meeting as I was going out a letter was handed me signed by Wm. Foremen."

> Center Ward, Feby. 25, 1901
>
> Suggestions for Pres Smart
> 1. The new canal as commenced
> 2. Dig tunnels for water and minerals
> 3. Electricity for light and power

26. Excerpt from Douglas M. Todd, memoir, undated, copy in possession of the author.

4. Reservoirs in our 3 Canyons
5. B. Y. Academy
6. Woolen mills
7. Water pipe system for Heber

Shortly, the new stake president would plunge into such projects. But his own business interests demanded attention as well.

To carry out his dual stewardship, Smart needed to surround himself with capable associates. He needed a stake clerk, and he also needed a secretary to organize and keep track of his growing business interests. He apparently felt that no one living within the stake was suitable. In a letter to Apostle Woodruff he spelled out what he was seeking: "I have thoughts concerning the future regarding business matters which would make it worthwhile a good man to consider. He should be fertile in brain, apt, at home in account and record work, honest secretive and a good latter day Saint."[27] How he solved the problem exemplifies his career-long practice of using his business resources to attract men he needed, and then assigning them both ecclesiastical and secular responsibilities.

A young faculty member of LDS College, James C. Jensen, caught the new stake president's eye. Smart brought him to Heber to look over the situation, and offered him a position as stake clerk and also as his personal business secretary. The college president, J. H. Real, opposed the move, but "President Snow left him free to do as he pleased" and "several apostles[28] rather favored his going." Jensen himself was ambivalent, and something else was needed to tip the balance. Smart provided it: "I promised to loan him the money necessary to lift his various debts. . . . Intimated to him that my desire is to form a Co. more extensive than our present Co. and that I should make some arrangement by which he may become a stockholder."[29] With that incentive, Jensen accepted the offer and before long became a counselor in the stake presidency and a key man in Smart's business domain. Joseph W. Musser replaced him as stake clerk, and also became closely associated with Smart's business as well as ecclesiastical affairs.

If anything characterized Smart's management style, it was his sense of immediacy. Once a decision was reached, he acted. Two weeks after Jensen's acceptance, the two men were on their way to the Snake River country "to attend to some business matters and to give opportunity to Bro. Jensen to see the country and our outfits in part so that he may be able to assist in

27. Abraham Woodruff diaries, February 15, 1901.
28. Apostle Woodruff was apparently one of these. In a letter to him, Smart expressed gratitude for his help: "Whether he proves so or not my gratitude to you shall be very great for the concern you have taken in behalf of the Wasatch Stake and myself." Smart to Woodruff, February 18, 1901, Smart Papers.
29. Smart, Journals, February 17, 1901.

systematizing our business and keeping our books more intelligently."[30] All they did on that week-long trip was to inspect six bands of sheep, as well as feed yards and new lambing sheds under construction; buy 1,600 acres of grazing land at $5 an acre; write a new contract for Smart & Webster Livestock that included Jensen as secretary and stipulated that a tenth of the profits be paid to the church as tithing; fire one foreman and hire his replacement; visit Smart's ailing father and other family members, counseling all of them on various matters; and meet with Apostle Cowley and others regarding Cowley's proposal to form a company to buy a huge tract of land in Canada.

Cowley "thought it a good investment and had secured 2 sections [1,280 acres] for me in case I wish it," Smart recorded, but he himself was skeptical. "The proposed Sugar factory for the vacinity is very uncertain," he confided in his journal. "Also the men are going into it more as a speculation expecting raise of land rather than to stock same as healthy investment. I did not feel impressed to take hold." But Cowley had already committed to buy one section, and, characteristically, Smart offered to take it "if he felt it too heavy to carry."[31]

A week later, he felt more enthusiastic about the Canadian project, possibly because Apostle John W. Taylor was also involved now, or possibly because he learned that someone else "was about to buy the tract that I was thinking of." Mormons had begun to settle that part of Alberta, he noted, and he and Webster had been considering establishing a cattle ranch there. So, suddenly he acted, writing a $14,515 check for an option on "9 sections square"—51,840 acres.[32] Then he and Taylor boarded a train for Canada.

Traveling north from Great Falls through the Alberta prairie, he found the land "well sodded," but "as the country stretched before us I felt like a lonely speck in a limitless sea of land."[33] For four days, mostly on horseback, he examined the land between Sterling and Magrath, some forty miles north of the U.S.–Canadian border. When it was done, he and Taylor had put together a tract of 77,292 acres, for which the price would be $4 an acre for land below the irrigation canal, and $3 an acre for land above. Obviously, they were thinking big, and Smart was ready to take the plunge.

He boarded a train for Winnipeg, seven hundred miles to the east in the province of Manitoba, to negotiate the purchase of four or five hundred head of cattle to stock the ranch. Although the bank there declined to finance the purchase, he remained optimistic as he left for home. "I feel quite favorably impressed with the country. I see no reason why young people cannot by industry and frugality build themselves good homes and

30. Ibid., March 1, 1901.
31. Ibid., March 2–7, 1901.
32. Ibid., March 16, 1901.
33. Ibid., March 19, 1901.

prosper financially. It seems to me I can see various ways in which means can be made."[34]

But that attitude soon changed. Unlike the rebelliousness that had characterized his Turkey mission, he had learned by now to rely implicitly on the counsel of church authorities, and thus called on the church president for advice. "President Lorenzo Snow rather discouraged my engaging in a large business in Canada which would take up much time & thought," he wrote, "so I have wired Mr Magrath today that we will do nothing at present."[35]

So that was that. Young Mormons would indeed "by industry and frugality" prosper in that part of Alberta, even, by 1923, enjoying a temple in Cardston, the church's sixth. But they would do it without any involvement by William H. Smart.

Instead, he focused his abundant energy and resources on enterprises close to home. For it to be the growing community he envisioned, the town of Heber needed a bank. Others saw the same opportunity. In October 1901, the Park City bank, backed by Thomas Kearns's money, proposed to start a bank in Heber and solicited Smart's support. "As I have had nothing to do in finance since arriving here," he confided in his journal, "I did not feel to do anything without consulting the Brethren."[36] Five days later he did, meeting with President Joseph F. Smith, his counselors John R. Winder and Anthon H. Lund, and apostles Brigham Young Jr., John Henry Smith, and Reed Smoot. The advice was clear and unanimous: "our stake should hold the majority of the stock," which meant, of course, that the stake should establish its own bank.

Smart got some more advice that day. In his zeal to personally stimulate and control the economic development of Wasatch Valley, he envisioned some kind of cooperative organization to sponsor various stake-controlled enterprises. The church leaders did not agree. They wisely advised that "it is dangerous to lump unrelated businesses under one head, but keep them separate so that if one fail it will not effect the whole." Besides, President Smith emphasized, in establishing such enterprises, "the organization of the priesthood is ample and if in working order there is no need of multiplying organizations." Smart got the message. "Since the bishop's calling and that of the deacons is to deal in temporal matters," he reasoned, "why should they not be at the head—under the direction of the Stake Presidency—of finances? If so they should be chosen with reference to this as well as spiritual matters."[37]

Smart's original idea died hard, however. On January 25, 1902, he convened a special meeting of the stake presidency, patriarchs, high council,

34. Ibid., March 30, 1901.
35. Ibid., April 2, 1901.
36. Ibid., October 19, 1901.
37. Ibid., October 24, 1901.

and bishoprics "to consider the advisability of effecting a temporal organization. I laid the matter before the brethren and it was unanimously decided in the affirmative; also that it shall be under the auspices of the priesthood." Again, he brought the proposal to the First Presidency. Again, the answer was no: "They approved of the aims and general plans but thought it were wiser to organize under the auspices of the citizens rather than the Priesthood."[38]

So Smart tried a different approach, proposing to combine his assets with those of his counselors and past stake president Hatch in a cooperative that would develop and invest in other enterprises. His counselors agreed, as they always seemed to do. So did Hatch, and the project moved forward.

But, perhaps after his usual practice of fasting and praying, Smart had a change of heart. In the Sunday, May 3, 1902, meeting of the stake presidency, he "expressed my feelings that perhaps as a presidency we had desired to manipulate matters too much, feeling that no good thing could be done unless we headed it: that we perhaps ought to be broader and foster individual growth and enterprise more." So the project was abandoned, the properties returned to their original owners, and the company dissolved.

Still, Smart's mind wouldn't rest. On August 2, 1903, at a stake priesthood meeting, he proposed "my leading out in the organization of a Products Association for the encouragement of developing the resources of the Co[unty] & finding market for them. There was unanimous vote in its favor provided I felt impressed to do so." On December 9, the high council formally debated and approved the project, but nothing seemed to have come of it.

There was more. On February 6, 1904, the stake presidency and high council "met in special session and considered at length the advisability of a commercial Club being formed here. . . . Some felt that if formed I should be the President and others that it were better that some other as Counselor Jos. R. Murdock so that I perhaps would not be so much of a target for the people who are not in sympathy with the Church." No decision was reached, and members were urged to fast and pray about the matter. Smart did as instructed, and by the time it was considered a month later, had experienced an epiphany that stopped such efforts—for a time.

The inspiration, he reported, came to him, abed, in the early morning hours. Later that day, he recorded a long and abstruse statement of his governmental philosophy. The core of it was that the Lord has established two governments, civil and ecclesiastical; that each should assist the other, but that the "purest" civil government results when its leaders are "the citizens who control and govern the spiritual government." That much is consistent with Smart's past and ongoing thinking. But then came the new insight:

38. Ibid., January 27, 1902.

"in creating such organizations as the Commercial Club" or others he had earlier proposed, "whose aims are to shape the labors and results of these dual governments and thus dictating to them the policies they should pursue, we lay the foundation to weaken them in their individual influences." Moreover, "for members of the Priesthood of the Church of Christ to take the initiative in the promotion of such associations, they are in a measure scattering the natural forces of that priesthood."[39]

Those sentiments were unanimously endorsed by Smart's stake prayer circle. In the stake priesthood meeting that immediately followed, he declared, "I have felt impressed that we should use the priesthood to consider questions of public interest rather than a commercial Club." That settled the matter. The Wasatch Commercial Club was organized shortly thereafter, without church involvement, and it played a major role in promoting the Heber Light and Power Plant built four miles north of town.[40]

The church-controlled bank the First Presidency had approved was another matter. In mid-February 1902, the stake presidency and high council voted to proceed, and, of course, named Smart to lead out. Within two weeks committees were organized, Smart's counselor in the stake presidency, James C. Jensen, was named cashier, public meetings were held in various communities to explain the project and solicit subscriptions, and a temporary home was rented on Heber's Main Street. By March 29 the legal work was done, the Bank of Heber City was formally organized, and, in a stockholders meeting, Smart was "unanimously sustained" (a term used in church but not normally in stockholder meetings) as president. Abram Hatch was named vice president, and Apostle Reed Smoot, J. W. Clyde, Joseph R. Murdock, Mark Jeffs, John M. Murdock, J. H. Moulton, Attewall Wootton, and John E. Austin were chosen as directors.[41]

The bank prospered. By the following January, it was solid enough to begin to construct its own building; Smart was named chairman of the committee to get it done. By February, directors reported 15 percent gain on capital, raised the cashier's salary from $75 to $100 a month, gave Smart, as president, his first salary—$25 a month—and voted a directors' fee of fifty cents a meeting. On November 28, 1904, the bank moved into its new home, a fifty-one-by-sixty-three foot, two-story building on Main Street.

Though stock had been publicly offered, there was no doubt, at least in Smart's mind, about whose bank it was. Directors' meetings were regularly held in the stake president's office, and on Christmas Day, 1903, he recorded: "The Stake Presidency met this morning at 9 a.m. to consider the advisability of our using our influence with *our* [emphasis added] bank to buy the corner west of Jos. Hatch & South of Court House & also Bros.

39. Ibid., March 5, 1904.
40. Embry, *History of Wasatch County*, 75.
41. Smart, Journals, February 23, 21, 26, March 8, and April 1, 1902.

Murdock & Jensen [his counselors] secure the remainder of said lot for sale so as to control the encouragement of proper future business here."[42]

Smart's other business interests during this period were diverse, demanding, and not entirely successful. For $4,250, he acquired a controlling interest in and became president of Western Knitting Factory, and shortly thereafter, at 206 North 200 (later 300) West in Salt Lake City, built a new factory on property he gave the company in exchange for $5,000 in company stock. He recruited President Joseph F. Smith as a director and gave the company a great deal of his time, but it struggled, and in 1904 was acquired by Salt Lake Knitting for $12,000 in stock. Smart became chairman of the executive committee of that expanded company.[43]

There was more. He acquired a major interest in and became a director of Wasatch Lumber Company, became a stockholder and charter director of Beneficial Life Insurance Company, and a stockholder, director, and the auditing committee chairman of Utah National Bank.

In their expansionist zeal, the Smart & Webster Livestock Company established a cattle ranch in the Big Horn country of Wyoming in the winter of 1900–1901, and invited Apostle Woodruff as a partner. It was new country, to which Woodruff had led a large group of Mormon settlers, the Big Horn Colonization Company, the previous summer and laid out the townsites of Cowley, Lovell, and Byron.[44] Apparently Smart felt Woodruff might bring some influence to the partnership, for in a letter to him he wrote: "If you can do anything toward securing right to graze 50,000 sheep on reservation in question along lines you suggested will be very pleased. Sheep are crowding into that country and it now looks very dark for all unless we can secure an outlet there."[45] In the same letter, Smart stated his business philosophy: "the way to secure friendship in business and to prevent embarrassments and misunderstandings I recognize to be to do it on business principles—not as the world does however where each must watch the other, but without desire to get unrighteous gain for today I recognize after all what we have is but loaned to us."

Woodruff had no money to invest in the project, so Smart bought a 160-acre farm Woodruff owned near Charleston in Heber Valley for $3,000, although "I did not want the place but [bought it] to enable him to get

42. Ibid., December 25, 1903, January 16, February 18, November 28, and December 12, 1904.
43. Ibid., December 15,1902, February 26, July 18, and August 18, 1903, February 21, 1904, and March 6, 1905.
44. T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 349.
45. Smart to Woodruff, February 18, 1901, Smart Papers. The "reservation in question" was apparently either the Wind River Indian Reservation east of the Wind River Mountains or the Crow Indian Reservation north of the Big Horn Mountains. The former was established by the Fort Bridger Treaty of 1868. The latter, established by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, includes the site of the Custer Battlefield National Monument.

some working capital." The enterprise didn't work out too well. Eighteen months later, after Webster reported "an unfavorable condition of interests at the ranch," they decided to sell out. It took another eleven months, though, and Smart's $5,000 infusion of additional capital to get the ranch in condition to sell.[46]

Meanwhile, he made frequent trips to Cache Valley and the Snake River country to supervise the Smart & Webster Livestock Company's sheep business, getting his hands dirty on at least one occasion in the lowliest of occupations, separating and dipping sheep.[47] Knowing of the heavy responsibilities that would soon be his in the Uinta Basin, Smart gave up his presidency of the company to Webster in 1904,[48] but retained his financial interest. The company continued to flourish; despite the hazards of hard winters and uncertain markets, in 1905 it reported an 88 percent gain and a 10 percent cash dividend.[49]

The Search for Water

Irrigation water was the lifeblood of every Mormon community. Its development was a major topic of the April 1902 general conference, as apostles Reed Smoot, Brigham Young Jr., and John Henry Smith, and finally President Joseph F. Smith himself, spoke of the need for cooperation in building reservoirs and canals—and of asking the government to protect watersheds from the ravages of grazing.[50] Apostle Reed Smoot brought the same message to the Wasatch Stake conference in August, urging the construction of reservoirs and canals to bring water from the Uinta Mountains. But it would take cooperation. "There are hundreds of acres uncultivated in this valley," he admonished. "If there were unity in this stake of Zion there would be water to water every acre of it."[51]

Ironically, in the same year that Smoot was urging cooperative efforts to develop irrigation systems, Congress, to which he would shortly be elected, was setting a different course. On June 17, 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt signed the National Reclamation Act, based on the belief that reclaiming the arid West was beyond the capacity of local cooperation and ought to be the federal government's responsibility.

That decision was contrary to the federal government's chief expert in western water matters. In his distinguished career as director of the U.S. Geological Survey, Major John Wesley Powell had urged the creation of locally controlled irrigation districts in the West, based on what he had seen

46. Smart, Journals, May 2, 1901, December 20, 1902, and December 1, 1903.
47. Ibid., September 27, 1902.
48. Ibid., November 21, 1904
49. Ibid., November 30, 1905.
50. Ibid., April 7, 1902.
51. Ibid., August 10, 1902; *Wasatch Wave,* August 15, 1902, 1; Embry, *History of Wasatch County,* 83.

in Utah of cooperative efforts such as those Smart was urging. The 1902 Reclamation Act ignored that concept, as well as any local control over grazing or forest lands within the watershed.[52]

Within a few years, the 1902 act would lead to the federal Strawberry Valley Reclamation Project, Utah's first, diverting water from the Uinta Basin to the Wasatch Front. But for Smart there could be no waiting for that. Ignoring Congress and following the clear-cut counsel from church General Authorities, he plunged into the task of water development. In early August, he and his counselors inspected the tiny reservoirs on Lake Creek east of Heber and searched for reservoir sites elsewhere. "We were impressed that present reservoirs could be increased in capacity and others made so as to make quite an increase of water," he wrote. Later that month, he endorsed an extensive survey of possible reservoir sites on the headwaters of the Provo River in the Uinta Mountains. By November, the various canal companies in the valley decided to unite to build reservoirs, and chose Smart as president.[53]

These activities set off alarm bells in Summit and Utah counties, where farmers feared that interrupting the natural outflow of the Uinta Mountain lakes would diminish the Provo River. Smart was never one to let controversy simmer; he arranged for representatives of those counties to meet and talk about it. Some fifty people showed up from Utah County, several others "from the towns up the Provo" (Summit County), and "a large representation from our Co[unty]."

The purpose of the meeting was to consider combining into a company to develop the storage and delivery of water from the headwaters of the Provo River. The meeting was harmonious, Smart recorded, and an organizing committee was appointed with ten men from Utah, ten from Wasatch and two from Summit counties. Not surprisingly, Smart was named chairman, and, no doubt to the dismay of his long-suffering wife Anna, "we took the visitors home with us to dinner."[54]

Sensing that there would still be controversy, Smart again sought counsel from the First Presidency. He was right; Angus M. Cannon, president of Salt Lake Stake, "protested against move thinking Salt Lake City would be injured." The effort to solve that impasse—talk it over in a meeting of the nine stakes affected—was typically Mormon, and also clearly demonstrated the extent of church control over such matters. That meeting was held five days later, on December 22, 1902. There was no agreement, except to appoint a three-man arbitrating committee and to "advise our people to be willing to so have settlement."

52. Donald Worster, *A River Running West: The Life of John Wesley Powell* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1903), 357–60, 569.
53. Smart, Journals, August 5, August 29, and November 27, 1902.
54. Ibid., December 8, 1902.

Eleven months later the controversy still seethed, and Smart sought another audience with President Joseph F. Smith. In view of the opposition, he asked, did the Presidency "desire us to do nothing to increase our water supply or to go on with our projects. . . . Pres. Smith expressed himself very emphatically in the thought that by stopping back the flood waters in the higher mountains we could not diminish the supply below and it would eventually all find its way below. But he said the trouble is to make these people below believe this." This meeting left the question still open, but the reservoir building continued. Two years later, construction started on the federally funded project that, by 1915, brought Strawberry Reservoir water through the 20,000-foot concrete-lined Strawberry Tunnel to Utah Valley, and the controversy subsided.[55]

Birth of the Wasatch Development Company

One of Smart's greatest impacts on the development of Wasatch and, later, Duchesne counties was through the development cooperative he conceived, finally created, and led. As early as March 1902, he conveyed to an associate "my desires to see established a Real Estate and Irrigation Co. and endeavor to put the land into the hands of Latter-day-Saints,"[56] the same goal he would later pursue—and get into trouble about—in the Uinta Basin. It took two years before he could realize his dream in Wasatch County. On March 20, 1904, apparently without consulting the First Presidency, who had rejected his earlier proposals for a church-led cooperative, he approached his stake presidency and high council with a plan to create such a company, "seeking to inhabit our Co[unty] with good citizens, to encourage agriculture etc. and to develop water rights. This move which I perhaps have thought the most of any financial matter since coming here, was unanimously endorsed by the council."

Just eight days later, in a meeting with all the ward bishoprics, the stake presidency and high council, and a few other selected citizens, it was done. Smart chaired the meeting. Articles of incorporation were adopted, the bishops set the times of meetings to present the project to their members. Smart was elected president, with his counselor, Joseph R. Murdock, as vice president, and stake clerk Joseph W. Musser as secretary and treasurer. Wasatch Real Estate Development Company became the name (the words "Real Estate" were dropped a year later). "Thus is laid the foundation of the realization of one of my hopes soon after coming into the stake," Smart wrote.

Action soon followed. For years the *Wasatch Wave* had promoted a culinary water system for Heber, but nothing had been done. But with

55. Ibid., December 17 and 22, 1902, November 13, 1903; Embry, *History of Wasatch County*, 85–87; Ward J. Roylance, *Utah, a Guide to the State* (Salt Lake City: Utah Arts Council, 1982), 571.
56. Smart, Journals, March 5, 1902.

the development company and the *Wave* leading the way, Heber citizens approved a waterworks bond 164 to 32. In August, Smart and others inspected the spring that would provide the water and planned the system. By December, the water lines were delivering pure drinking water to Heber homes. Another $4,000 bond the following year completed the system.[57]

Under Smart's direction and operating on the cooperative principles he had consistently urged, the Wasatch Development Company became a major force in Wasatch County, and later in the Uintah Basin as well. In February 1905, it bought the *Wasatch Wave*, the first of a number of newspapers Smart would acquire because of his conviction that Mormon control of the press was essential to creating the kind of society he envisioned. The *Wave* was founded in 1889, the year Heber was incorporated. William Buys, its first editor, was one of the most influential promoters of the city's early development, and as president, Smart retained him as editor at a salary of $40 a month. Smart enunciated the policies he was to follow: "The paper is still to be independent in politics and religion and an advocate of law, order, morality and everything to promote the general welfare of the Co[unty] and people."[58]

Construction of the Timpanogos Canal was foundering, and Smart pondered how the Wasatch Development Company could help. After, as usual, resorting to prayer, he proposed that the canal company board be reorganized, allocating two of the five board members and half of the officers to his cooperative, "that we may be in touch with the matter and be able to direct its policies." Heber J. Moulton, of the Wasatch Development executive board, was to be supervisor of construction.

That agreement was reached, and reorganization effected, on a Friday. Two days later, a Sunday, Smart was "advising Bishoprics of Heber, Center and Daniel [wards] to endorse Timpanogus (sic) Canal among people and endeavor to get subscribers to stock and assist in pushing canal to conclusion." Which is as good an example as any of the source of Wasatch Development's strength.

Smart saw the agreement not only as a way of getting the canal built, but also as a part of his ongoing commitment to fostering harmony and cooperation. Abram Hatch's son Joseph, head of the canal company, was a powerful businessman, lukewarm Mormon, and a frequent opponent of Smart's policies and projects. "Joseph Hatch has been quite opposed to general matters in which the stake authorities have figured," Smart confided in his journal, "and I understood he has been especially so regarding the publishing Co which we have recently taken hold of. I am very desirous of doing all possible to unite the strong opposition spirit with us to the glory

57. Ibid., August 8, 1904; Embry, *History of Wasatch County*, 71–73.
58. Smart, Journals, February 24, and March 4 and 9, 1905; Embry, *History of Wasatch County*, 71.

of God and the salvation of us all and for the building up of the Co[unty]. Through our supporting him in this move it has caused him to modify his feelings and just now there is more of a spirit of reconciliation for which I am grateful to God."[59]

There were other Wasatch Development projects: purchasing a farm, forming an abstract and insurance business, and financing the merger of three Wasatch County merchants into a cooperative mercantile of which Smart was to be president. His avowed purpose in these and other enterprises was to do good for the county and its people. As it turned out, he and his associates also did well. The company's financial statement for 1905 showed a 23 percent gain on capital invested during the year. That led to a 10 percent cash dividend. By that time, the officers had decided to expand Wasatch Development operations into the Uinta Basin, where it became the center of controversy surrounding the land rush into the soon-to-be-opened Ute Indian Reservation there.[60]

A Political Activist

Besides meeting the demands of his ecclesiastical duties, and his heavy commitment to economic development, Smart plunged into politics. Notwithstanding his recognition that "the people have ben aroused whenever there was the slightest indication that the brethren were using any influence in political matters," he made his position clear. In a stake priesthood meeting early in his ministry, he wrote: "I was impelled to speak in strong terms against the idea that because a man holds a church position he must not open his mouth on temporal matters. Said that authorities[,] being interested in all matters pertaining to welfare of people[,] are safe counselors upon all public and private questions."[61]

His first battle was to assure Mormon control of the schools. Henry M. Aird, labeled by Smart as "an apostate from the Truth," was the county superintendent of schools, backed by "an anti-church element" headed by the former stake president's sons, Joseph and A. C. Hatch. With an election coming up, Smart wrote, "we felt it proper to endeavor to Elect a man who would be an example to the Young and who would not oppose the Church institutions."

That man became Attewall Wootton of the Wasatch Stake High Council. To no one's surprise—after supplication in Smart's prayer circle, his individual prayers, and his preaching that "it was the duty of every Latter-day Saint to exercise his franchise as a citizen"—Wootton was elected by a comfortable margin. Smart "rejoiced in the victory" over the "Hatch ring" which, he wrote, consisted for the most part of "their immediate friends and relatives,

59. Smart, Journals, March 10 and 12, 1905.
60. Ibid., April 14 and 24, July 21, September 15, and June 4, 1905, March 3, 1906.
61. Ibid., September 7, 1901.

the apostates, saloon keepers and patrons, girls of questionable repute, the Secret society members [and] some few respectable Republicans."[62]

For Smart, though, the victory was not enough to assure his vision of purity in the schools. Since the newly elected county superintendent of schools was also stake superintendent of religion, he proposed to his stake presidency that in the future the two positions be combined in one man, "so that the Co[unty] Supt may have an influence in spiritual things as well over the children."[63]

In partisan politics, he was no less willing to exert his influence. For a decade, ever since President Wilford Woodruff disbanded the church-dominated Peoples Party in favor of the national Republican-Democratic two-party system in his efforts to achieve Utah statehood, the church had seen political turmoil. The Republican party had been the fiercest opponent of polygamy and the sponsor of virtually all anti-Mormon legislation, and was generally detested. But the intent was to roughly balance the two parties, so, although President Woodruff was a Democrat, the First Presidency generally encouraged members to become Republicans. The result was dissension throughout the church, especially at leadership levels. It reached a level as high as Apostle Moses Thatcher's declaration, at a Democratic convention in Ogden, that the Democratic Party was Christ's, and the Republican Party, Satan's. Fellow-apostles Joseph F. and John Henry Smith, with the approval of President Woodruff, rebuked him in kind.[64]

Smart felt no ambivalence over his choice of party, nor did he follow Apostle Lyman's counsel a year earlier not to antagonize the people by parading his partisanship. He admonished his counselors and high councilmen to have a hand in the coming election, and "expressed my desire to see a republican majority that we may send men to the legislature who will support Apostle Reed Smoot for the senate of the U.S." Given the forcefulness of his leadership, the result was predictable. His counselor, James O. Jensen, an active Democrat, proclaimed his intention to vote Republican, and the entire High Council "voted to unite to sustain the sentiments of this meeting."[65] Ironically, the next day, in a Heber sacrament meeting, staunchly Republican stake president Smart "asserted my belief in the separation of church and state."

His political activism did not go unchallenged. Near the end of the campaign, a delegation of leading Democrats, including his counselor Joseph R. Murdock, demanded to know whether "I was using my church position to get votes or as a citizen. I told them I spoke as a citizen. . . . However as

62. Ibid., July 14, 1901.
63. Ibid., August 7, 1901.
64. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth*, 275–81. See also Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition* and Lyman, *Political Deliverance*.
65. Smart, Journals, August 23, 1902.

Pres Roosevelt is our friend and he desires Utah to send Congressmen to congress friends to the administration it is desired by our people to do so."[66] The discussion had no discernible effect on Smart. After the election, in which the Republicans swept virtually every race in Wasatch County, he met with his counselors. "We spoke of many of the people having been offended because I used my influence in behalf of the Republican ticket." But he remained convinced of the righteousness of his position. "The priesthood should be active to counteract the influence of Satan toward division," he insisted. "A united spirit prevailed."[67]

A year later his partisanship had not abated, nor had his willingness to use his ecclesiastic position to promote it. In a Midway Ward conference, with scathing indignation, he spoke about "the necessity of our people holding above all things else integrity of heart and honesty of purpose. Showed that while Salt Lake City is Republican yet when Mr. Knox gained the nomination for Mayor lately by the buying of votes by Tom Kern's money even our Republican saints voted for the Democratic Richard Morris and elected him."[68]

In mid-summer of 1904, Smart's Republican partisanship was formally recognized when the party's co-chairman asked him to become a candidate for the Utah Senate from Wasatch and Summit counties. Characteristically, he placed the issue before his prayer circle and high council and got their approval, despite the concern of one member, John L. Giles, that it would widen the split between Republicans and Democrats. Smart commissioned his stake secretary, Joseph Musser, to study the prospects of success. Bearing in mind the First Presidency's 1895 "political manifesto" that those holding "high positions in the church" should not accept political nomination, he sought and obtained the approval of church President Joseph F. Smith, and decided to enter the race.[69]

But, in addition to his ecclesiastical and business duties, by then he was deeply involved in efforts to prepare for Mormon settlement in the Uinta Basin, and, after six weeks of reflection, for once he declined to take on an additional burden. On August 12, his journal records: "Having by thought, prayer and council [decided] not to become a candidate for the Utah Senate as solicited I notified Co. Chairman so this morning and conversed with him on the necessity of hard work on part of party members to secure election for the Republican party and that I had decided to leave

66. Ibid., November 4, 1902.
67. Ibid., November 14, 1902.
68. Ibid., November 15, 1903. The reference was to U.S. Senator Thomas Kearns, a Catholic, Democratic mining millionaire who, with the support of church President Lorenzo Snow, had won his senate seat in 1901. Having lost church support after Joseph F. Smith succeeded Snow as president, Kearns was defeated in his bid for reelection and, as publisher of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, became a fervent critic of the church.
69. Ibid., July 1 and 14, 1904.

Bro. Musser to assist him." Years later, his burdens considerably lightened, he did take a Republican seat in the state legislature.

Post-Manifesto Polygamy

Political partisanship was not the only source of dissension among Mormons during those times. Wilford Woodruff's Manifesto in 1890, supposedly ending polygamy, certainly did not. The next two decades saw several hundred polygamous marriages, at least 262 of them documented. These marriages occurred most frequently in the two-year period from 1902 to 1904, during the presidencies of Lorenzo Snow and Joseph F. Smith.[70] The practice continued from the top down. Evidence indicates that Wilford Woodruff himself may have taken a plural wife, Lydia Mamreoff von Finkelstein Mountford, in 1897 while aboard a ship traveling between San Francisco and Portland. If so, it was hardly a conjugal union, the ninety-year-old Woodruff being seriously ill at the time and only months away from his death.[71]

At least eight apostles—Abraham H. Cannon, Rudger Clawson, Matthias F. Cowley, Mariner W. Merrill, John W. Taylor, George Teasdale, Abraham O. Woodruff, and Brigham Young Jr.—took post-Manifesto plural wives. And eight apostles—Cowley, Merrill, Taylor, Teasdale, Woodruff, Young, Anthon H. Lund, and Francis M. Lyman—performed plural marriages for others. Cowley, Smart's nephew-in-law,[72] business partner, and closest confidant among the General Authorities, was by far the most active, performing forty-three of the sixty-seven known apostle-conducted marriages during this period.[73]

Allegations that such marriages continued after the 1890 Manifesto, and that polygamists continued to cohabit with plural wives and father their children, were at the heart of the bitter three-year fight over the seating of Apostle Reed Smoot in the U.S. Senate. Mormon leaders, including President Joseph F. Smith, were summoned to testify in the hearings, many of them demonstrating remarkable amnesia about what was going on.[74]

Seeing their leaders so compromised made it a difficult time for church members. Smart, who by then was himself a polygamist, used a stake Sunday-school meeting to express his faith that "the Lord . . . would finally vindicate his [Smoot's] cause and his people after they were tried and found faithful and came up through much tribulation." In the meantime, he "exorted the Saints not to set in judgement upon the brethren who were summoned to

70. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant,* 183, 317.
71. For analysis of this supposed event, see Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth,* 324–28. See also D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890–1904," *Dialogue* 18 (Spring 1985): 8–105.
72. Cowley was married to Luella Parkinson, the daughter of William H. Smart's older sister, Maria.
73. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant,* 227–32, 231.
74. Ibid., 250–58.

Washington to testify, in regard to their answers. They were in trying and harassing circumstances."[75]

Three weeks later, in the April general conference of the church, President Smith expressed the same justification in different words. They were living in "peculiar times," he told the congregation, and the situation required "peculiar wisdom and understanding." Acknowledging charges that the church was "dishonest and untrue to our word," he read an "Official Statement"—which became known as the Second Manifesto—declaring that entering a plural marriage was grounds for excommunication. The congregation unanimously accepted the statement.[76] Smart's usually voluble journal reported this watershed event matter-of-factly, without comment: "Pres. Smith read a declaration affirming that the Church is not violating the manifestos of Pres. Woodruff regarding plural marriages and making those liable to punishment by the church should they assume to contract or solemnize such marriages. The whole congregation voted to endorse it."[77]

That the practice died hard among Mormons—and, in fact, is still very much alive among apostate splinter groups—is understandable. For decades, Mormons had been taught that plural marriage was essential to a man's attaining the highest status in eternity, and that, in fact, the number of his children would be a factor in the degree of his exaltation. There were this-world incentives as well. Children of polygamous marriages, they believed, were stronger, better looking, and more intelligent. Moses Thatcher taught that by natural selection and survival of the fittest, Mormon youth would eventually govern the world.[78] And if all this was not persuasive, there was the teaching of Heber C. Kimball, stating that if sixty-year-old men would enter polygamy, it would "renew" their age.[79]

Clearly, William H. Smart was a devout believer in the principle. Before his abortive Turkey mission, his 1889 efforts to take a second wife had been thwarted only by her polygamous father's refusal to let her take second place. During that mission, his journal provided evidence of his dismay over the church policy of evasion, instead of "maintaining a straight forward course . . . in filling our sacred covenants to God." More than a decade after the Manifesto, and shortly after he became stake president, Smart sent a letter to Apostle Abraham Woodruff in which he told how his wife and a good friend alternated in caring for a sick child. "So you see," he wrote, "how

75. Smart, Journals, March 13, 1904.
76. *Seventy-fourth Annual Conference*, 74.
77. Smart, Journals, April 6, 1904.
78. "Discourse by Elder Moses Thatcher," *Deseret News*, May 26, 1883. Quoted in Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 95.
79. Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 238.

badly we need that second wife—especially contemplating the future."[80] A few months later, he took pains to record what church leaders really felt about the principle. In a Wasatch Stake youth conference, he wrote, "Sister Smith [wife of President Joseph F. Smith] bore a very strong testimony to the divinity of the principle of plural marriage. Pres. Smith endorsed it."[81]

Shortly after that, in a private conversation, Apostle Cowley urged him to teach the people the rightness of the principle. "He said I should teach it to my wife and with prayerful hearts we should seek to be ready to embrace it when—or if—opportunity is afforded. He said such men as me—full of faith and integrity proven—should have this blessing. I told him my wife and I are converted to this principle and that upon recommending to the temple or ordaining to the priesthood and setting apart to offices I had often asked this question as to their belief."[82]

A few days later, Smart instructed the Heber West Ward Relief Society that "Celestial marriage is as true today as ever it was but it is simply suspended, and that no one can enter the highest degree of the Celestial glory unless they practice this principle."[83] Then he followed Cowley's counsel to instruct his wife. "My wife and I sat up very late," he wrote, "conversing upon some of the principles of the gospel. Speaking of the Principle of plural marriage, while we feel little worthy of it, yet we expressed a desire to so live that were it ever required at our hands we could and would embrace it. My wife Anna in her expressions gave full and free consent to our practice of this principle."[84]

It was well that she did, for her husband was about to put his convictions into practice. On February 22, 1902, while in Salt Lake City on banking business, he enjoyed a "pleasant visit" with Martha Wallace, her daughter Mary Ann (actually her name was Mary Elizabeth), and Mary's two grown sons by a previous marriage. This was the first mention of the woman soon to become his second wife. Mary made enough of an impression on Smart that within two weeks he wrote a letter to her, and in the next two months recorded three visits to the mother's home, at least two of them overnight.[85] Smart's journals from this period reveal practically nothing about Mary, but LDS Church genealogical records fill in many blanks. She was born in Salt Lake City on June 10, 1857, one of the forty-six children of George Benjamin Wallace and his five wives. Her mother, Martha Davis Wallace, was his third wife. Wallace, a captain of fifty in the 1847 "Big Company" of pioneers, became Salt Lake City's first sexton. Having been a

80. Smart to Woodruff, February 15, 1901, Box 5, Folder 25, Abraham Owen Woodruff Collection, Brigham Young University.
81. Smart, Journals, July 28, 1901.
82. Ibid., August 12, 1901.
83. Ibid., August 21, 1901.
84. Ibid., September 28, 1901.
85. Ibid., March 4, April 15, April 27, and May 13, 1902.

wealthy lumberman in Boston before converting to Mormonism, he built one of the largest homes in the Old Fort, and hosted many general authority meetings there in the early pioneer years. Charles C. Rich, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, and Franklin D. Richards were all ordained apostles in Wallace's home. From 1860 to 1876, he served in the Salt Lake Stake presidency, the final two years as president.[86] So Mary was hardly the naive young convert typically taken as a plural wife; she came from a home of importance and influence. Nor was she inexperienced. Five years older than Smart, she married James L. Garrett in 1878 and had three sons by him: James Howard (1878–1949), George Earl (1880–1944), and William Alonzo, who was born in 1882 but died as an infant.[87] Little is known about Garrett; he was not found in the 1880 Salt Lake City census or in subsequent ones.

In his usually thorough and detailed journals, Smart gives no hint of the kind of woman he was wooing, and wrote nothing about his courtship other than the terse recording of his visits, in which he refers to her as "M." This obscurity is not surprising, given the sensitivity and secretiveness of post-Manifesto plural marriage during this time of intensive national scrutiny.

The same secretiveness, not to say shame, on the part of the next generation deprives historians of what might have been a revealing account of their marriage. It happened on June 3, 1902, a fact known only by the absence of five pages of Smart's journal for that date, torn out years later by a son in a misguided attempt to protect his father's reputation. On June 3, Smart records attending Normal graduation exercises at the fledgling University of Utah, where Miss America, Abram Hatch's daughter Anna, was among the graduates. "The class gave to the University a flag & flag pole," he wrote, "and the flag was raised at the singing of the Star spangled Banner while the———." The next five pages are missing, along with details of who attended the marriage, where it was done, and by whom.

The last two questions were partially answered by Apostle Cowley. In his trial before the Quorum of the Twelve in 1911, he testified that "after President Cannon died I performed marriages for people who had been promised before that time. I married Heber Bennion and Brother Smart in Salt Lake City."[88] However, that testimony is problematic. Cannon, first counselor in the First Presidency, died on April 12, 1901. There is no evidence in Smart's journals that he even knew Mary before that time, much less that their marriage had been promised.

86. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:291–92.
87. International Genealogical Index, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. http://www.familysearch.org/Eng/default.asp. Mary, Howard, Earl, and May are buried in Salt Lake City Cemetery.
88. Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Twelve, May 10, 1911, photocopy in possession of the author.

The intriguing question is *where* in Salt Lake City were they married, in the temple or elsewhere? After the Manifesto in 1890, most plural marriages were performed in Mexico, Canada, or on the high seas, not in Salt Lake City and certainly not in the temple, in view of President Joseph F. Smith's declaration in 1894 that no plural marriages had "been solemnized with the sanction, consent, or knowledge of the Church" since the Manifesto. No temple record has been found of Smart's marriage to Mary. But writing of a lecture to Mary's two grown sons in 1912, Smart stated that "I referred to the sacredness of our marriage vows and those *sealing us* [emphasis added] as members of one family."[89]

Whether it was a temple marriage or not, Smart lost no time in trying to knit his two families into one. The day after the ceremony, he and Anna did temple sealings for twenty-two couples of her relatives, then met with Mary. "I talked upon family union," he wrote, "& how I desire us to live and all expressed ourselves desirous of such lives and that we had now only the best of feelings."[90]

The next day he counseled with Mary's second son Earl about the mission he would shortly serve, and with Howard about coming to live in Heber. After that, the journal is silent about "M" for the next few weeks, while Smart went about his ecclesiastical and civic duties. He does note, however, that for two weeks after the marriage, Anna found it convenient to visit her relatives in Ogden. The two weeks were apparently conjugally compatible for the newlyweds; their daughter, May, was born April 7, 1903. Smart's journal is silent on his new fatherhood. Children of post-Manifesto plural marriages were hardly publicized at the time, and even recording them in a private journal was apparently thought to be risky.

Although he left no description of Mary, there are broad hints that she was of different stuff than Anna. In his half-century's worth of journals, it is hard to find an occasion when Anna failed to respond to his requests or expressed any disagreement with his ideas. Not so with Mary. In the hot days of August, he suffered a severe case of dysentery that kept him home for a week. "Many valuable conversations have been had with (M) during this time," he wrote, "and better understandings arrived at."[91] No such conversations ever seemed necessary to reach "understandings" with Anna.

A month later, he broached his new wife his long-held dream of a family united order "for mutual help and education preparing ourselves for the time when our heavenly Father will call upon the members of the church to practice it. She, her son Howard and his betrothed wife Dean Wardrobe was willing to accept and practice it." He moved fast. The next day he and

89. Smart, Journals, April 6, 1912.
90. Ibid., June 4, 1902.
91. Ibid., August 22, 1902.

Anna, Mary and her sons, and stake clerk Joseph W. Musser and his wife formally met.[92] Smart presided and spoke at length,

> dwelling upon the eternal development of the works of God, the laws of our progression in the family relation as part of his works, upon the principle of patriarchial marriage as the acme of the marriage covenant; upon the principle of sacrifice as one foundation stone in family progression as against jealousy, envy and selfishness. Then dwelt upon the law of the United Order as contained in the Doc. & Cov. Evincing my past and present earnest desire to practice it when the Lord wills, and my desire to establish it in my family that we may remain united in all things temporal and spiritual and thus so educate ourselves that when the Lord calls upon the people to practice this principle that our families may be ready.

After what must have been, indeed, a discourse "at length," he made a proposal that, in view of his wealth compared to that of the others, seems extremely generous. Each family would put its temporal holdings in one common company, with each having an interest in all the resources of the company. Not surprisingly, there was a unanimous standing vote in favor, following which "we broke our fast with a nice supper."[93]

But that vision of harmony soon faded under Mary's practical scrutiny. Three days later, he wrote, "I proceeded to Salt Lake enroute to Cache Valley and Snake River, and remained tonight with 'M.E.' Conversation with her revealed the fact that she has not full faith in our ability to carry out our contemplated family temporal union, which grieved me exceedingly knowing that without perfect union we cannot succeed. So I resolved not to attempt this organization in its fullness now."[94] He never tried again.

Smart installed his new wife in a home at what was then 168 North 200 (now 300) West, across the street from West High School. Until her death in 1920, he often stayed there on his frequent trips to Salt Lake City. May, their only child together, was mentally handicapped, though she lived to age fifty-nine. Family tradition holds that Smart regarded her disability as punishment for his disobedience in taking a plural wife. His journals give no hint of that. The handicap may have been related to her being born when her mother was forty-seven years old, an advanced age for childbirth in those days.

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92. Musser not only served as Smart's Wasatch Stake clerk, but also as a member of his high council in Duchesne Stake. Like Smart, he took a second wife in 1902, in a marriage also performed by Matthias F. Cowley. He took another plural wife in 1907, was called before the Quorum of the Twelve and chastised in 1909, and was finally excommunicated in 1921. He became an advocate of fundamentalist polygamy, publishing the monthly periodical *Truth* for the next twenty-one years. Newell G. Bringhurst and John C. Hamer, eds., *Scattering of the Saints: Schism Within Mormonism* (Independence, MO: John Whitmer Books, 2007), 296.
93. Smart, Journals, September 17, 1902.
94. Ibid., September 20, 1902.

William H. Smart's Heber home

While the couple's relationship was cordial during their nearly two decades of marriage, Mary never came close to Anna's first-wife status. Anna must have wondered about that, though, when, a few years later, Smart took Mary for several months of rest and relaxation in sunny California while Anna dutifully cared for the family and taught school through a harsh Vernal winter. More of that later.

In the 1906 general conference of the church, Frances M. Lyman of the First Presidency announced that apostles Taylor and Cowley had resigned from the Twelve. Ironically, while they were being chastised for practicing, encouraging, and performing polygamous marriages, William H. Smart, whose marriage Cowley had performed, was invited to speak to an overflow congregation at that very conference. Of Lyman's announcement that the resignations were due to lack of harmony, Smart recorded: "It is claimed that these brethren have solemnized plural marriages not in harmony with the feelings of a majority of the brethren of the council." His ambivalence must have been painful as he wrote, "I feel to sustain the action of the authorities and to sympathize with these brethren and feel that they are Godly men and are sacrificed for the Church's sake and to appease the enemy."[95]

95. Ibid., April 8, 1906.

In a second hearing before the Quorum of the Twelve in 1911, Cowley testified that the post-Manifesto marriages he had performed were "done conscientiously and under the direction of those higher up not defiantly," that "President [George Q.] Cannon told me to do these things or I would never have done it," and that "I am willing to do anything I can to be in harmony with you, if I have done wrong. I ask your forgiveness."[96] His appeal was only partly successful; he was disfellowshipped, but reinstated in 1936. The less-penitent Taylor was excommunicated, but is said to have been rebaptized by Cowley in Utah Lake shortly before his death in 1916.[97]

Like many other takers of post-Manifesto wives, Smart continued in favor with church leaders. He retained his presidency of Wasatch Stake and later became president, in turn, of three other stakes. As evidence of his standing with the church leadership, the fine new two-story brick home he bought from Charles Giles in Heber for $2,580 in 1903 was dedicated by President Joseph F. Smith himself, praying "that I should be blessed therein and in my ministry among the people."[98]

Smart would not stay long in that home, though. Already, events were building that would take him to far more arduous leadership challenges in the Uinta Basin.

96. Minutes of a Council of Twelve meeting, May 10, 1911.
97. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 267.
98. Smart, Journals, January 30, 1904.

Seven

Making Indian Land Mormon Country

The Uinta Basin, where William H. Smart would soon plunge into his most difficult and far-reaching labors, and where he would wear out the major portion of his adult life and dissipate his fortune, was Utah's last major land area permanently settled by whites. Ringed by the Wasatch Mountains on the west, the Uinta Mountains on the north, the Tavaputs Plateau and Book Cliffs on the south, and the Rocky Mountains on the east, it was remote, isolated, and difficult to access.

With rainfall averaging less than nine inches a year, limited and often alkaline soil, and a climate that was either too hot or too cold, it held little attraction for Mormon settlements, as two early explorations had confirmed. By the time the Mormons had occupied all the arable valleys west of the mountains and were hungry for land elsewhere, most of the Uinta Basin had been designated a Ute Indian reservation, locked up to white settlement. The unlocking of the land, in the oft-repeated betrayal of Indian trust and interests, embroiled Smart in the most controversial period of his life.

In language not unworthy of his father's eloquence, Smart's youngest son, Joseph, described the land in which he was reared.

> The Uinta Basin lies as the open palm of God's right hand extended southward. The streams that flow between the ridged fingers—the Strawberry, the Duchesne, the Lake Fork, the Uinta, mingle with the waters of the Green, the White, the Colorado and, finally, the Western Sea. The streams are fed from the snows and springs of the High Uintas to the north; they gully the hills, cut deep canyons in the basin's northern rim and, abetted by frost, wind and flood, scar grievously the basin floor. Tables of sandstone rise from the treeless plain, once the bottom of an inland sea which,

> receding, left in the depressions rubble of stone and stinking sloughs of alkali. It is a harsh land, scorched by blistering sun and scarred by wind-driven sand in summer and hammered by Arctic cold and gales of snow in Winter.[1]

Another testament to the harshness of the land was the story Smart's son Thomas L. used to tell about the Uinta Basin rancher who sold a quarter-section to an outsider. "How much did you sell that feller?" someone asked. "Well, the deed was for 160 acres. But (in a behind-the-hand whisper) I slipped in an extra ten."

A prehistoric people called the Fremont roamed the area for nearly a millennium, hunting and gathering in the basin's vast pinyon-and-juniper uplands, and in the valleys raising corn, beans, and squash in small gardens watered by primitive irrigation ditches. They lived primarily in rock-walled pit houses, and stored their produce in rock-masonry granaries, mud-plastered to keep out rodents. Rock art, painted or chiseled on many cliff faces throughout the basin, especially in Nine-mile and Dry Fork canyons, remains as the most visible and haunting evidence of their presence.

The Fremont culture disappeared around A.D. 1100, probably because of prolonged drought or pressure from the outside, or both. By the fourteenth century, the basin was home to what became known as the Uinta Ute tribe, part of the Ute culture that roamed much of the Colorado Plateau and Great Basin.

In 1925, William Ashley and six members of his Ashley-Henry fur company floated down the Green River into the basin and found what he was looking for—rich beaver sign and friendly Indians. But he also found Antoine Robidoux and his trappers from Taos already there, so he retreated to operate north of the Uinta Mountains. For almost two decades, Robidoux, Etienne Provost, and other trappers from New Mexico dominated the Uinta Basin fur trade—from Fort Robidoux at the confluence of the Green and Duchesne rivers, and Fort Uintah at the confluence of the Uinta and Whiterocks rivers. Finally, in 1844, after years of uneasy peace, the Utes, having had enough of Robidoux's harsh treatment, burned his fort and killed its occupants. By then the fur trade was about finished anyway; Robidoux quit the business and left the territory to the Utes.[2]

The major and, as it turned out, irresistible threat to the Indian way of life in the Uinta Basin came not from trappers within the basin, but from

1. Joseph Heber Smart, "Fringe Benefits; A Life Story of Joseph Smart," Salt Lake City, 1977, 7, typescript, in possession of the author.
2. For accounts of the fur trade in Uinta Basin, see Leroy R. Hafen, "Mountain Men before the Mormons," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (Fall 1958): 307–26; John D. Barton, "Antoine Robidoux: Buckskin Entrepreneur," *Outlaw Trail Journal* 3 (Summer/Fall 1993): 35–40; Dale L. Morgan, *The West of William Ashley* (Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1964), 114–16; and Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, 101–108.

white settlements outside. Within a decade after the arrival of Brigham Young's pioneer company, Mormons were plowing ground throughout much of western Utah. But this was the homeland of various bands of Ute Indians, ranging from Utah Valley south to the rim of the Great Basin. Despite Young's dictum that feeding the Indians was better than fighting them, conflict was inevitable as the Indians saw their game driven off and the grass that had been grazed by their horses either turned under the plow or denuded by Mormon cattle. Their resistance led to the Walker War in 1853, and the more widespread and bloody Black Hawk War in 1865–68.

Brigham Young and other territorial Indian agents tried to defuse the problem by establishing Indian farms in Millard, Sanpete, and Utah counties. That didn't work. Most Indians refused to become farmers, and the government failed to properly support those who did. By 1862, T. W. Hatch, one of several Indian agents who followed Young, reported that the farms were in "destitute condition, stripped of their stock, tools, and moveable fences." No one, he wrote, was living on them.[3]

After that failure, the solution was obvious to the whites: relocate the Indians somewhere else. But where? In 1852, Brigham Young sent a five-man party under George Washington Bean to explore the Uinta Basin. They reported that the basin had fine timber, good water, and plentiful game, but little land suitable for cultivation.[4] Given that report and the remoteness of the area, Young didn't act. Nine years later, with land pressures building in valleys west of the Wasatch and with the prospect of a stagecoach line from Denver to Salt Lake City running through the Uinta Basin, he felt differently. "I have been requested several times to permit a settlement of that valley," he wrote, "but I have never wished to do until now, but now I want a settlement there. . . . The Gentiles will take possession of that valley if we do not, and I do not wish them to have it."[5]

Young called a number of families to a colonizing mission, but, in characteristic Mormon fashion, also ordered a more extensive exploration, which produced a report even more negative than the first: "The fertile vales, extensive meadows and wide pasture ranges were not to be found; [the country] . . . is entirely unsuitable for farming purposes, and the amount of land at all suitable for cultivation extremely limited. . . . It was one vast contiguity of waste, and measurably valueless, excepting for nomadic purposes, hunting grounds for Indians and to hold the world together."[6]

3. T. W. Hatch to Commissioner James D. Doty, September 1862, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 205. Quoted in John D. Barton, *A History of Duchesne County,* Utah Centennial County History (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Duchesne County Commission, 1998), 48.
4. George W. Bean, diary 3, 4, Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City.
5. Journal History of the Church, August 27, 1861, microfilm, call #LR 9493 2, LDS Church Archives.
6. "Uinta Not What Was Represented," *Deseret News,* September 25, 1861.

The White Man's Solution to the "Indian Problem"

So the colonizing call was canceled, and no settlers were sent. Clearly, unwanted land like that was the ideal place in which to relocate the Indians. Isolating them would end the bloodshed. More importantly, from the government's point of view, it would remove them from Mormon influence that some considered dangerous. On October 3, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln signed an executive order establishing the Uintah[7] Indian Reservation. Congress confirmed his action in 1864. The new home for the Utes was some two million acres, roughly two-thirds the size of Connecticut. It covered the western and middle part of the Uintah Basin, from the Daniels summit to the confluence of the Duchesne and Green rivers, and from the Uinta Mountains to the Tavaputs Plateau.

Creating the reservation was one thing. Getting the Utes to move there was another. To persuade them to do so, Indian agent Oliver H. Irish convened a council with Ute leaders at the mouth of Spanish Fork Canyon in June 1865. Despite his promise of payment for the lands they would lose, there was opposition to the plan, led by the respected chief Sanpitch. But Brigham Young, generally regarded at that time as a friend to the Indians, advised them to accept the government offer and move to the Uintah Basin. If they did not, he warned, they would lose their lands anyway, without compensation. Twelve of the chiefs agreed to the move. The Spanish Fork Treaty promised sixty years of annual payments totaling $1,100,000, along with food and supplies immediately and homes and schools to be built in the basin.[8]

The treaty solved no problems, at least not immediately. The Utes were slow to relocate. Worse, Congress never ratified the treaty; no money was paid and, for years, little other aid was forthcoming. Betrayed, driven from their lands, their game herds depleted, desperate and suffering from extraordinarily harsh winters, the Utes intensified their cattle stealing. The Mormons retaliated, and Chief Black Hawk, with about one hundred warriors, raided ranches and settlements, killing around fifty whites, and driving off some 5,000 cattle. Brigham Young responded with a 2,500-man militia and instructions to the Mormons to "fort up" in larger towns, temporarily abandoning towns as far south as Kanab. After two years of warfare, wounded himself and with many of his warriors dead, Black Hawk finally signed a peace treaty in 1867 and moved his band to the reservation. Other bands soon followed. The move turned out badly for them and their descendants. Converting from a hunter-gatherer lifestyle to farming

7. "Uinta" is the spelling of naturally occurring things: Uinta Mountains, Uinta River, Uinta Basin. The *h* is added for non-natural things: Uintah County, Uintah Reservation, Uintah Stake, Uintah State Bank, etc.

8. O. H. Irish to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 7, 1865, Record Group 75, National Archives, microfilm copy at Brigham Young University Library.

was difficult, and impossible for some. Government Indian agents were generally short-tenured and ineffective. Promised government aid was sporadic at best. For example, in 1866 Agent F. H. Head reportedly complained that "he had no money and that the Utes at the agency were desperately in need of flour and beef, farm implements, and other provisions."[9] With game on their lands depleted, hunting parties left the reservation but ran into conflicts with whites and were forced to return. Disease, hunger, and discouragement took a heavy toll; by 1877, the Utah Ute population had shrunk from about 4,500 in 1859 to about 800.

It soon got worse. A hundred miles to the east, the White River Utes, equally desperate and feeling betrayed, had had enough of the arrogance of Indian agent Nathan Meeker in trying to force them to become farmers. When Meeker ordered a Ute racetrack plowed up for a farm in 1879, they exploded. Meeker and six employees died in the attack. In the fighting that followed, so did Major Thomas T. Thornburgh and thirteen of his soldiers. Peace was negotiated with the help of Ouray, chief of the Uncompahgre Ute branch to the south, but the "Meeker Massacre" gave miners and others who coveted Indian lands the opportunity they needed.

Under threat of military force, some seven hundred White River Utes were relocated to the already-destitute Uintah Reservation in 1881. For good measure, 1,450 Uncompahgre Utes, uninvolved in the attack, were also moved from western Colorado to a new reservation in the Uinta Basin, on the desolate land east of the Green River.[10] The two reservations were combined into the Uintah-Ouray Reservation. In 1886, to keep the understandably disgruntled Indians under control, Major F. W. Benteen, in command of black troopers of the Ninth Cavalry, established Fort Duchesne.

The Utes had cause for unrest. Not only had they been driven, without compensation, from their homelands, but now even what they had been allotted was threatened. Cattle and sheepmen from Utah and Wasatch counties to the west, as well as from the infant settlement of Vernal to the east, were illegally grazing their herds on the reservation. As early as 1882, Heber Valley farmers began illicitly diverting water from the Strawberry River watershed down Daniels Canyon to their farms. That soon required a 1,000-foot tunnel, hand dug through the Wasatch Mountains, but even that was not enough. By the turn of the century, Utah Valley was even more thirsty, and plans were afoot for a reservoir in Strawberry Valley and tunnels to steal more Ute-owned water.

On the east side of the reservation, a giant, black-bearded horse wrangler named Sam Gilson began experimenting with a lustrous black substance that looked like coal, but melted rather than burned. Gilsonite, as it came

9. Barton, *A History of Duchesne County*, 55.
10. See Peter R. Decker, *"The Utes Must Go!": American Expansion and the Removal of a People* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2004) for an account of the expulsion of the Colorado Utes.

to be called, proved to have many uses—in paints and varnishes, insulation, asphalt tile, brake linings, chewing gum, even for rot-proofing the pilings in the old Union Pacific trestle across the Great Salt Lake. The resulting rush to locate claims and mine the stuff brought the first and only railroad ever to enter the Uinta Basin, fifty miles of narrow-gauge line over the Book Cliffs, on the steepest grades and around the sharpest curves known to railroading anywhere. It also brought the first, but hardly the last, move to strip from the Utes their reservation.

The mining was illegal trespassing, but that small matter could be handled. Assured by affidavits that the land was worthless, Congress in 1888 passed legislation removing 7,040 acres of land from the reservation. The act provided payment of $20 an acre to the Utes, and required their approval. On election day, that approval was facilitated by ample supplies of free whiskey. But one aged woman was clear-eyed about it.

> Once my people owned all this mountain country from the village you call Denver in the east to the big lake of salt in the west, from the buffalo plains of the north to the land of the Navajos and Apache in the south. It took many days to ride across our country. You could not see across it, even from the highest mountain. But today I stand on this little hill and I can see all the land the Utes have left. You white men have taken all the rest. Even so, you come to me and ask, will you give me some more of what you have left. I look and I see what you want is worthless. Ponies cannot live here. The ground will not grow squash or corn or melons. Only the prairie dogs and rabbits use it. I will tell my people to sell it for twenty dollars an acre. But I will never agree to sell you any more at any price.[11]

Betraying the Utes

Soon she and her people would have no choice. In 1887, Senator Henry L. Dawes, chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, had pushed a bill through Congress to "Americanize" Indians by ending tribal ownership of reservations, allotting the land to individual Indians, and putting the rest of the reservation back in the public domain, open to white development. Ostensibly, the purpose was to benefit Indians by protecting them from illegal white encroachment on their lands and giving them citizenship and property rights. For the Utes, the practical result was to open the way for stripping away all but a tiny share of their reservation.

Few Utes accepted their 160-acre allotments, and none gave the required consent to open unallotted land to white settlement. But white land-hunger grew, and so did public pressure. With overblown local boosterism, the *Vernal Express* editorialized that "there is a vast amount of valuable land on

11. George E. Stewart, "The Day the Utes Helped Themselves to Free Whiskey," *Salt Lake Tribune Home Magazine*, September 29, 1968. Quoted in Barton, *A History of Duchesne County*, 50.

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Uinta Basin Utes photographed in 1868 by A. Z. Schindler

those reservations . . . that are now being idle and a desert waste merely to gratify the whim of a handful of lazy Indians. . . . After every redskin has taken one hundred and sixty acres each there would be thousands of acres left for white settlers to occupy which would make this portion of Utah one of the most productive sections in the Rocky Mountains."[12] From the other side of the mountains, the more restrained but no less acquisitive *Deseret News* urged that "there are valuable lands and mineral deposits within the boundaries of the reservation, which ought not to be excluded from occupation, cultivation, and development. . . . The time appears to be rapidly passing when large tracts of arable or mineral lands shall be kept as hunting grounds for roving bands of semi-savages."[13]

Given the history of U.S.-Indian relations, the outcome was predictable. In 1902, Congress gave authority to allot 160 acres of Uintah Reservation land to individual Utes and to open the rest to white settlement, but only by the consent of a majority of the Utes. Consent was never given, but that didn't matter. In January 1903, in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock,* the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Congress had the power to abrogate Indian treaties, so consent of the Utes was not necessary, and that if it was not given by June of that year, the government could allot lands and open the reservation without it.[14]

12. *Vernal Express,* August 31, 1898.
13. *Deseret News,* January 23, 1902.
14. Katherine MacKay, "Strawberry Valley Reclamation Project and the Opening of the

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Ute Indian delegation at opening of the reservation, 1905

Smart Enters the Game

All this was being closely watched by William H. Smart, president of the LDS Wasatch Stake, which at that time included the lands occupied by the Uintah-Ouray Reservation. From his ecclesiastical seat in Heber, he envisioned this vast, soon-to-be-open area as Mormon country, and set about seeing that it was. On his own initiative, without his usual practice of consulting with church general authorities but with the rubber-stamp approval of his stake presidency,[15] he made the first of many exploring trips of the Uinta Basin.

On September 2, 1903, he recorded: "I started with a party to make a tour of the Uinta reservation with a view of acquainting myself with its resources from an agricultural standpoint and for settlement. It is expected that it will be opened for public settlement in a year or two and as it lies within our Stake & Co[unty] I feel that we should become acquainted with it." With a two-horse, canvas-topped wagon, three riding horses, his stake clerk Joseph Musser, his twelve-year-old son William, a horse-wrangler, and a cook, the

Uintah Indian Reservation," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (Winter 1982):68–89.

15. Smart, Journals, August 30, 1903.

small party jounced up a crude Daniels Canyon road used mostly by Heber stockmen trailing their cows, illegally, into the basin.

At the summit, the western border of the reservation, with the Strawberry Valley before him, he wrote: "We stopped and I went into the timber and offered prayer. I was filled with peculiar feelings as I knelt down to pray here on the divide between the known and the unknown country, and somehow I felt a responsibility ahead of me. I prayed for light and wisdom."[16] Light and wisdom he would certainly need, as his efforts to meet that responsibility plunged him into a Mormon/anti-Mormon conflict that reached all the way to Washington, D.C.

The explorers traveled fast. According to Smart's journal, in one day they journeyed from a spot a few miles short of the Strawberry summit all the way to a camp they then set up on Red Creek—fifty miles over wretched or nonexistent road. The day included a lunch stop at "Al [A. M.] Murdock's stock camp" in Strawberry Valley. Murdock, whom Smart would later install as the first bishop in Duchesne, was licensed as an Indian trader on the reservation,[17] but not to run cattle there.

During their nine-day tour, they rode down Red Creek to the Strawberry River, and found that the area around the junction of the Strawberry and Duchesne rivers, covered now by Starvation Reservoir, was "one of the favorable places for cultivation."[18] By this time Al Murdock, who knew the country well, had joined the party. Passing the "Price Road,"[19] they rode on to Fort Duchesne on the Uinta River, about ten miles upstream from its confluence with the Duchesne. The fort, established in 1886 by black troops under the command of Major F. W. Benteen of Custer Massacre infamy, was still garrisoned, but Smart had little to say about it, only that "we walked through Fort. Soil kind of red clay & sand impregnated with considerable alcoli [alkali]."[20] From there they rode up the Uintah River to

16. Ibid., September 3, 1903.
17. Barton, *History of Duchesne County*, 180–82. Murdock became the first resident and, later, mayor of Duchesne. The infant settlement was named Dora for his daughter, later Theodore for Theodore Roosevelt, finally Duchesne. When the reservation was opened in 1905, he greeted land-rushers with a circus tent from which he sold hay and grain, hardware, and food supplies. His tent and later the frame building that replaced it were used for Mormon church services, town meetings, dances, and basketball. He made loans to many struggling homesteaders, many of which could never be repaid, and, like Smart himself, lost a substantial fortune.
18. Smart, Journals, September 4, 1903. The reservoir got its name from the starvation of an entire herd of A. M. Murdock's cattle that were snowbound in the area by one of the fierce Uinta Basin blizzards. Barton, *History of Duchesne County*, 327.
19. This would be the Indian Canyon road built from the Duchesne River bridge to the railhead at Castle Gate. It was little used after black soldiers from Fort Duchesne built the Nine-mile Canyon road from the fort to the Wellington railhead. Ironically, while the Nine-mile Canyon road today is unpaved, dusty, and little traveled, U.S. Highway 191 follows the Indian Canyon road.
20. Smart, Journals, September 5, 1903.

the reservation headquarters at Whiterocks, where they found that the "soil generally looked favorable and covered with thrifty vegetation. Many good buildings at agency & things looked in orderly condition."

The next day, leaving the others at the agency to rest, Musser and Smart rode some twenty-five miles over rough country to the tiny settlement of Vernal, where they stayed with Uintah Stake president Samuel R. Bennion. The stake was a small one, consisting of one ward, Vernal; a tiny branch at Ashley, eleven miles northwest of Vernal on Dry Fork; another at Jensen, where Isaac Burton operated a ferry over the Green River, and a few scattered ranches. But Smart could see possibilities. "This is beautiful valley watered by Ashley River," he recorded. "Was desert like before irrigated. Raise many varieties of fruits & all kinds of cereals."[21]

After attending a fast-day worship service in the Vernal Ward, Smart and Musser headed for home, picking up the rest of the party at the Whiterocks agency. They traveled generally north of their outbound route, against the foothills of the Uinta Mountains. He described "beautiful sandy loam but rocky" in Uinta Valley, "some good land" in the Lake Fork country, and "highly mineralized" land in parts of the Duchesne River Valley. "We got right up near the foot hills where was much good country but high in elevation," he reported. "I felt today that some of the table lands over which we passed [between Rock Creek and the Duchesne River Valley] would perhaps grow winter wheat without irrigation." Barely avoiding early fall snowfalls, he arrived home with his hands swollen and rheumatic, but feeling "very well satisfied with trip feeling that I got a good idea of country."[22]

The next two months were busy with church and business affairs, and a trip to Idaho to look after the sheep business and family matters. Then, on November 13, 1903, he met with the First Presidency and apostles John Henry Smith and Hyrum M. Smith in a conference that determined where and how he would spend the next thirty years. His journal leaves little doubt that he got the decision he wanted and expected, and that, like Smart himself, the First Presidency considered the Uintah Basin to be, rightfully, Mormon country. Smart first discussed the efforts of his people to locate reservoir sites on the Provo River headwaters. Displaying a map of Wasatch Stake and its inclusion of the reservation,

> I then related my trip with the brethren over the reservation of Uinta this fall to acquaint ourselves with land and water with view of colonization when reservation is thrown open, and explained in general the tillable land and water to cover it as I viewed it. I then asked the question as to whether it is desired that the Wasatch Stake authorities father the colonization of that portion of the reservation lying within Wasatch Co[unty] . . . or if it would be done from the Uinta Co[unty] side. Pres Smith emphatically

21. Ibid., September 6, 1903.
22. Ibid., September 8–11, 1903.

> counseled that it be colonized under the direction of the Presidency and the High Council of the Wasatch Stake and his decision was approved by the other brethren present.

After that validation of his efforts, and with President Smith's assurance that he wanted him to remain as Wasatch Stake president, Smart wrote: "I went away with joy and a greater contentment in my heart than I had felt before & felt to press on with greater zeal than ever before."[23]

His greater zeal would take him personally on at least three more explorations of the reservation before it opened, and others later. His critics later charged that the trips were "secret" or "clandestine," but those charges seem overblown. The evidence doesn't show that he hid his actions—he visited agency headquarters and the army's Fort Duchesne on his various trips—but he certainly didn't advertise them. In any event, their purpose is clear: to locate good farming land, townsites, water sources and canal routes, and other essentials of settlement so as to give Mormons a crucial advantage when the time came. Although he would bear the brunt of the firestorm of criticism his colonizing efforts fanned, his journal entry on May 12, 1904, makes it clear he felt he was doing just what his church leaders wanted.

> This morning about 9–15 I called upon Pres. Jos. F. Smith at his office to converse regarding settling of Uintah Reservation when thrown open in as much as upon a previous visit he had given me the responsibility of fathering this work. I told him that in as much as there would be a rush of all kinds of people to file upon lands and settle it seemed to me that matured plans should be made for our people to do so, and that plans should be effected whereby we would be in readiness to go in there and at once proceed to lay off towns, canals, build mills etc to inhabit the land, and that therefore I had to suggest that I be given liberty to get together enough saints—a hundred or so—to do this. He said that he would like to see Utah settled up by our people instead of their going off to other states and that I should go forth and use arguments by way of pursuasion to get our people to settle there. . . . He told me to go ahead and lay plans to people and build up the reservation. When I asked him if it would be well for an apostle to be named to assist me or should I go ahead and come to him for advice, he said it was not necessary to appoint an apostle and that I could feel free to advise with him at any time. He however said that in as much as apostle Geo. A. Smith is a general land officer[24] and has understanding of these things I could advise with him and obtain whatever information I could from him. As I bade him good day I told him I had the spirit of doing this work and he said that I should do good in

23. Ibid., November 13, 1903.
24. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:776–78. At age 28, George Albert Smith was appointed receiver of the local U.S. Land Office by President McKinley in 1898 and reappointed by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1902. He became an apostle in 1903 and president of the LDS Church in 1945.

> it and as he shook my hand I felt that he meant it and I rejoiced in this manifestation of his confidence.

He would need help, though, and he sought it in his customary way, through prayer. "Now, O Lord," he pleaded, "thou knowest the weaknesses of thy servant and his little knowledge of building and I beseech thee through my humility and good desires to assist in building up Zion to make up to me what I lack and open up the way before me that I may be enabled to accomplish this work in righteousness."

He also sought help from Smith and from another prominent Mormon, Surveyor-general Edward H. Anderson. Both responded that "while they could tell me little now yet they both said they would render me what assistance they can in reservation matters in future."[25] Apostle Reed Smoot, still embroiled in a fight to claim the Senate seat to which he had been elected in 1902, promised that "whatever information comes to him he will keep me posted."[26] Such insider contacts helped fuel later charges of a Mormon conspiracy to dominate settlement on the reservation.

Now feeling he had a formal commission from President Smith, Smart organized his next exploration of the reservation. His first move was to recruit the backsliding Alva Murdock to organize and manage the trip. There was an ulterior motive that tells much of how Smart worked with people. "For a long time—almost from the first of my mission here," he wrote, "I have felt a desire to see Alva Murdock . . . take hold and work in the Church. . . . he has done nothing since a boy. . . . I called him in to my office this morning and told him that I feel that the Lord wants his services and that if he would accept of it I desired him to be one of my assistance in my trip over the Reservation. . . . He promised to help me so I put him in charge of the outfit and told him whatever was needed for him to get together and I would pay for what he has to buy."[27] That was the beginning of Murdock's lifelong service to his church.

Smart enjoyed a fringe benefit as well; he took his entire family for a week-long outing at Murdock's camp in Strawberry Valley on the reservation while the exploration went forward. Through President Smith he invited any general authority who wished to do so to join the outing. None did.

On horseback, with two pack mules, Smart and Murdock spent two weeks exploring as far south as Nine-mile Canyon, where they lunched at Preston Nutter's cattle ranch; as far north as the headwaters of Lake Fork, where, as any modern hiker on the south slopes of the Uintas will

25. Smart, Journals, May 26, 1904. Anderson, a member of the church youth organization's general board, had been city recorder of Ogden and a state legislator. President McKinley nominated him, and the U.S. Senate confirmed him, as surveyor-general of Utah in 1901. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:715.
26. Smart, Journals, May 24, 1904.
27. Ibid., August 1, 1904.

understand, he found the yellow pine to be "fine, very straight." and the country "very rough with large boulders & timber down." They rode into a "large, rough basin [East Basin] in which we found 6 beautiful little lakes." He described one "very fine reservoir site" and then, lower down, a "beautiful lake covering from 75 to 100 acres . . . river runs through it. Another splendid opportunity for reservoir i.e. the lake to be made into one."[28] That would be Moon Lake, later expanded into an important reservoir as Smart foresaw.

From there, they climbed the ridge to the west and descended into the Rock Creek watershed, describing what are now known as the Grandaddy Lakes. In that beautiful country, Smart experienced something of an epiphany. "When on the ridge alone," he wrote, "I had very deep emotions. I thought of science & the gospel flowing down to man, of nature breaking down cliffs and preparing for redemption. I desired that my inner life might take on same preparation. I felt this sight one of the greatest of testimonies and knelt down and poured out my soul in gratitude to God for these sights and impressions. I gathered some little flowers and pressed them in my testament." Descending the next day to the canyon mouth, he reported: "We had today wild raspberries, thimble berries, choke cherries, service berries, currants, gooseberries; there were also grapes and hops. This leads me to think that the country below would raise fruit. Soil sandy."[29]

Locating potential townsites was one of Smart's major goals throughout most of his Uinta Basin ministry. On this trip he identified two. The Duchesne River bottoms, in the area of its confluence with Farm Creek, he "felt would be adapted to a village, ground sandy and warm. Little snow in winter."[30] The village of Hanna is there today, but its residents may not entirely agree with Smart's description of "little snow." Near the confluence of the Duchesne and Strawberry rivers he had an even stronger impression. After studying the land between the two rivers and the land up and down the two river valleys, he wrote: "I felt that perhaps here . . . may become the centre place of a Stake of Zion when the reservation forms more than one. As these thoughts came my being was quickened with emotion and interest."[31] That is precisely the site of the city of Duchesne, the center (but not for some years the headquarters) of Duchesne Stake, the church's sixty-second stake, with William H. Smart as its first president when the Uintah Stake was divided in 1910.[32] Ten years later, when Roosevelt Stake was created and the reservation had "more than one," Duchesne became the headquarters of Duchesne Stake.

28. Ibid., August 23, 1904.
29. Ibid., August 25 and 26, 1904.
30. Ibid., August 27, 1904.
31. Ibid., September 5, 1904.
32. *Deseret News Church Almanac, 2001–2002*, 256.

Visiting the reservation agency before returning home, Smart learned that there were about nine hundred Indians on the reservation. His observation was that "government doing nothing only feeding them & poorly teaching them to work. Kill 30 beeves monthly for them. They are amorous, gamblers & largely paupers." Ignorant of, forgetting, or ignoring that the reservation was established to get them away from the Mormons, he proposed a solution for the sad conditions he witnessed: "My impression is that our people should have control of agency and labor for Indians morally, spiritually, intellectually and temporally."[33]

Back home, he met again with Surveyor-general Anderson, who described how a lottery system to select lands would work: the higher the number drawn, the higher the priority to select land, with the selection to be made within sixty days. Anderson advised him to "become acquainted with location of townships or sections where we want to locate and be able to locate same on map and be prepared to select same."[34]

That advice added urgency to Smart's efforts, and within a month a third exploration was underway. This time, with approval of the First Presidency, a soils expert from the Utah State Agricultural College research station was added "to make an agricultural analysis of the soil & water of the reservation to ascertain its adaptability to various crops etc." He was W. W. McLaughlin, in Smart's words "not a member of our church, but friendly and seemingly nice man." When the government refused a permit for the college to send such an expert, Smart urged college president William Kerr to send one anyway, and Smart would arrange for the permit. Kerr, a Mormon, complied.

Fortuitously, another essential need was filled when Andrew J. Stewart of Provo appeared, bearing a letter of introduction from Apostle George A. Smith. Stewart had already surveyed about a fourth of the reservation. "He is interested in locating people from a business standpoint," Smart wrote. "He desires to work in harmony with me. . . . I had been desiring to find a surveyor who is good L.D. Saint to assist me in this work and rather feel that the hand of the Lord is in the matter."[35]

The three men, with Lewis Simms of Heber, set out on October 20 with saddle horses, a buggy, and a heavy wagon with tools and supplies. Smart summarized their thirteen-day trip in a single journal entry that shows his growing competence as a colonizer, particularly in the all-important task of locating and getting water to lands for Mormon settlement.

> We covered the agricultural portion of the reservation quite thoroughly Prof. McLaughlin taking soil samples at various points. . . . Bro Stewart and I riding south of the Duchesne farther than I had hitherto had done discovered a large area stretching toward the Green River of agricultural and

33. Smart, Journals, September 3, 1904.
34. Ibid., September 20, 1904.
35. Ibid., September 26, 27, and October 13, 16, 1904.

> mineral land. The country grows more extensive at each visit. As I see it now there are the following general irrigation systems to evolve: The Strawberry and Duchesne System Canal to irrigate South of and along either side of Duchesne River. The Blue Bench Canal system for Blue Bench & adjacent territory. The Lake Fork System to cover land on either side of this River. Perhaps upper Rock Creek to cover upper land between this and Lake Fork. The Joint Uinta and Lake Fork system to cover Dry Gulch country and adjacent. The Duel Uinta River system to cover both sides of the Uinta River.[36]

Once again he made his purpose perfectly clear: "I still feel the necessity of our people making a united struggle to become in possession of this land and water and I still feel desirous of being an humble instrument in Father's hands of assisting to bring this about."

The First Presidency continued to support that effort, writing on December 10, 1904, a request to Senator Reed Smoot that he give Smart any available information regarding the reservation opening "or otherwise render timely assistance."[37]

With the opening date fast approaching, Smart intensified his preparations. His stake presidency debated whether to organize a new development company on the reservation or operate through their highly successful Wasatch Development Company. They decided on the latter course, but chose to establish a branch of the company on the reservation under direction of Reuban S. Collett, a counselor in the Uintah Stake presidency. Seeking to share responsibility, Smart appointed the following officers: Joseph R. Murdock, his first counselor in the Wasatch Stake presidency, as chairman of the company's executive board; his stake clerk, Joseph W. Musser, as vice chairman; and his second counselor, James C. Jensen, as auditor.[38] Clearly, Wasatch Development was to remain a Mormon enterprise, and, just as clearly, Smart, as president, remained in control. "I enjoined upon them the extended duties of the Co. in taking up reservation work," he wrote.

With that injunction in mind, Murdock and Moffett, together with surveyor Andrew Stewart, left for the reservation two days later. Their assignment was specific and audacious: "to select Town sites and labor with the officials to have such set aside for that purpose." They returned two weeks later and reported "having been comparatively successful."

But townsites and homesteads would be worthless without water. Smart's Wasatch Development Company had earlier filed on water on the Duchesne, Lake Fork, and other rivers. Three weeks before opening day, Murdock led another exploring party, this time "to locate irrigation canals, lands, etc., preparatory to assisting in the colonizing after the opening."[39]

36. Ibid., November 4, 1904.
37. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 4:92.
38. Smart, Journals, June 6, 1905.
39. Ibid., August 5, 1905.

In his single-minded determination to foster homesteading and development in the basin, Smart got involved in two important land-use issues. One would determine the future utilization and degree of protection of the Uinta Mountains. In 1897, to protect its watershed from overgrazing and timbering, the 482,000-acre Uinta National Forest Reserve was established by presidential proclamation. With the opening of the reservation, it was proposed that 1.4 million acres, basically all the forested part of the Indian land, be added to the forest reserve. Governor Heber M. Wells strongly supported this withdrawal. In his message to the legislature, he declared that "without any restrictive provisions against the lavish and wanton destruction of the forests in those mountains, the prosperous farms and villages that border at least three of these main rivers of the State must suffer and perhaps go into decay."[40]

Unaccountably, Smart opposed the addition of this land to the reserve. As president of Wasatch Stake, he had been involved in bringing water from those very mountains to the farms and homes of his people. He knew the importance of protecting the watersheds. And certainly he knew that the future homesteaders for whom he was working so hard would settle on lands watered by the rivers coming from the mountains, not in the mountains themselves.

Yet his newspaper, the *Wasatch Wave*, editorialized that the withdrawal would hamper the homesteader, and "it will be next to impossible to build a comfortable home on the newly opened lands, if the present forest reserves in this county may be taken as a criterion to go by."[41] Fortunately, such opposition failed. The withdrawal was made, along with another 200,000 acres added by President Theodore Roosevelt later that year, and created the national forest we know there today.

Smart's other land-use battle was over a proposal to create a state park in Strawberry Valley. Brigham Clegg persuaded the Republican Party to include the park's creation in its state platform, arguing that city dwellers needed a place to renew their souls in nature. Smart was indignant over the prospect of losing to a state park land that could be used instead for homesteading, mining, or other development. His *Wasatch Wave* editorialized that the lower elevations of the valley contained rich farming country, while the surrounding mountains were "said to contain one of the richest mineral belts in the state of Utah."

In language foreshadowing the rhetoric condemning President Clinton's creation of the Escalante-Grand Staircase National Park in 1996, the *Wave* declared: "This park will be of no use whatever to the people of this county. It would be a nice place, we admit, to spend a few days in the summer, but

40. Craig Woods Fuller, "Land Rush in Zion: Opening of the Uncompahgre and Uintah Indian Reservations" (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1990), 195.
41. Quoted in Fuller, "Land Rush in Zion," 196.

can this government afford to set apart a country that is capable of producing hundreds of thousands of dollars of wealth each year, for the exclusive use of a few lisping dudes with fishing pole and eye-glass?"[42]

Smart and his supporters won this one; no park materialized. But neither did the mineral wealth he visualized, or much of the rich farming lands.

An "Insane"—but Successful—Letter

Although for some reason he did not record this critically important decision, Smart and his counselors chose a course of action that would elicit a storm of criticism that filled newspapers throughout the country, and even brought official attention from Washington, D.C. The decision was to write to stake presidents, inviting their members to seek the best lands on the reservation, pointing out the church's desire that young people stay to build up Zion rather than seeking livelihoods elsewhere, and promising to help them. Among other places, the letter was published in the Box Elder News to alert Mormons there to the opportunity.

The *Salt Lake Tribune,* ardently anti-Mormon at the time, seized upon this and launched a full-throated attack not only on Smart and his associates, but also on the First Presidency and Senator Reed Smoot. On July 2, 1905, it published the letter in full.

> Heber City, Utah, June 7, 1905
>
> Dear Bretheren:
>
> In as much as the Uintah reservation territory is nearly all within the confines of Wasatch county and over which our ecclesiastical jurisdiction extends, it is desired by the first presidency that we use our good offices in behalf of our people who may wish to settle there. It is presumed that the opportunity for registering will commence on July 1, when all contemplating procuring land upon the reservation will be required to register in person, after which a time will be designated when the drawing will commence. While the manner of drawing will be such that each person will stand an equal show, and we therefore cannot assist in procuring certain pieces of land for individuals, yet *we are acquainting ourselves with tracts of land which we feel are most desirable for settlement, and which, through land office connections being formed by us, can be chosen by those who may be in touch with us* [emphasis added]. The region is amply watered and there is sufficient good agricultural and grazing land to sustain a large population. You will call to mind that it is deemed inadvisable for our people to seek new homes afar off when such tracts as these await the reclamation of the husbandman, and are located within the confines of Utah, the center piece of the Lord's establishment of his people in the West. Our reason for now communicating with you is that should you feel in harmony with our mission, you immediately help us as our fellow laborers by taking the matter up

42. *Wasatch Wave,* September 2, 1904. Quoted in Fuller, "Land Rush in Zion," 198.

> with your bishops, ascertaining who among their numbers desire to draw for these lands, and in a systematic way get us in touch with them by correspondence at the very earliest date possible. It is not deemed wise for families having good homes, and who are satisfied with their surroundings to pull up stakes and move to other places; but there are many young men and middle aged, who have little or no holdings where they now reside, who are ambitious to create homes and are prone to establish themselves in new communities where they can grow up with the country. It is to this class as is more especially desired that we appeal. Detailed instruction will be issued from the Government office giving a clear understanding of the mode of procedure in securing land upon the reservation, and we shall be pleased to assist your people in every way possible in the premises. By giving this matter your earliest attention you will confer a favor upon your fellow laborers in Christ.
>
> William H. Smart
> Joseph R. Murdock
> James C. Jensen
> Wasatch Stake Presidency[43]

In the same edition of the Tribune, a long news story and an editorial condemned Smart, his stake presidency, and the First Presidency for illegal actions aimed at grasping "absolute control of the Uintah Basin and Indian reservation." Referring to the passage italicized above, it accused the stake presidency either of having illicit connections with the land office to give Mormons the best lands or "playing a bunco game upon the saints." It asked how Smart and his associates were able to explore the reservation "when everybody else is kept off." Smart's letter to the stake presidents, the Tribune charged, "completely establishes the fact that there is a conspiracy among the Mormon hierarchy to steal the lands of the reservations when the opening comes."

Following standard newspaper practice, the *Tribune* informed Smart the letter was to be published, and invited him to explain. He assigned Jensen and Musser to draft a response and telephone it to the paper that same day. Published under the heading "ATTEMPTS TO EXPLAIN: President Smart Declares It Is Really a Small Matter," it read,

> President William H. Smart, the first signer of the "Reservation directive," made the following statement to the Tribune by telephone from Heber City last night:
>
> "Through the courtesy of the *Tribune* management I am today informed that it is your intention to publish in tomorrow's issue a communication addressed to presidents of stakes by the presidency of the Wasatch stake of Zion relating to the opening of the Uintah Indian reservation. We were

43. Wasatch Stake Presidency to stake presidencies, June 7, 1905, original letter in Smart Papers.

surprised that importance warranting its publication should be attached to our letter.

"The statement that 'it is the desire of the first presidency that we use our good offices in behalf of our people who may wish to settle there' had reference to the policy that has obtained in the church from its organization that the presiding officers of stakes or wards shall take an interest in the material upbuilding of their respective districts in behalf of mankind in general. The first presidency of the church has issued no instructions regarding the course we should take in connection with the settlement of the reservation, and we have quoted them in the said communication only upon the authority of the general policy above referred to.

"The second point brought up was the clause relating to 'land office connections being formed by us.' By said statement we merely intended to call attention to the fact that we expected through business connections to get in touch with land office attorneys and surveyors who will have offices at Vernal, where the United States land office is located, and who will assist, under the rules and regulations governing the opening of the reservation in preparing the necessary papers and locating settlers upon lands selected by them, and through which connections we expect to be advised as fast as entries are made, and thus keep informed as to land still available."

The explanation didn't satisfy the Tribune, of course. Its barrage of criticism continued for weeks, fanned, no doubt, by the animosity of publisher Thomas Kearns because the church had withdrawn its support for his reelection to the U.S. Senate in 1905. The language became shrill and personal, condemning not only Smart, but also Senator Reed Smoot, whom Kearns blamed, probably rightly, for his own senatorial defeat, and particularly church president Smith.

Quoting phrases in the letters to stake presidents, the paper fumed that "the impudent interference assumed by the Wasatch presidency 'is desired by the First Presidency,' to the end that 'our people' may get the land. It is the most daring encroachment upon the Government's prerogatives, the most insolent attempt to thwart by underhand means, the efforts of the Government to give every land seeker a square deal, that has developed under the present odious presidency of Joseph F. Smith."[44]

Although rhetorically outgunned, the church-owned *Deseret News* tried to respond. Referring to the involvement of women of the anti-Mormon American Party in the controversy, it asked, "What can be thought by decent people of the ministerial and journalistic deceivers who, not content with making ninnies of themselves in their furious assaults upon an imaginary 'hierarchy' tricked a number of ladies of this city into assuming an absurd position before the country and exposing themselves to public ridicule?"[45]

44. *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 2, 1905.
45. *Deseret News*, July 11, 1905.

Oddly, for two weeks Smart's journal is silent on the issue, reporting instead on various church meetings and a Fourth of July oration he was invited to deliver: "I was measurably satisfied and the audience appeared to be. Spoke about forty five minutes."[46] But on July 16, having received an official letter from Washington demanding an explanation, he could ignore it no longer. On that date, his journal commented on the publication of the letter to stake presidents and complained that "since publishing it they [the *Tribune*] have been traducing us and the first presidency most shamefully charging us with intention to become in possession of the lands fraudulently. They finally succeeded in getting the Women's side of the late American political party which was organized to fight our people, to hold a meeting [and] pass resolutions against our action [in] sending the letter. This resulted in the following letter from W. W. Richards, Commissioner U.S. Land office of Washington, D.C. being sent us."

July 11, 1905

Messrs. WH Smart, Jas. R. Murdock and James C. Jensen
Wasatch Stake Presidency, Heber City, Utah
Sirs:

I enclose herewith a newspaper clipping which shows what purports to be a letter addressed by you to Pres. Oleen U. Stohl and Counselors of Brigham City, Utah. In the letter you call attention to the proposed opening of the Uintah Indian Reservation and to land office connections being formed by you which will enable you and your people to choose certain tracts of land such as you deem most desirable for settlement. This letter of yours has been printed in the newspapers generally throughout the country and I have to request that you inform me at once what you mean by "land office connections being formed by you."

Very Respectfully,
W. A. Richards
Commissioner

Smart's response, with copies sent to senators Smoot and George Sutherland and congressman Joseph Howell, was prompt and apparently persuasive.

Hon W. A. Richards

Com. Gen'l Land Office
Washington, D.C.
Dear Sir:

We beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of 11th just, wherein you ask what we meant by the term, "land office connections being formed by us" quoted from our communication to Pres. Aleen N. Stohl and counselors referring to the prospective opening of the Uintah Indian Reservation.

46. Smart, Journals, July 4, 1905.

We feel indebted to you for the opportunity of explaining this statement in as much as the language used therein has been misinterpreted by some of our local newspapers and citizens.

By the statement in question we merely meant to convey the information that we expected to be in touch with land office attorneys and civil engineers operating under the legitimate exercise of their professions, and under the rules and regulations governing the opening of the Reserve.

By reading the entire paragraph from which you quote, and wherein we state that "the manner of drawing will be such that each person will stand an equal show, and therefor we cannot assist in securing certain pieces of land for individuals", in connection with our explanation herein given, we trust that it will appear clear to you that it was not the intention to convey the idea that we were in collusion with United States land office or proposed to operate in any unlawful manner.

The Construction placed upon your excerpt by those taking was so foreign to our real intent that we unwittingly made use of it without noting that it was susceptible to double construction.

Trusting this explanation will be satisfactory

We are
Very respectfully
Wm Smart
Jos. R. Murdock
Jas. C. Jensen[47]

The government's concern about the matter stopped short of the Congressional investigation demanded by the Tribune and the women's auxiliary of the American Party. Richards made his own brief investigation, though, and absolved Smart, Senator Smoot, President Smith, and land officials in Utah and Washington of any wrongdoing. The national embarrassment of the church hierarchy wasn't lightly suffered by some, however. Apostle John Henry Smith, for one, called Smart's action "insane."[48] As for Smart, he was contrite, but confidently hopeful. "While we depricate the trouble our letter has made," he wrote, "yet we hope that in some way our indiscression will be turned by our heavenly Father to the good of his work."[49]

The Land-allocation System

He was about to find out. August 28, 1905, the date President Theodore Roosevelt had designated for opening the reservation to homesteading, was fast approaching. The stampedes of previous land rushes—with their confusion, fighting, chicanery, accidents, and death—had taught the government something. This time the procedure was carefully planned to avoid anything

47. Journal History of the Church, July 22, 1905.
48. *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 2, 1905.
49. Smart, Journals, July 16, 1905.

like a stampede. There would be a two-week period for land-seekers to register at temporary land offices set up in Provo, Price, and Vernal, Utah, and Grand Junction, Colorado. Place or priority of registration would make no difference; names from all four registration places would go into a single large rotating box to be randomly drawn. Each registrant would be given a permit to enter and scout out the reservation during a two-week period; there would be no selection of land at this time, so there would be no reason for haste. When the drawing was held, successful applicants would be assigned numbers based on the order of the draw and allowed back on the reservation to select and file on their 160 acres. Only a limited number would be allowed to enter each day—the higher the number, the earlier the entry. On opening day, August 28, registrants with the highest 111 numbers would be admitted, with others following during the next two months.[50]

The lure of free land for the taking was strong, and officials expected 100,000 or more registrations. Anticipation was high. Provo mayor William M. Roylance, for example, urged his people, especially the merchants, to prepare speedily for the "great rush," which he predicted would be "one of the great events in the history of Provo." He called for cleanup of front and back yards and of city streets, because "Provo is noted for doing things right, and we must keep up our high standard."[51]

Entrepreneurs set up tent cities to house visitors—twenty-five cents a cot. Dining rooms were set up in the Mormon tabernacle and various ward houses, with outdoor tables on the courthouse square. Joseph R. Murdock, of Smart's Wasatch Development Company, set up shop to assist land-seekers—Mormons, of course, preferred. With all the outsiders coming to town, many of them non-Mormons, church president Joseph F. Smith and apostle Reed Smoot warned residents to lock their doors and windows, and especially to watch over their children.[52] In addition to its other preparations, Grand Junction brought in Pinkerton agents to bolster its police force.

On the opening day of registration, August 1, Provo counted some 5,000 extra people in town. Fourteen hundred more arrived the next day on a special train from Sanpete County. Long lines formed in Provo and Grand Junction, less so in Price and Vernal. When the process ended on August 17, more than 37,000 persons had registered: 18,858 in Provo, 15,387 in Grand Junction, 1,500 in Price, and 1,400 in Vernal.[53] The number was only about a third of those expected. Still, with that many people now permitted to explore it, roads to the reservation were crowded for two weeks with eager would-be homesteaders.

50. The selection procedure and the conditions under which it worked out are best described in Fuller, "Land Rush in Zion."
51. *Provo Enquirer*, July 31, 1905. Cited in Fuller, "Land Rush in Zion," 239, 267n.
52. Fuller, "Land Rush in Zion," 239.
53. Ibid., 242.

The crucial drawing began August 17, under careful arrangements prescribed and overseen by U.S. Land Commissioner W. A. Richards to ensure fairness. An eight-foot box, the ends thirty-one inches square, mounted on bearings to allow rotation, stood on a raised platform outside the Proctor Academy in Provo. It contained 37,000 registration forms, representing the hopes of that many land-seekers. On each side of the box were four six-inch openings with hinged and numbered covers. From those openings, in numerical sequence, nine Provo boys drew, one by one, the names of the lucky applicants.

It took five days to draw the 5,772 names of those who would now be allowed, in order of the draw, to select their homesites. Five of every six registrants went away empty-handed. The others, those who actually filed on homesteads, paid $1.25 an acre. The money went to pay the government's expenses in opening the reservation, with the balance deposited in a trust fund for the displaced Utes.[54]

By the end of the homesteading period in 1912, some 450,000 acres had been homesteaded—less than half that made available to the lucky registrants. Another 300,000 acres were sold at auction in 1913, and the remaining land was withdrawn as a temporary mineral reserve.[55]

What of William H. Smart's efforts to make this Mormon country? Registrants were not identified by religion, but, given the location of registration sites, the registration was probably about 53 percent Mormon and 47 percent non-Mormon. If so, the same ratio would be true of the names drawn from the box. But actual settlement on the reservation lands was vastly different; most of the towns established there were overwhelmingly Mormon.

Proximity was no doubt one reason. The experience Mormons had gained in colonizing marginal lands through cooperative effort was another. The discomfort of being an outsider from Mormon solidarity could be a third. But Smart's efforts in identifying the most desirable lands, and the assistance of Wasatch Development Company in placing Mormons there, constituted a most important fourth. Without that knowledge and assistance, would-be homesteaders in that largely inhospitable land faced disillusionment and often failure. A tragic example is the man who sold his Colorado ranch and most of his possessions, drew a "lucky" number, and was so dismayed about what he found in the basin that he shot and killed himself.[56]

Organizing the Occupation

Two weeks after the reservation opened, with the land-selection process having almost seven weeks yet to run, Smart moved quickly. With his prior

54. Ibid., 245–47.
55. Barton, *History of Duchesne County*, 109.
56. Craig Fuller, "Utah's Land Rush: Opening the Uintah Indian Reservation," 18, copy of ms in possession of the author.

knowledge of where settlements were likely, and with his faith that they would be Mormon settlements, he met with his prayer circle, stake presidency, and high council on September 15, 1905, and presented his plan for the ecclesiastical organization of the area.

The newly opened reservation lands would be designated the Duchesne division of Wasatch Stake. Smart's counselor Joseph R. Murdock (of the Wasatch Development Company) would oversee it, representing the stake presidency. Joseph W. Musser would be released as stake clerk and added to the high council, with the assignment to assist Murdock. Branches of the church would be established at Whiterocks and Leland in the Uinta Stake. One of the first two branches on the reservation lands would be at the junction of the Strawberry and Duchesne rivers, to be named Theodore (for President Roosevelt) or Richards (for W. A. Richards, U.S. land commissioner who supervised the reservation opening). Silas D. Smith would be its presiding elder. The other branch would be at Myton at the Duchesne River bridge, but it would be renamed either Theodore or Richards. David L. VanWagenen would be the presiding elder.

His plans were approved by the stake presidency and high council, of course, and six days later by the Presiding Bishopric.[57] As evidence of the First Presidency's approval as well, Smart was invited to speak at the October 1905 general conference of the church. To solicit an even higher approval of all that had been and would be done, he appointed Murdock and Musser "to proceed next week to the reservation and dedicate the country to the Lord for the settlement of the people and for the preaching of the gospel to the Indians."[58]

Smart's names didn't stick, though. The town at the river junctions was initially named Dora, for Murdock's daughter; then Theodore; then, in 1915, Duchesne. Myton's name was never changed, despite Smart's disgruntlement that it honored a disreputable non-Mormon agent.

Given his hands-on style of management, supervising colonization from the distance of his Heber office must have been frustrating for Smart. Clearly, he wanted to be close to the action. When winter closed roads into the basin and activity slowed to a halt, he busied himself with Wasatch Stake ecclesiastical duties and personal business affairs, including setting in motion the building of a stake amusement hall on the northwest corner of Tabernacle Square.[59] But he was getting restless. He announced to his high council his decision to shed some of his responsibilities to be ready for whatever the future might bring, and followed up by resigning the presidency of the *Wasatch Wave* in favor of Joseph W. Musser.[60]

57. Smart, Journals, September 22, 1905.
58. Ibid., November 17, 1905.
59. Ibid., February 17, 1906.
60. Ibid., February 17, 1906.

Still feeling guilt about the failure of his Turkey-Palestine mission seventeen years earlier, he proposed to his wife that he return and do it right. Anna expressed her "willingness to make any sacrifice and do what she can to assist me," so he took up the matter with Joseph F. Smith. As Smart recorded the response, the president would have none of it.

> His answer was [that] I had done a good work in the Wasatch Stake considering the peculiar conditions existing there . . . that I should continue to do so only more with respect to the unsettled part [the reservation] . . . that he knew of no one who would be more qualified to preside over the new division than I who will have been in touch with it. . . . He said that the Turks and Armenians were not taking hold of the gospel. When I said the Jews may be assisted when they gather to Palestine, yes, he said, when the Lord moves them to partake of the gospel—seeming to leave the impression that there is little use to labor for them much until there is more of a disposition on their part to receive the gospel. He wound up by saying that I am where I ought to be and that he believed where the Lord wants me.

With that message from a man he honored as a prophet, and with the assurance that he would preside over the newly opened reservation lands, he wrote that "all desire to go on the Turkish Mission passed away."[61]

Refocused now, Smart planned his next trip to the basin, this time to study prospective townsites. First he attended the April 1906 general conference of the church, where he spoke to an overflow audience on the grounds east of the old Bureau of Information building. He had fasted and prayed for understanding and a sustaining spirit about the dropping of his friends, apostles John W. Taylor and Matthias Cowley, from the Quorum of the Twelve because of their activities in polygamy. It worked. "Although my heart was full of sympathy and soul sad," he wrote, "yet I felt to leave all matters in the hands of the authorities and to sustain their decisions." In that spirit, he left that night for the reservation.

This time, his trip was by rail, and it was not an easy one. He went by the Rio Grande Western from Salt Lake City to Mack, Colorado. There he transferred to the Uinta Railway, a narrow-gauge line recently built over the Book Cliffs to the gilsonite mines around Watson and Dragon in the southeast corner of Uintah County. From there, a sixty-three-mile stagecoach ride that involved ferrying over the Green River brought him to Vernal. Smart was impressed by the railroad over the Book Cliffs, marveling that it "wound around in order to gain the summit until at times we could count the track five times one above the other."[62] Its grade, reaching 7½ percent in one five-mile stretch, was one of the steepest in the country, and its curves the sharpest, one being sixty-six degrees. No doubt he marveled at the scenery, which

61. Ibid., February 26 and March 21, 1906.
62. Ibid., April 10, 1906.

was described in a Uinta Railway tourist brochure when the line opened in 1904.

> Rising steadily up the face of this great range, there is never a moment when the eye of the passenger may not rest with perfect delight and wonderment . . . to the east the great Continental Divide and the Grand Mesa; to the southeast, the precipitous San Juan mountains of Colorado, one hundred and fifty miles away; to the south, the Sierra LaSal in southern Utah, one hundred and sixty-five miles distant . . . from the narrow summit [8,422-foot Baxter Pass] the traveler sees the valley of Evacuation Creek stretching out to the Grand Canyon of White River . . . over the Uintah Reservation and beyond to the Uinta mountains in the northwest, one hundred and fifty miles. . . . It is soul-stirring, poetic, stimulating, satisfying and a never-ending appeal to the artistic sense.

Despite such scenery, the railroad never caught hold as a tourist attraction. Nor was it extended on to Vernal as promised, so it played little part in development of the Uintah Basin. The gilsonite played out, the railroad failed, and it was formally abandoned in 1936.[63] No other railroad ever entered the basin.

On this trip, Smart inspected the prospective townsites of Moffet near Fort Duchesne and Independence in the Dry Gulch area; neither town materialized. He looked over the site of the only bridge over the Duchesne River. That became the town of Myton, named for Major H. P. Myton from nearby Fort Duchesne. He looked over the Dry Gulch country, where Smart's Wasatch Development Company had organized the Dry Gulch Irrigation Company, under the presidency of Reuban S. Collett of the Uintah Stake, to bring water to what would become the town of Roosevelt and the surrounding area. He inspected and was "rather favorably impressed" by a prospective townsite west of the Lake Fork bridge. That would become the town of Arcadia, named by Smart himself for a beautiful (and quite different) area of Greece.[64]

On Easter Sunday, April 15, he held a sacrament meeting with a handful of Saints living in tents at Theodore (later Duchesne). Meeting in the tent of presiding elder Sylus D. Smith, he spoke of the challenge of colonizing the reservation, declaring it required "economy, perseverence, continuity, & order even if in hut or tent." Recognizing that in their new homes they would be dealing with homesteaders not of their faith, he emphasized the need for "purity & uprightness of life even in wilds of new home, non-members observing irregularity of life in Saints, must not confound that with

63. David F. Johnson, The History and Economics of Utah's Railroads, chapter 4. http://utahrails.net/johnson/johnson-chap4.php. See also Henry E. Bender, Uintah Railway: The Gilsonite Route (Berkeley, CA: Howell-North Books, 1970).

64. Smart, Journals, April 12–14, 1906; John W. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press), 12, 268, and 321..

gospel. Those of various faiths to unite on building up [the reservation] even if in competition in religion."

Later that day, he rode on horseback with Murdock, Musser, and Smith to a proposed townsite he described as "on north side of Duchesne [River] about 12 miles East of Theodore and about 6 miles west of Myton." His account of the event tells something of the way he and his associates went about their work of Mormon colonization.

> It is in a strip of land about one mile wide of lands not allotted to Indians, Indian allotments lying on either side. Homesteaders have relinquished to us Wasatch Development Co, nearly all this strip from point of Blue Bench to Lake Fork Bridge. . . . I suggested that saints be selected to file on land who would do so for a town site Co. under the direction of the Stake Presidency, which Co after proved up upon would distribute the same in justice and equity . . . in small tracts of 10, 20, 40, 60, acres or so who would then lease adjacent Indian lands and cultivate them.[65]

The four men knelt, each praying "fervently for light upon the question," and "all felt impressed from reason & sentiment that a town should be built here." It didn't happen quite that way. The town built closest to that site was Bridgeland, three miles to the west, established a quarter-century later and only after Smart's personal intervention.

As he did after every trip to the reservation, Smart reported to the First Presidency. This time, meeting with President Joseph F. Smith and first counselor John R. Winder on April 21, he went further than merely describing his findings: "I suggested that a reorganization of the Uintah Stake I felt would be prudent in as much as the organization is not vital, Bro. S.R. Bennion now getting aged[66] and [his counselor] R. S. Collett's energies being needed on the Reservation."

If that suggestion seems presumptuous, so does his next one: "I suggested Br. Jos. W. Musser[67] as successor to Pres. Bennion [since] if he were

65. Barton, *A History of Duchesne County,* 307. The leasing or sale of Indian allotments started slowly; only a handful had been thus disposed of before 1914. In order to prevent quick sales, the Dawes Act stipulated that title to the allotments be held in trust for twenty-five years. By 1915, that provision was ineffective, and during the next five years, more than 18,000 acres of Indian land had been sold and thousands more leased to white settlers. According to the *Roosevelt Standard,* May 19, 1915, prices ranged from ten to forty-five dollars an acre, including the priceless water rights that went with the land.

66. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia,* 1:478. Bennion was sixty-four years old at this time, only twenty-two years older than Smart himself. He had arrived in Salt Lake Valley as a five-year-old in 1847 and settled in North Jordan. He served a mission in the United States in 1876–77 and another to Great Britain in 1883–85. In 1886 he was called to preside over the tiny settlements in Ashley Valley, and then chosen as first Uintah Stake president in 1887.

67. Fuller, "Land Rush in Zion," 260. Smart had called Musser to leave his home in Sugarhouse to become Wasatch Stake clerk. Smart now urged him to leave his Heber home to labor in the Uintah Basin, and released him from his clerk's position to do so. Years later, Musser was excommunicated for polygamy.

there he could and I thought would work in harmony with us who have in hand the settling of the Reservation." His first suggestion was accepted; the Uintah Stake would be reorganized in early June, the president declared. The second was not, as Smart would soon learn.

He met again with the First Presidency on May 29, and then with apostles Francis M. Lyman, George Albert Smith, and Hyrum M. Smith. To them, he offered a third suggestion—that the newly opened reservation lands, then a part of Wasatch Stake, be transferred instead to Uintah Stake, over which Smart must by then have known he would soon preside. The apostles approved the change, and then formally informed Smart he would replace Bennion.

Reforming a Brother

The Uintah Stake conference convened on June 2. Smart's report was matter-of-fact: "The former Presidency of the stake and High Council were honorably released, Pres. Bennion having serve for about 20 years and now being crippled with rheumatism, and I was installed as his successor.[68] I named no counsellors desiring to have a little time to become acquainted and to consider." Musser was among the twelve men named to the High Council, and Smart also made him presiding elder over the parts of the reservation not covered by organized wards or branches. That meant nearly everywhere, since Ashley Valley, the only site of organized units, had never been part of the reservation.

Smart's reason for the delay in naming counselors soon became apparent; he wanted to get his brother involved. On August 4, he went to Logan to "solicit him to go to the Uintah Stake to live and assist in building up the country." For years, Thomas's indifference toward the church had been a deep concern to his brother. As a reformed smoker and drinker himself, William had pleaded with his brother to give up these habits. Thomas had become even wealthier than William in the sheep business, and was a stalwart in the Cache Valley community. He was president of the First National Bank of Logan, and had built the first pipeline down Logan Canyon to water the lands he owned on the Logan bench. Later, the Utah State Agricultural College gymnasium bore his name as the major contributor.

Giving up this life to pioneer in the desolate Uintah Basin could not have appealed to him. But, on November 5, 1903, while on a sheep-shipping trip, he had a vision that turned his life around. He was shown the fearsome result if he continued his current way of life, and the rewards—including becoming "very wealthy"—if he repented.[69] His letter to William telling of the epiphany concluded with these words: "I must do something and I feel

68. See also Journal History of the Church, June 2, 1906.
69. Smart's journal of November 9, 1903, contains the letter in full. It is published in this volume as appendix A.

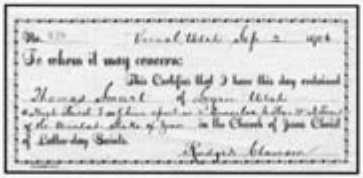
SMART 1906

Officers of the Uintah Stake of Zion

William Henry Smart - President

Harden Bennion - 1st Counselor

Thomas Smart jr. - 2nd Counselor



No. [illegible] Vernal, Utah Sep. 2 1906

To whom it may concern:

This Certifies that I have this day ordained Thomas Smart of Ogden, Utah unto the third Seventy of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles of the Uintah Stake of Zion in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Rudger Clawson

Rudger Clawson - L.D.S. Apostle

Uintah Stake Presidency

too weak myself. I will have to have help from you and the Almighty." So he was prepared to accept his brother's call to join him as second counselor in the Uintah Stake Presidency. Harden Bennion, an early Vernal rancher, became first counselor.

It didn't work out, though. Within eight months, Thomas was back in Logan, because, as William Smart put it, "on account of his health and business conditions he cannot now spend much time in Uintah Stake."[70] Likely there were other reasons. One may have been his first bitter memory of Uinta Basin winters; he knew how harsh they could be.

In 1878, as a twenty-four-year-old getting established in the livestock business, he and a fifteen-year-old herder, William P. Ellsworth, drove a herd of cattle to winter on the White River east of Ouray. That was outright trespass on the reservation, but that was the least of their problems. Ellsworth's job, among others, was to keep water holes open on the White and Green rivers—a desperate task in cold so intense the ice reached a thickness of thirty-three inches. The bitter winter of 1878–79 killed every head of cattle, and Thomas returned to Franklin, once again broke.[71]

So rugged frontier life as his brother's counselor held no appeal for him; he no doubt felt he could accomplish more managing his many business affairs in a more hospitable climate. In any event, he was released on July 9 and remained one of Logan's honored citizens. His conversion stuck, though, and he remained in full church fellowship, as testified by two apostles, John A. Widtsoe and Melvin J. Ballard, at his funeral in 1922.[72]

The other counselor, Bennion, was released a month after Thomas Smart because, he told President Smith, "his wife's mental condition was such that she cannot live here."[73] They were replaced by Don B. Colton and Joseph Hardy,[74] both of whom would serve to the end of Smart's Uintah Stake presidency. Colton would, in fact, succeed him as president.

With his conviction that he was entitled to and received divine guidance in such matters, Smart managed a positive spin: "I feel that there was no mistake in the choosing of my former counselors and that I have had this time to acquaint myself with my present ones and with other material. I feel that the Lord is directing matters and in spite of our short comings His purposes will be consummated."[75]

During the early part of Smart's organization of his new stake, he was also still presiding over his old one. It took more than two months for the

70. Ibid., April 4, 1907.
71. Doris Karren Burton, *Settlements of Uintah County: Digging Deeper* (Vernal, UT: Uintah County Library, 1998), 301.
72. Charles Rich Smart and Robert Foss Hansen, *Thomas Smart, a Son of the Mountains* (Salt Lake City: privately printed, 1992), 33, copy in possession of the author.
73. Smart, Journals, August 25, 1907.
74. Journal History of the Church, December 2, 1905.
75. Smart, Journals, August 28, 1907.

General Authorities to get around to releasing him and installing a new presidency of Wasatch Stake. Normally, when a man is released from a church position, he has little if any part in choosing his successor, and none in choosing the new counselors and High Council. That is the prerogative of the new president, with the approval of whatever authority is doing the reorganizing. The Wasatch Stake reorganization was different, in ways that demonstrated the dominance of Smart's leadership.

Two apostles, Francis M. Lyman, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, and Orson F. Whitney, the quorum's newest member, were in charge of reorganizing the Wasatch Stake presidency, but Smart played a major role. He recommended his counselor, Joseph R. Murdock, to succeed him, and the apostles agreed. Then Smart met with the apostles and Murdock to choose Murdock's counselors, James C. Jensen and Edward Clyde. Then he met with Murdock, Jensen, and Clyde to choose the High Council and other stake officers. In his remarks to the conference, Apostle Lyman said he had never seen such a process before, but commended highly what was done.[76]

Having performed what he apparently felt was his duty to see that the transfer of authority was done right, and with his former stake in hands he himself approved, Smart was ready to leave Wasatch Valley behind. On August 18, he recorded that at "about 11 a.m. we left Heber for Vernal James Holfetz of Midway driving the commisary. Our family road in our white topped spring wagon. The freight wagons from Vernal are still being loaded by Jos. E. D. Tomlinson. I left my home in the hands of the Wasatch Development Co. to be rented or sold."

For the next sixteen years, as president, in turn, of the Uinta Basin's first three Mormon stakes, he would live in and labor to settle and develop Utah's last frontier lands.

76. Ibid., August 11 and 12, 1906.

Eight

The Vernal Years

Uintah Stake, William H. Smart's new responsibility, was hardly a bastion of Mormondom. It consisted of a single ward—the Ashley Ward in Vernal—and outlying units in the tiny Mormon clusters at Glines, Jensen, Maeser, and Naples. The "Uintah Stake Manuscript History" refers to those units as "wards," but explains that "in reality they were only districts of the Ashley Ward."

That seems like small progress in the nineteen years since the stake was organized, but Ashley Valley was definitely not Mormon country. Because of its isolation and the negative reports by explorers, Brigham Young had declined to issue a call to colonize the Uintah Basin, and most of the early settlers in this eastern edge of it, not part of the Indian reservation, were non-Mormon stockmen, cowboys, mining prospectors, and drifters. The Wild Bunch outlaw trail to Browns Park, sixty miles to the north on the Green River, led through Ashley Valley, and outlaws found hospitality and horse-trading opportunities among the area's sympathetic ranchers.

Historian Dale Morgan's account of the first commercial establishment in what became the town of Vernal tells something of the challenge of establishing Mormonism there.

> Settled in the late 1870s, Vernal was plenty tough. The first saloon, a heavy plank laid across two water barrels, opened for business with five gallons of whisky. According to custom, the first round was "on the house." Thereafter, everybody took a turn at bartending, with drinks dispensed by the same philanthropic arrangement. When the proprietor came to the next morning his gross returns amounted to 1 hang-over. The second saloon fared no better; the bartender demanded cash for every drink, but his unsold stock, apparently too well "rectified," froze in the bottles.[1]

1. Morgan, *Utah: A Guide*, 376.

Pardon Dodds, Indian subagent at the Whiterocks agency, became Ashley Valley's first white settler when he and Morris Evans drove several hundred head of cattle to winter just east of the reservation boundary. He built the valley's first cabin on Ashley Creek, four miles north of present Vernal, in the fall of 1873, established a trading post in it, and the next spring dug the first irrigation ditch and planted the first crops.

The first Mormon settler, Robert Snyder, located a ranch nearby and moved the first family into the valley in 1876. In 1878 his son, Robert Ashley Snyder, became the first white child born in Ashley Valley. Thomas Bingham, a Mormon Battalion veteran, led a few Mormon families in a dozen wagons to settle on the Green River thirteen miles southeast of Vernal in 1877, and in 1878 Jeremiah Hatch, son of Wasatch Stake president Abram Hatch, took up the first claim in what is now Vernal. David Johnston built the first house there, and Jeremiah Hatch the second.[2]

In 1880, Ashley Valley's 136 residents petitioned the Territorial Legislature for their own county, citing the 150 miles of often impassable road between them and their Wasatch county seat in Heber. The legislature quickly responded, creating Uintah County the same year, with the county seat in Ashley. The new county was organized into three precincts—Ashley, White River, and Browns Park—but that didn't last. White River was deleted because it was on the reservation, and Browns Park never functioned as a precinct, because in the lawlessness of that isolated sanctuary "none could be found who were willing to act as officers."[3]

Survival was not easy. The same 1878–79 winter that destroyed Thomas Smart's cattle herd brought starving times to Ashley Valley. The snow was so deep that winter, the "Uintah Stake Manuscript History" reported, that mail reached the valley only once a month, on snowshoes. "By spring not a speck of anything left in the valley fit to eat. Nearly all stock died, including milk cows, and scarcely enough teams to run the burr mill, which was run by horse power; the brethren had to pull the mill themselves to save the teams."[4]

High Hopes

But the settlers hung on, and by 1881 a communication from the valley published in the Deseret Evening News advised prospective homesteaders

2. The early settlement of Ashley Valley is described in Vernal, Utah, Uintah Stake Manuscript History and Historical Reports, microfilm, call #LR 9493 2, LDS Church Archives. See also Doris Karren Burton, *A History of Uintah County: Scratching the Surface*, Utah Centennial County History (Utah State Historical Society and Uintah County Commission, 1996), 84–90.
3. Vernal, Uintah Stake Manuscript History.
4. Vernal, Uintah Stake Manuscript History. The "burr mill" was created by William G. Reynolds by chiseling and grinding out two large boulders about 18 inches in diameter, to produce "exceedingly coarse" graham flour.

that there was plenty of wood, water, coal, and excellent land—"plenty of room yet for good families to settle and build up comfortable homes." The paper acknowledged certain disadvantages, however, among them "a liability to have stock run off by cattle thieves." As is generally the case with newly settled places, the News continued with undisguised Mormon disapproval that "some of the scum of older settled localities has floated there and a renegade has opened a whiskey mill, which is occasionally the scene of riot and fighting."[5] By 1887, enough Mormons had infiltrated the valley that apostles John Henry Smith and John W. Taylor created the Uintah Stake—the church's thirtieth—from what had been the extreme eastern edge of Wasatch Stake. Samuel R. Bennion was installed as stake president. The stake history says little of what was said or done at that important event, but notes Bennion's concern about the practice of young women "banging their hair," regarding it as "a token of lost virtue and immoral lives."[6] Despite that grievous moral lapse, the settlers looked to the future with an optimism fanned by land hunger and local boosterism. In language appropriate for a chamber of commerce promotional brochure, the "Uintah Stake Manuscript History" spoke of a "climate unsurpassed in the world," of summer heat tempered by cool mountain breezes, of winters "remarkable by reason of the almost total absence of wind," of thousands of acres of land still unappropriated, and water enough to irrigate hundreds of acres of good land in Ashley Valley, "one of the garden spots of the west." And there was more:

> Being about 200 miles from Salt Lake City and 300 miles from Denver it will probably be the end of a freight and passenger division. Of the rich undeveloped sections along the line of the new railroad there is none that offers more varied opportunities for the investor or home seeker than the country tributary to Vernal, and there is no place on earth where the return will be more secure.[7]

A Tabernacle in the Wilderness

The railroad didn't come, then or ever, and returns proved anything but secure. But the misguided belief that it would arrive, coupled with typical Mormon dedication and faith, led them to undertake what seems—and almost was—an insurmountable task. Within months after the stake's organization in July 1886, while many of its members were living in rude log cabins or dugouts, the new presidency and high council determined that the Mormons in one small ward and a few scattered branches would build a stake tabernacle in Vernal. They appointed a committee to select and

5. *Deseret Evening News,* December 29, 1881.
6. Vernal, Uintah Stake Manuscript History, July 7, 1886, and May 8, 1887.
7. Ibid., undated.

secure a site, but in that impoverished area it took fourteen years to raise enough money to break ground in April 1900. Construction was do-it-yourself, using local materials and voluntary labor.

Foundation stone was quarried in Steinaker Draw at the mouth of Dry Fork Canyon. Sand and gravel were hauled with teams and wagons sixteen miles from the Green River near Jensen. Some 300,000 bricks were made from native clay fired in kilns near the tabernacle site. Timber from the Uinta Mountains was shaped into lumber at a sawmill on the block north of the building site. Wooden columns holding up the balcony were plastered, papered, and painted to resemble marble.

By late August 1902, the building was far enough along that meetings were held, on a temporary floor. But with money, energy, and perhaps enthusiasm exhausted, work slowed almost to a halt, and when William H. Smart succeeded Bennion as stake president four years later, the tabernacle stood unfinished.

Finishing it and getting it dedicated became one of his first priorities. Action soon followed. The youth organization of the Vernal Ward sponsored a Thanksgiving Day dinner as a benefit for the tabernacle fund, at twenty-five cents a plate, with the food donated. Smart's journal doesn't record how much money was raised, but he notes that his family did its part: "We all went paying $2.25. They also sold aprons, we bot two for 60 cents. Donated $1.00 worth of chickens."[8]

Somewhat more effective was his ready access to the First Presidency. Smart's journal does not indicate when he asked for funds, but his unique calling to assist Mormon colonization of a vast section of country undoubtedly helped loosen the church's tight purse strings. On February 23, 1907, he was able to record: "First Presidency has appropriated through our solicitation about $6500 to the Tabernacle fund to assist in its completion."

The baptistry in the building's basement had been finished by then, and the first baptisms were performed there in January. Porter Merrill's was one of the first. As he recalled at age ninety-eight: "We kids had to carry water to fill the font. John N. Davis was to do the baptizing. When he felt the water he said, 'Wow! That's cold! I'm going home and get my waders,' and he did. When he returned he got into the water and told us, 'Come on in, boys, it's not that bad.'"[9]

With the First Presidency's infusion of capital, work moved swiftly, and on July 25 a formal invitation went to President Joseph F. Smith "and such other brethren and sisters as he desires to bring, to our next quarterly Conference when the new stake tabernacle is to be dedicated." President Smith arrived on August 22 with his wife Julina and his son, Apostle Hyrum M. Smith, traveling over the Book Cliffs on the spectacular narrow-gauge railroad from

8. Smart, Journals, November 29, 1906.
9. Porter Merrill, interview with the author, Duchesne, Utah, January 30, 1997.

The Vernal Tabernacle, dedication day, 1907

Mack, Colorado, and then sixty-three miles by stage to a ferry on the Green River. There, Smart and a party—including former stake president Samuel R. Bennion—met the visitors, crossed with them on the ferry, enjoyed lunch under the trees, and drove on toward Vernal. At the tiny hamlet of Naples, Smart recorded, the ward's bishopric gathered in the road in front of the meeting house with their Sunday-school children, sang to the president, and had the once-in-a-lifetime privilege of shaking hands with him.[10]

In a pre-conference meeting of the stake presidency, high council, bishoprics, and stake quorum presidencies, the building committee gave its final report, showing the cost of the tabernacle was $37,000, and turned over the keys to Smart. President Smith's dedication of the tabernacle, during the conference sessions conducted by Smart the next day, was preceded by historical and reminiscence speeches by former stake president Samuel R. Bennion and others. The floor and gallery were crowded, Smart reported, and "the people generally are pleased with the house."[11]

10. Smart, Journals, August 25, 1907.
11. Ibid., August 24, 1907. The Vernal Tabernacle, built with such effort and sacrifice, was destined to fill a unique role in the LDS Church. It served the people of Ashley Valley for many years, but by the 1980s had fallen into disuse. Proposals to tear it down alarmed many members, and in 1984 a committee began a drive to raise funds to save the

Anna Haines Smart

Up Close With a Prophet—and His Wife

Smart's youngest son Joseph, then seven, remembered the historic visit more vividly and intimately. Writing in the third person, he recounted this charming tale.

> One of the amenities which the Smart family lacked in their first Vernal house (rented while the grand, new one was abuilding) was indoor plumbing. On this early morning Joseph was ensconced on one of the apertures which distinguished the two-hole privy standing a discreet distance behind the house. The unlatched door flew open and this friendly apparition flew in and, with upflinging of skirts, settled upon the other throne.
>
> "Hello there, I'm Sister Smith, what's your name?" Upon hearing that he was Joseph Smart, she said, "Oh yes, President Smart's little boy. You must have been named after the Prophet Joseph." "No," he confessed, "after Joseph who was sold into Egypt." "And do you have a coat of many colors? Come, you shall meet President Smith."
>
> Thus persuaded that, married to this warm and earthy woman, the Prophet could be no more than mortal, he took the proffered hand and returned to the house to meet the Prophet, Seer and Revelator of the Church. Joseph was to conclude later that he was one of a select few who had seen a prophet in his shirt tails, braces dangling; but on that morning he was captivated by the grave dignity and undivided attention with which the great man greeted a little boy.[12]

Rather than return home by rail, President Smith wanted to see the reservation lands over which Smart had labored so assiduously for Mormon settlement. With Smart at the reins in his own carriage, they drove to Roosevelt for a meeting with members in the town's unfinished schoolhouse. The next day they proceeded to Myton, where President Smith "spoke favorably of the location of Roosevelt and Myton," then on to Theodore (Duchesne) for a meeting in the town hall. There the Theodore Branch was made a ward, the first on the former reservation. Smart's efforts to bring Alva M. Murdock, the one-time backslider, into church service were rewarded when Murdock was called as bishop of the new ward and ordained a high priest by President Smith, with Smart assisting.[13]

Murdock had taken the first essential step seven months earlier, on February 6, when Smart was about to set him apart in the Theodore Branch presidency. "Wait a minute," Murdock said. "I've never been baptized!" "That won't take

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building. Little was done, however, and the tabernacle continued to deteriorate until, in 1993, church president Gordon B. Hinckley determined that the old building would be used as the basis of a new temple. After extensive—and expensive—remodeling, it was dedicated on November 2, 1997, the fifty-first temple in the church, the tenth in Utah, and the first to be built in a renovated structure. *Deseret News 2005 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City, 2005), 554.

12. J. H. Smart, "Fringe Benefits," 9.
13. Smart, Journals, August 27, 1907.

long," Smart replied. They chopped a hole through the ice of the Duchesne River and took care of that.[14] The event was marred when Murdock's daughter Dora broke through the ice and was pulled out by Smart's brother. Despite that mishap, Smart felt "much inward, quiet joy in my heart, and after changing my clothes I lay upon my bed and wept under this influence." In that infant community, leadership was in short supply, and the newly baptized convert went on to become a faithful church leader and an active participant in Smart's efforts to make the Uintah Basin Mormon country.

Following the Duchesne meeting, Murdock conveyed the president and his party over the mountain to the railroad at Heber, while Smart returned to Vernal where he summarized the week's events, the prophetic hope for a bright future, and his own responsibilities in attaining that future.

> Thus ended one of the most important events in my life and in the history of the Uinta basin. Never before has a member of the First Presidency visited this land. In his speeches and dedicatory prayer at Vernal, in his address at Roosevelt, and in pronouncing the benediction at Theodore he (Pres Smith) blessed the land, the water and the elements and the people to the end that the land would give up its barrenness and become fruitful & would be so if the people would keep the statutes of the Lord upon it. He was surprised at the vastness of the country and remarked of the opportunities here for the people. He felt that the Church school should be maintained and that a new building should be erected. He consented for a Stake and tithing office to be built during 1908, advised that farms and gardens be well tilled & kept from weeds, that modern improvements be had in cities, that people build together in towns & cities and not scatter. Vernal should pave its walks and streets. People should get all land and natural resources they can righteously & hold for saints & children & for the building of Zion. We should afford non members their rights & maintain ours. Was pleased with Tabernacle and with what he saw generally excepting weeds. But he suggested also good fences & good houses & to get out of log houses just as fast as possible. Told people they had a good man in Pres. Smart and they should rally around him. He approved of my buying farm and building home & establishing myself.[15]

Smart was unquestionably a "good man," as evidenced by his untiring willingness to wear out his life and wealth in what he considered the Lord's work. But his frequent journal entries reporting praise by others, particularly church authorities, and the almost total absence of entries putting himself in a bad light begs a question. Does this reflect a need for self-assurance, perhaps due to guilt about his early lifestyle? Or was it simply the natural human desire to protect his image in the eyes of future generations who might read the journals?

14. Merrill interview.
15. Smart, Journals, August 28, 1907.

President Smith's promise to the people about the future of the Uintah Basin raises another point. Much of what President Smith requested and promised became reality. But it's debatable whether the fact that vast areas of the basin never gave up their barrenness or became fruitful reflects a less-than-total obedience to the statutes of the Lord.

Building the Infrastructure

In addition to an unfinished tabernacle, Smart found his new stake delinquent in other ways. "The stake correspondence has not been uniformally cared for," he complained to his journal, "no files having been used. The stake minutes and history etc. have not been copied regularly. Especially is this so with quite a number of years in the early history of the stake. We arranged with the stake clerk, assisted by Pres. Bennion and all exclerks, to proceed at once and complete the Stake history up to the time of the new reorganization of the stake."[16]

There's little evidence that that was done. What did result was several pages of "history" that were essentially a summary of Smart's activities up to that point in colonizing the reservation lands. In words probably written or at least closely supervised by him, he described those activities in the most positive terms possible, and left not the slightest doubt that he perceived and welcomed his mission to settle Mormons on the land, rather than "those not of our faith and particularly those who were avowed enemies." All that he and his associates had done, the history declared,

> was done in order to become familiar with the resources of the country, and to be in a position to more fully assist in the immediate development of the same and also to guard the real settlers against the land-grabbers and the grafters, and to assist in the general development of the Wasatch Stake through the acquisition of this added territory. This movement on the part of the presiding officers of the Wasatch Stake grew into what came to be known as the Wasatch Development Company whose business was especially to help the settlers to locate on their claims and file upon the waters of the different streams, so that the settlers would not have to pay extreme prices for the locating of their lands and filing upon the water. . . . Thus the Wasatch Development Company did splendid service in making it possible for the poor man, as well as the rich, to secure land and water claims rather than being robbed by lawyers and others.
>
> During April, May, June 1906 several irrigation companies were organized and work was commenced in earnest to bring the waters of the Duchesne, the Strawberry, Lake Fork and Uintah rivers out upon the lands. Pres. Smart took particular interest in these organizations and felt the Latter day Saints should not hold back and let those not of the faith,

16. Ibid., September 13, 1906.

> and particularly those who were avowed enemies, get control of these companies when many of the Saints were interested.[17]

The history reported the organization of the Dry Gulch, Rocky Point, Blue Bench, and Duchesne irrigation companies, and concluded that "had it not been for the good services of the Wasatch Development Company these other companies would have had to pay tremendous prices for filing on the waters named. As it was, the Wasatch Development gave their services almost free, asking no more than the simple expenses occured from advertising, etc."[18]

In arid country like the Uintah Basin, water is the most critical need. Under the law opening the reservation, the federal government was charged with protecting Indian resources, especially water. Its success in doing so against the energetic and proactive efforts of developers like Smart was not impressive. In a series of condemnation lawsuits in state courts, white settlers won the right to dig irrigation canals across Indian allotments. Despite the protests of Indian agents and other officials, it was not until 1912 that the federal government was given the right to sue in federal courts to protect Indian water rights, and not until the following year that such a suit was actually filed, against the Dry Gulch Irrigation Company.[19]

Clearly, Smart had made securing water rights for his fellow-Mormons his first priority. Next came the task of organizing the development of the lands that water would serve. "Much of my time and thought now and for the last several weeks," he reported to his journal on November 19, 1906, "have been spent in the consideration of how best to proceed toward the further settling and developing of the Uinta Basin temporally & spiritually." How he went about making and executing plans to do that demonstrates the self-confident, decisive, effective, expeditious way this forty-five-year-old man was operating at this stage of his life. No doubt a factor in that self-confidence was the way his own business affairs were prospering. Smart & Webster Livestock, for example, declared a 60 percent gain and a 50 percent dividend that year. Smart was no longer running the company, but his $10,000 in stock was now worth $15,000.

On November 23, having settled in his own mind on a course of action, he met with his stake presidency and "decided to organize four realty and promotion companies to operate in respective portions of Uintah Basin." Three days after that,

> we called together the following brethren as representatives to consider temporal organizations: Wm H Smart, Harden Bennion, Thomas Smart, Ward E. Pack Sen., Don B. Colton, Ephraim Lambert, Hyrum Baird, Barr W. Musser. We laid general provinces of Co. before them to be to deal

17. Vernal, Uintah Stake Manuscript History, undated.
18. Vernal, Uintah Stake Manuscript History, undated.
19. Burton, *History of Uintah County,* 38–39.

> in real Estate used to colonize, loan, promote industries etc. Endorsed. We then suggested forming of four companies viz. 1) Western portion of Uinta Basin from Wasatch Co. line to about Lake Fork [this would be in Duchesne, to be organized by Joseph W. and Barr W. Musser], 2) from here East in Dry Gulch region [in Roosevelt under Ward E. Peck and Hyrum Baird], 3) South of Duchesne & on down to region of Green River [the Ouray country, under Thomas Smart and Ephraim Lambert], 4) Ashley Valley and on East to Colorado line [Vernal, under S. R. Bennion and Harden Bennion]. Ratified.[20]

Each company could organize and modify Smart's suggested articles of incorporation as it wished, but only, he made it clear, in accord with the stake presidency.

There was to be no dallying. Barely two weeks later, he and his brother met with Baird, Pack, and Reuben S. Collett to organize the Roosevelt Realty Company. Capital was to be $25,000, to be raised through shares of $100 each. Smart was made president and subscribed to five shares for $500. Three years later, having become the principal stockholder but wanting to "concentrate more in hands of local brethren," he sold $2,500 of stock to Bishop Dan Lambert, so Lambert could replace him as company president. He had the satisfaction of declaring a 12 percent dividend that year.[21] Two other development companies soon followed—the Uintah Abstract and Realty Company in Vernal on January 17, 1907, with former stake president Samuel R. Bennion as president, and the Theodore (Duchesne) Realty Company on September 18, 1907, with newly installed bishop Alva Murdock as president.

Settlement of lands to the south and east was slower, but before Smart left his stake presidency in Vernal to become president of the new Duchesne Stake in 1910, he had the satisfaction of organizing the fourth company he had envisioned. It was the Uintah Realty and Investment Company, to help settlers locate in Ouray Valley and in the desolate country between the Green and White rivers.[22]

Smart had more on his mind, of course, than water and land companies. He also had a stake to run, although to him water and land affairs were essential in how he perceived his duties as stake president—as president of both temporal and spiritual affairs. During the month of December in 1906, he held ward conferences in Vernal and the four tiny wards of Jensen, Naples, Glines, and Maeser. At all except Jensen, he found it necessary to reorganize bishoprics with new counselors—not an easy task when leadership potential was so thin. "Word of Wisdom poorly observed," he grumbled.[23]

20. Smart, Journals, November 26, 1906.
21. Ibid., May 3, 1910.
22. Ibid., March 3, 1910.
23. Ibid., December 2, 9, 14, 23, and 30, 1906.

In January, he set out to organize a branch in Theodore (Duchesne), but "owing to the drifting snow and head wind" had to stop twelve miles short of his destination. The next day he created the branch and "encouraged them not to get discontented and turn towards former homes—especially wives and children." To make the point, he reminded them of what happened to Lot's wife when she turned—or at least looked—back.[24]

Exploring the Backcountry

In March, after a few days in Salt Lake City attending board of directors' meetings of the Utah National Bank and Salt Lake Knitting Works, he went exploring, one of many such trips during his Uinta Basin years. In a mule-drawn single buggy, he and stake clerk Reuben S. Collett set out for the desolate and uninhabited lands west and south of Vernal. After stopping in Myton to ordain Alva Murdock an elder, urging him to go to the temple with his wife and family and writing them recommends to do so ("I feel to praise the Lord for this another step in his advancement"), they drove over the tablelands to the south and camped in a tent with some elaterite miners.

The next day, heading southeast ("felt that a canal should come from Duchesne & Strawberry Rivers covering this section south of Duchesne River to Green River"), they arrived at Ouray on the Green River. There, he wrote, he "lay out without bedding at an old vacant Indian house. Had camp fire outside, and did not suffer."[25] Although in his stoicism he didn't admit to suffering, it was probably that night he caught a "severe cold on lungs" that plagued him for more than a month.

The two men ferried the Green River at Ouray and inspected the land north of the White River. There they learned more about the nature of the country: "crossing a broad flat of Green river bottom . . . we got into heaviest mud I ever experienced. Balled up our wheels until they looked like thick solid chariot wheels. Mules got down and we had some difficulty in getting out but finally succeeded."

Back across the Green River, they inspected the triangular-shaped expanse of land between the Green and Duchesne rivers—where Leota and Pelican Lake now lie—and felt that "our people" should file on it, resolving that when he returned to Vernal he would see that this was done. On the last day of his week-long exploration he climbed a high hill, looked over the basin, and confirmed how he felt the Mormon settlement should be organized. "The great difficulty," he wrote, "is obtaining men fitted for work and people to colonize."[26]

Still suffering from his cold, he attended the church's annual general conference, praying that the Lord would inspire President Joseph F. Smith

24. Ibid., January 19–20, 1907.
25. Ibid., March 11, 1907.
26. Ibid., March 12–15, 1907.

to ask him to speak. Apparently the Lord did, and Smart reported on the Uintah Stake, "giving a brief account of its past history and described its present status and its resources and advantages for home seekers. The Lord blessed me with a fair degree of self possession and freedom of speech for which I felt grateful."

His forty-fifth birthday, on April 6, fell during the conference, and with it came what seems to have been mid-life introspection about work undone and yet to be done. "Through my illness and my deep thoughts on my life's work," he wrote, "I was thrown in a very deep gloom but after pouring out my soul unto God the cloud lifted and I have been feeling much better. My great desire is to go on and fill my life up with good works and succeed in my family relations and be true to my church covenants."[27]

That there was still plenty to do he was reminded in a special priesthood meeting the next day where it was reported that his stake was "below average." His response was typical: "I resolved to assist in correcting same in future."

During the remaining months of 1907, he worked hard at it, planning a building for the Uintah Stake Academy, seeing to the dedication of the new tabernacle, ministering to, counseling, and exhorting the members, presiding and speaking at ward conferences, and searching for adequate leadership. During this period, as noted previously, he found it necessary to reorganize his own stake presidency. Don B. Colton, his new first counselor, he described as "scholarly, a lawyer, deliberate, disposed to follow in a measure and yet is capable of leadership, is humble and conservative." Joseph H. Hardy, his second counselor, was "quick . . . daring & a little inclined to venture . . . self-assertive and positive yet desiring to be humble."[28]

Putting Down Roots

Meanwhile, there were the needs of his own family. Heeding the counsel of President Smith, "for the good of my family and as an example to the public," he purchased a 45-acre farm ("considered one of the best farms here") on the outskirts of Vernal, and commissioned his two oldest sons, sixteen-year-old William and fourteen-year-old Thomas Laurence, to harvest the crops.[29] A month later, he and his family laid the first bricks on their Vernal home, on the corner of 300 West 100 South, two blocks east of the tabernacle. His account of that event says much about the importance he placed on tradition and ritual.

> This morning about 9:30 O.C. myself, wife Anna and all of our children laid the first brick of our new home. . . . I lay the first brick at the northwest corner, Anna the North East, Bessie the South East, William the South

27. Ibid., April 7, 1907.
28. Ibid., September 6, 1907.
29. Ibid., July 8, 1907.

> West, Edna, then laid one next to mine, Joseph next to wife Anna's, daughter Anna's next to Bessie's. Laurence would have come next to William in the routine according to age but he was a little late having been sent for a load of lime. I then laid one at the northwest corner on top of the one I and Edna laid, binding them together. Thus the family were all present and united in laying the first brick in the first house we have erected.[30]

After a remarkably short four months, on December 21 the family moved into the fine two-story brick house, the first dwelling in the Uinta Basin with indoor plumbing. As was so often the case in their family affairs, the move—and probably supervision of the home's construction—was handled not by the often-absent stake president and empire builder, but by his patient and long-suffering wife.

"The transfer has been done without confusion and without very much inconvenience," he noted, briefly acknowledging her efforts. "My wife Anna has kept fairly well and has managed quite successfully. Tonight the family sleep for the first time again under our own roof."[31] Characteristically, the family's togetherness that first night under their own roof did not include the father. Halfway through move-in day, he left for a two-day ward conference in Jensen.

The dedication of a new home is a long-standing Mormon custom. Usually it is a private family affair, but Smart, considering that his new home was Vernal's finest, thought in larger terms. Choosing New Year's Day as a good time for new beginnings, he invited all stake officials and bishops and their wives, together with a few other special guests, for what he called a "semi-official occasion," and assigned the stake clerk to record minutes of the event. They included an opening congregational song, prayer, a male quartet, Smart's welcome ("He bade all be free and feel at home. Stated that as he is the servant of the people, so this house is the home of the people"), and his dedicatory prayer. That was followed by testimonies of a dozen attendees who "expressed their gratitude to God and their appreciation of Pres. Smart and wife." A violin and piano duet, a piano solo, another congregational song, and a benediction concluded the services. This being a Mormon event, "refreshments were served and all enjoyed a social chat."

In his journal, Smart expressed his satisfaction and put the entire matter in what he felt was the proper context: "I, with the entire congregation, felt that the spirit of the Lord was with us and that our offering was acceptable to Him. I thank Him for placing the means in my hands to erect this building for our use and trust that we may show our appreciation in our good works."[32] He and his family would spend less than three years in this, the largest and finest home they would ever occupy. In September 1910, his

30. Ibid., August 15, 1907.
31. Ibid., December 21, 1907.
32. Ibid., January 1, 1908.

calling to pioneer a new stake would mean another move, and the eventual sale of the home. In the mid-1970s, it fell to the wrecking ball.

The new year brought Smart's first expression of concern about his finances: "In making up my annual accounts and estimating the probable worth of my assets the accounts show a loss of $2359.12. This is caused through my moving into this new country and my not engaging in pursuits to make money but rather investing in projects of public benefit from which returns will not be realized at present."

This is his first recorded acknowledgment of losses that would eventually leave him in poverty. Many of the returns he hoped for never materialized. Some of the loans he made to individuals to get them established in the enterprises he built were never repaid. But that was in the future. For now, one response was for Anna to go to work teaching in the Uintah Stake Academy, "to assist in covering home expenses she feeling that she would prefer doing a moderate amount of such mental work and less of physical."[33]

Travels With Mary

For several years, Smart's labors had been strenuous and almost unremitting, despite a state of health that was never robust. So it is not surprising that he requested and "obtained from the First Presidency [a] leave of absence for a season to visit my family in Salt Lake and rest from the strain of my duties."[34] What is surprising is where, with whom, and for how long he took that leave.

On January 1, "after turning the affairs of the stake over to my counselors and those of my home over to wife Anna and sons," he took the stage to Dragon and stopped at the Uintah Railroad hotel. The next day it was over the Book Cliffs on the narrow-gauge Uintah Railroad and on to the home of his second wife, Mary, in Salt Lake City. For two weeks he read, shopped, visited friends and family there and in Logan, and generally rested.

Then, instead of returning to his labors, he recorded on January 30 that "Mary and I decided to take a trip to California for a rest, health and mutual enjoyment." The next day he "called on the First Presidency and suggested my trip to coast to which they consented with blessings." Presumably, he informed Anna of the new plan, but does not mention it or any consent, much less blessings, she may or may not have given.

The trip was no weekend or even two-week getaway. They were gone for almost two months, most of it spent on San Diego's Coronado Island, as recommended by his travel-wise brother Thomas. They rented a three-room apartment ($15 a month) and settled in to enjoy the "genial & temperate" climate, the "various soul-stirring beauties and the exuberating sea air," the "still and starry" nights, the mocking birds that "have warbled their tuneful

33. Ibid., January 11, 1908.
34. Ibid., January 16, 1908.

lays every morning as heralders of day," the "luscious fruits as raisins, figs, dates, oranges, lemons, etc." Especially impressive to him was the Coronado Hotel, which he describes at length as "the crowning glory of this peaceful Sabbath-like spot of rest."[35] For the most part, he wrote, "our visit has been a continued pleasure and we feel mutually full of gratitude to God for this first uninterrupted visit together in such a paradise spot." Absent is any mention of gratitude to Anna—or any thought of her at all—for handling things at home during the long, grim Uintah Basin winter.

After visits to "Tia Jona" across the border in Mexico, Los Angeles ("we are favorably impressed with the city which has about 300,000 population"), Riverside ("one of the leading orange sections of State . . . we could view them in every direction"), San Bernardino, and Redlands ("of all the places we have seen this appeals to me as most beautiful"), they finally reached Salt Lake City on April 1, "it being two months lacking two days since we left."

Unaccountably, he still delayed in returning to Vernal. For eighteen days he attended general conference, consulted with general authorities, and visited family and friends in Logan, Provo, and Heber. Finally, on April 18, he "arrived home this evening finding all well." Anna's reaction to this three-and-a-half-month "rest from the strain of my duties" was not recorded.

Not that she was unaccustomed to being left alone to care for the family. Throughout his Uintah Basin ministry, Smart was often absent on business or development matters, or on extended trips to establish units of the church and search out townsites for the settlements he hoped would flourish there. In the first years he traveled in style, in a buggy pulled by two handsome bay mules. Later, as his finances dwindled, he rode horseback, and finally on a mule said to be so small his long legs almost reached the ground.

A week-long trip in the heat of August in 1908 was typical. On the first day after traveling the forty miles to Roosevelt, he organized a Sunday school, the primal Mormon church unit, at Cedar View, eight miles northwest of Roosevelt, and then drove south to Ioka and organized another. In each case, he had to interview any men available for leadership—as often as not the *only* adult Mormon male—and set apart the chosen one as Sunday-school superintendent. The next day it was on to Boneta to repeat the process. In the next two days, he found a cabin occupied by a Brother White on the Duchesne River twenty miles upstream of Duchesne, and another cabin occupied by a Brother Rose fourteen miles downstream. He organized Sunday schools in each. In both, the unsuspecting and probably nonplussed cabin owner was made Sunday-school superintendent.

35. Ibid., March 22, 1908. The Coronado Hotel, built in 1888, is now listed as a National Historic Landmark. It has been called one of the world's top ten resort hotels and the nation's number one wedding destination.

Uintah's Banking and Media Baron

Besides control of water and land development, and the establishment of church units in every tiny hamlet, Smart felt that two other elements were essential to achieve his objective of making the area Mormon country: control of or a major influence in the flow of money, and control of or a major influence in shaping public opinion. That meant owning a bank and a newspaper—or, as it turned out, several.

When Smart arrived as stake president, the Bank of Vernal, established in 1903, was the only such institution in the Uintah Basin. By 1909, former stake president Samuel R. Bennion was president, but the manager, N. J. Meagher, and almost all directors were non-Mormon. Bennion was among the many who resented what they felt were the bank's uncooperative if not anti-Mormon policies.

"It is a close corporation and became somewhat unpopular on this account," Smart confided in his journal. "I suggested from time to time to Bro. Bennion to endeavor to increase the stock and let more of our people in but the others in control would not consent. I told him if he could not bring it about I was sure another bank would be formed and if so we should do it."[36]

A movement to establish another bank did indeed get underway, led by Meagher himself. He invited Smart to join, but only as a minor stockholder. Smart wouldn't have it that way. "I had been very sorry that the new bank was going in and we were no nearer to it," he recorded.

> About two nights after this I awoke very early and lay with my mind on the situation. . . . The picture then came to me of the trials and hardships and privations and labors of the pioneer stock in the last quarter of a century in this Valley that had made banking even possible and I concluded that this was the stock to have something to say about banking . . . . [The next day] I told Mr. Meagher just as I felt as related above then told him I should aid in his new bank and endeavor to get the others to join in provided he would consent to increasing the stock in the old bank sufficient to give S. R. Bennion and his friends control.

To punctuate that message, he then met with Edward Samuels—"one of our men born in the Church, but who has not been active and who is one of the promoters . . . and [told] him how I viewed the situation, and hoping through his influence we might get what would be best finally done. When I showed him how our people were being used as tools for the accomplishment of their ends it opened his eyes and felt very much moved. He said he wished I had not showed to him his responsibility but now I could depend upon him to do what he could."

As in many other difficult situations during his Uintah Basin stewardship, Smart's persuasive powers proved successful. The very next day, Samuels

36. Smart, Journals, February 11, 1910.

returned and "said he was appointed as a committee to wait upon me and say that the Directors of the new bank had decided to place in my hands the stock subscription list and rearrange it so as to invite others in until I controlled the majority of the stock." Modestly, Smart attributed the remarkable change to "the interposition of Providence." Leaving no doubt that he was acting not as an individual but as stake president, he called a special meeting of stake and ward priesthood leaders between sessions of the stake conference and sought their approval. They gave it, sustaining him "in what I had done . . . and in whatever action I feel is best in the future."[37]

The Uintah State Bank was soon organized, with $50,000 in capital provided by fifty stockholders, the majority Mormon. William H. Smart was named chairman of the governing board, which also included W. H. Siddoway as vice chairman, and John K. Bullock, Edward Samuels, George E. Adams, H. W. Woole, and W. M. McCoy. It opened for business on August 20, 1910, in a rented building on the southeast corner of Vernal's main intersection, but by 1915 had built across the street a handsome two-story brick building that also housed the post office and the Vernal drugstore.

Seeing that progress, officers of the rival Bank of Vernal decided that they needed a new building as well. That building became known nationally as the "Parcel Post Bank," because it was built of 80,000 bricks shipped parcel post in fifty-pound bundles at a fourth the cost of freighting them 175 miles from Salt Lake City. Over the near-century since, other banks and savings-and-loan companies have come and gone in Uintah County, but the two original rivals served the area's people and businesses so well that only they survive.[38]

Acquiring a newspaper, Smart's next goal, proved simpler; he bought one outright. In 1891, with a mail-order press, Kate Jean Boan established in Vernal the Uinta Basin's first newspaper. She called it the *Uintah Papoose.* A year later, she sold out to James Barker, who, understandably, promptly changed the name to the *Vernal Express.* By 1910, after several changes of ownership, it was in the hands of Dan Hilman, who, Smart recorded, was "so far as I know an honorable gentile, but it [the newspaper] has been in no way conducted in the service of our people." For example, it had, he complained, "assisted last fall to gain the Vernal City election for anti prohibitionists."

His account of the paper's purchase illustrates the sometimes astonishing dispatch with which he acted.

37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., February 19, 26, 27 and March 3, 8, 1910; Burton, *History of Uintah County*,156–58. For details of failed banking practices during this period and the effort of western legislators to regulate private banks, see Jacob W. Olmstead, "Injudicious Mormon Banker: The Life of B. H. Schettler and the Collapse of His Private Bank," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 73, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 21–43. See also *Commercial Banking in Utah, 1847–1966* (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, College of Business, University of Utah, 1967).

> Ever since I have been here I have felt anxious for its control to be with our brethren and have so expressed myself. When it could have been purchased in the past there was not a spirit among the brethren to purchase. Of late I have been again moved upon to consider it, and yesterday morning Bro. R. S. Collett told me he had been told that Mr. Hilman was again in the humor of selling. Almost before he had closed his report I told him to not fail to close the deal at once on the best terms he could obtain—to buy it for me through the Uintah Realty and Investment Co. Toward evening he informed me that Byron Nebeker had closed the deal for $5,000. . . . I feel again that the Lord is moving these things and I am greatful to be instrumental in this matter. The press is a powerful agent either for good or evil and we desire that its mission in the Uintah Basin shall be for good.[39]

As usual, he reported his action to his church associates, in this case the stake high council, and got unanimous approval.[40] A week later, he met with interested citizens—all Mormons—and organized a stock company, capitalized at $10,000 with shares at $100. He declined membership on the board of directors, but installed his counselor in the stake presidency on it: Don B. Colton as chairman, with Enos Bennion, Wallace Calder, John L. Bullock, and Thomas O'Donnell as directors. "Thus," he wrote, "is brought under organized form one of the most important temporal concerns of the community."[41]

Smart installed James H. Wallis as editor in 1917, and Wallis bought the paper in 1923. He was followed as owner/editor by his son James B., his grandson Jack, and his great-grandson Steve.[42] Steve's death in 2007 ended the long life of the *Express* in Mormon hands. The family sold the paper to Brehm Communications Company of San Diego, who installed Kevin Ashby as editor, and operated it as one of its chain of small newspapers.

The *Vernal Express* was not Smart's first foray into Uintah Basin newspaper matters, nor would it be his last. He intended to dominate, if not control, expressions of public opinion, especially in the reservation lands he was striving to colonize with Mormons. He came close.

In January of 1909, he joined with Fred L. Watrous from Colorado to start a newspaper, the *Duchesne Messenger*, in the tiny village of Theodore (later Duchesne). It was a small operation with only $1,000 capitalization, of which Smart took 20 percent. Although he was a minority owner, Smart succeeded in having his protégé, the recently ordained bishop Alva Murdock, installed as president. Murdock and Smart himself formed the majority of a three-man advisory board "who will pass upon all important policies of paper."[43]

39. Smart, Journals, March 6, 1910.
40. Ibid., March 8, 1910.
41. Ibid., March 14, 1910.
42. Burton, *History of Uintah County*, 162.
43. Smart, Journals, January 26–27, 1909.

Almost simultaneously, "having been very desirous for some time to found a newspaper in that country which could voice sentiments of the priesthood as to building up of the country," he negotiated to establish a newspaper in Roosevelt, to be known as the *Roosevelt Advocate*. Fellow-Mormon Ezra T. Hyde was to be his partner, but he had to loan him the money for his investment. He himself took an option on a controlling interest.

The company was formally organized in April 1909, with $500 in capital. Smart was president, while Hyde was vice president, editor, and publisher. Smart's oldest son, seventeen-year-old William, who aspired to a newspaper or a business career, happily agreed to forgo his second semester at Uintah Stake Academy to assist in both the business and editorial departments for a salary of $30 a month. Unhappily, Hyde soon found it was a losing enterprise and quit, leaving young William as the only employee. "We are all assisting," Smart reported, apparently referring to his wife Anna and their young family. His own contribution was to write an occasional editorial.[44]

Seven months later, he bought the *Myton Chieftain* for $1,500,[45] and now owned or virtually controlled the Uinta Basin's newspapers. The *Vernal Express* continued to prosper, but within six months he was convinced the three smaller papers could not continue to operate at a loss. He persuaded his partner in Duchesne, Fred L. Watrous, to consolidate that paper with the ones Smart owned in Roosevelt and Myton. The new paper became the *Uintah Record*, to be published in Myton. Watrous, a non-Mormon in whom Smart apparently had confidence, became its editor.

If Smart was disappointed to lose direct control, he didn't show it. "One good paper will be better than three poor ones and will probably pay fairly well," he reasoned. "This above all will place us in control of a paper with an able man and broad-minded as editor—which I have much desired. I made it a matter of fervent prayer . . . and felt it to be the right thing."[46]

Three years later, he decided it was not such a right thing after all. After prayer with his counselors that his action would be "sanctioned by the Lord," he bought Watrous's share for $750, took over the paper himself, and renamed it the *Duchesne Record*. Perhaps he was dissatisfied with the way Watrous represented Mormon interests, although he doesn't say so. His stated reason for the purchase was that "I have a desire that if the Lord will assist me to use the organ for public good as well as means of livelyhood, and also to give it some personal attention as means of employment."[47]

He installed his then twenty-two-year-old son William as managing editor, and hired H. H. Holdaway as a printer, paying each of them $15 a week.

44. Ibid., January 25, February 19, and April 20, 1909.
45. Ibid., October 5, 1909.
46. Ibid., April 29, 1910.
47. Ibid., September 10, 1913.

As publishers of weekly papers often did, he covered meetings himself and wrote about them for the newspaper. So did his wife, and even their thirteen-year-old son Joseph. He told his high council that "I had been without direct temporal employment for about 15 years, and that I had not realized how my means had held out—only thru the blessings of the Lord, but that my means is shrinking and it becomes necessary for me to seek some avenues for livelyhood. . . . [They] voted to extend to me the good will and moral support of Priesthood in my conducting the *Record*, and to make it the official organ of the stake."[48]

The weekly editorials he wrote during this period reflected that status—urging moderation and temperance, modesty in fashions, and a simpler and more economical life—as well as addressing local issues, the prospects of a railroad (they were dim), the status of the various irrigation systems, proper fertilization (he urged that manure be hauled in the winter), rotating alfalfa and grain crops, condemning socialism, pointing out the danger of commercial club abuses, and exploring whether the spelling should be Duchane or Duchesne (he favored the latter).

His career as a working newspaperman lasted barely a year. Finding that with the other demands on his time and energy he could not be an effective publisher, and that William was less than knowledgeable as a businessman, he brought in J. P. May from Salt Lake City and installed him as managing editor at $112 a month.[49] That arrangement changed a month later, when Smart leased the paper to May for $300 a year, but retained control of its editorial and business policies. "I have done this especially because of political matters coming up—county division etc," he wrote. "I felt this prudent so that I should not be a target and thus militate against my influence as Stake president."

A Huge—but Failed—Enterprise

The early years of Smart's Uintah Basin stewardship had been years of almost unbroken success; whatever he set his mind to seemed to turn out well, an outcome for which he frequently acknowledged divine guidance. That was about to change. In the summer of 1909, Frank Lott of Denver proposed a scheme to develop vast acreage south of Myton. Through the Carey Act of 1894, Utah, along with nine other western states and territories, had been granted a million acres of former Indian land to be developed for settlers. Lott applied to the state to develop and irrigate 30,900 acres on the South Myton Bench, hoping to attract six hundred families to the area. He filed for five hundred second-feet of water, to be delivered from the Duchesne River through a thirty-mile canal. The project's estimated cost was $500,000—an astronomical figure for that time and place—to be repaid, with a substantial

48. Ibid., November 1, 1911.
49. Ibid., March 30, 1912.

profit, by sale of land and water rights. The expectation of a railroad soon to be built through the basin seemed to ensure success.[50]

Of course, a project of this scope caught Smart's attention. From the beginning of his Uintah Basin stewardship, he had been determined to keep out non-Mormon land-grabbers, so naturally he "felt uneasy about it." Either in an effort to protect Mormon interests, or because he wanted in on a good thing, or both, he sent word he that would be interested. He met in Myton with Lott and his associates, and recorded: "They seemed anxious for me to join them as they said they were not prejudiced against our people and to show it they would give me charge of the colonizing department."[51]

With that assurance that he could work to get primarily Mormons onto the land, he sought President Joseph F. Smith's advice. With the president's encouragement, he jumped in with both feet, taking a one-fourth interest in the project, establishing an office in Myton in a former saloon, recruiting the chief project engineer, and personally supervising the surveyors who established the point on the Duchesne River where water would be diverted into the yet-to-be-built Myton canal.[52] He brought his brother, Thomas, and his partner in the sheep business, James Webster, down from Cache Valley to join the project, with Thomas as chairman of the executive committee. Neither remained, however, with Thomas pleading rheumatism and the pressure of business affairs at home, and Webster, perhaps skeptical about the project's success, deciding not to get involved.

Myton was a non-Mormon town, with strong feelings against the church generally and Smart in particular. Smart felt he could change that, envisioning that Myton could even become the church's Uintah Basin headquarters with the building of a stakehouse. He confided to Bishop Alva Murdock that "it seemed advisable to decide upon some point on Reservation as a kind of first center and afterwards others would be built up around, and as it appeared that the Lord was opening up Myton to us . . . that I felt this perhaps should be the place."[53]

Acting on that feeling, he rented a dirt-roofed log home there. As noted earlier, he bought the Myton newspaper, and when it was consolidated with papers in Roosevelt and Duchesne, he published the combined newspaper in Myton. As the strongest evidence of his faith in the future, he traded his Wasatch Development Company stock for all the company's land in the

50. Barton, *History of Uintah County*, 164–66. For general information and legislation regarding irrigation in Utah, see George Thomas, *The Development of Institutions under Irrigation: With Special Reference to Early Conditions in Utah*, Rural Science, ed. L. H. Bailey (New York: Macmillan, 1910). Also see Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah, the Right Place: The Official Centennial History*, Utah Statehood Centennial Project of the Utah State Historical Society (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1995), 222–24.
51. Smart, Journals, July 12, 1909.
52. Ibid., July 17, September 16, October 2, and November 23, 1909.
53. Ibid., October 14, 1905.

Uinta Basin, including sixteen lots in Myton.[54] With only "a few saints in attendance," he organized a Sunday school, the church's most rudimentary unit, as a first small step toward the stake he envisioned. "I felt that the Lord accepted of what we did," he wrote, "and I rejoiced in spirit that after so long the work of the Lord was finally opened up at this place."[55]

Smart's dreams for Myton were not to be realized, neither temporally nor ecclesiastically. Although for several years Smart actively promoted it, the Myton Bench irrigation scheme failed utterly. The railroad never came. Neither did investors. Lott's filing on Duchesne River water lapsed in 1916, the canal undug. Not until after completion of the Starvation Reservoir in 1970 did water flow through such a canal. Smart left no record of how much money he invested in the project. Whatever it may have been was lost, another of the financial drains that ultimately left him in poverty.

The "Mormon Curse"

Nor did Myton ever become a center of Mormon influence. Despite Smart's complaint to President Smith that the name of an infamous Indian agent was hardly suitable for what he intended to be a Mormon town, its name was never changed.[56] Mormon/non-Mormon relations deteriorated to the point that a curse Smart supposedly pronounced on the town has become a part of Myton folklore.

It is hard to determine when or if such a curse was uttered, and, if so, whether it was a curse or a prophecy. Smart's journals are silent on the matter. John D. Barton's excellent *History of Duchesne County* offers several versions of what has come to be called the "Mormon Curse."

One is that when Smart proposed building a Mormon stake center in Myton, he was shouted down and threatened with tarring and feathering and a ride out of town on a rail, whereupon he declared the stake center would be built in Roosevelt, and Myton would deteriorate to the point that weeds would grow in the sidewalks, rabbits would play in the streets, and many of the streets would turn into swamps. Another is that when the Myton town counsel refused his request to buy into a local bank, he warned, "if you do not allow us to buy into your town, you will see the day when only jackrabbits and tumbleweeds will inhabit your main street." A third is that he warned a Mormon conference that if members didn't stop frequenting the town's saloons, Myton would fail and weeds would grow in the sidewalks.[57]

None of these seems to be a first-person account. What does purport to be such an account was given to the author by George Stewart, once an

54. Ibid., July 20, 1909.
55. Ibid., October 31, 1909.
56. Smart to First Presidency, September 17, 1905, Joseph F. Smith Correspondence, LDS Archives.
57. Barton, *History of Uintah County*, 161–62.

attorney for the Ute tribe and a lifelong resident of the basin. He recalled being in a meeting where Smart offered financing for a project to bring water to Myton. Would that be your money or Mormon Church money? his listeners demanded. When he replied it would be church money, the offer was refused, whereupon Smart warned that without the project, Myton would see jackrabbits in the street and weeds in the sidewalks.[58]

Perhaps there is some truth in all, or at least most, of the versions. That he proposed building a stake center in Myton is documented in his journal. He recorded nothing about proposing to buy into a Myton bank, but that would be consistent with his actions elsewhere. The water project about which Stewart spoke could have been the Myton Bench irrigation scheme. The warning about Mormons patronizing saloons seems less credible; there weren't all that many Mormons in Myton at the time.

Whatever the truth about a "curse"—or a prophecy—the hard fact is that Myton didn't prosper. The stake center was built at Roosevelt, which became the Uintah Basin's second largest town. Myton's newspaper was moved to Duchesne. The town's site at a bridge over the Duchesne river on the road through Nine-mile Canyon to the railroad at Wellington faded in importance as traffic shifted to the road through Strawberry Valley and over Daniels Pass to Heber, now U.S. Highway 40. A devastating fire in 1915 destroyed most of the business district. The town's bank failed in 1922. Other fires struck in 1924 and 1930, and the town has struggled ever since.[59]

Smart's efforts to reform and build Myton failed, but his stamp in Vernal is unmistakable. During his four years as Uintah Stake president, he was the moving force in establishing the Uintah Telephone Company, the Vernal water works, its electric light and power plant, its flour mill, and in getting the construction of a community amusement hall under way.

One of his most lasting legacies was beginning the Uintah Basin honey industry by establishing the basin's first organized bee company.

58. George Stewart, interview with the author, Roosevelt, Utah, July 9, 1989, tape in possession of the author.

59. Barton, *History of Uintah County*, 63–64. Community feelings are more cordial now. On July 19, 1997, Myton Mormons responded to the First Presidency's proclamation of a "day of community service" commemorating the sesquicentennial of the Mormon pioneers arriving in Salt Lake Valley. Under the heading "Volunteers Clean Up Myton, Rid Town of Old Curse," the *Uintah Basin Standard* reported the event. Over a hundred members of the Myton Second Ward converged on the historic Three-Legged Dog Saloon. They sandblasted the old paint and repainted it in the original color, installed new windows and doors, and poured a cement patio and steps, preparatory to the building's becoming the Myton History Museum. They trimmed or removed trees, installed a sprinkling system and sod, and planted flowers in the adjoining park. Meanwhile, members of the First Ward scraped and painted the old Legion Hall that is now the Learning Center. "The entire community thanks the LDS people for the wonderful job they did," the paper commented, quoting one resident: "We could feel no curse that day, only the blessing of good neighbors and friends. May the blessing endure as long as the curse did." *Uintah Basin Standard*, July 29, 1997.

He brought a beekeeper, Courtney Turnquist, from Europe with a special strain of bees and, with him and Joseph Hardy, formed the Sego Lilly Bee Company. Smart's youngest son, Joseph, remembered Turnquist as a courtly man who made the rough-necked Uintah Basin kids snicker when he stood to hold his mother's chair at the dinner table.[60] Courtly he may have been, but impecunious, too. As so often with the companies he formed, Smart "loaned these brethren sufficient to enable them to be equal partners with me."[61]

Education in Transition

Almost from its beginning, the LDS church emphasized education. In its first half century, schools were organized in wards; early Utah school laws supported that system. The Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 changed that, putting Utah schools under control of the territorial supreme court, with a court-appointed, non-Mormon commissioner, and dictating that the church's financial resources and the Perpetual Emigration Fund be used for public schools.

The church responded by organizing religion classes for grades one through nine. Since the public school system was not prepared to finance secondary education, the First Presidency used tithing funds to establish church academies, to be managed by stake boards of education under the supervision of a church board of education and a church superintendent of schools.[62] The Brigham Young College in Logan was one of the first such academies. As noted earlier, William H. Smart in 1878 became one of its first students.

By 1909, the church had founded thirty-five such academies, mostly in Utah but also in Arizona, Idaho, Wyoming, and Nevada. In Utah, 60 percent of its high school students were enrolled in church academies in 1905.[63] The Uintah Stake Academy in Vernal, one of the thirty-five, was barely in its infancy when Smart arrived as stake president. On his historic visit to dedicate the stake tabernacle, President Smith urged members to support their academy and build it a permanent home as soon as possible. Smart took the charge seriously, discussing it frequently in stake presidency and high council meetings. By the time the school opened in September 1908, he had installed a new principal, Hyrum Manwaring. Smart had a special personal interest that year. His seventeen-year-old, ninth-grade son William was elected student body president, and his eighteen-year-old, tenth-grade daughter Elizabeth, literary critic. His third child, fourteen-year-old Thomas

60. Joseph H. Smart, interview with author, October 2, 1981.
61. Smart, Journals, May 11, 1909.
62. Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints,* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 253–54.
63. Ibid., 254.

Laurence, entered the eighth grade. His wife Anna was listed as "matron" on the four-person faculty.[64]

By the following spring, under the prodding of Church Superintendent of Schools Horace H. Cummings, the stake presidency and high council formally voted to construct a new school and appointed a building committee, chaired by Evan Bennion.[65] On July 4, 1909, with approval of the church superintendent of schools and the First Presidency, the stake board of education, under chairman Smart, chose eight acres two blocks west of the new tabernacle as the site of the academy's new home.

September 1910 was an exciting time in the Uintah Basin. After festivities celebrating the fifth anniversary of the basin's opening to settlement, ground was broken for the Uintah Stake Academy. Frances M. Lyman, president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, dedicated the land, and Senator/Apostle Reed Smoot wielded the ceremonial shovel. Later that afternoon, President Lyman, Senator Smoot, Congressman Joseph Howell, and Governor William Spry spoke at ceremonies celebrating completion of the Vernal City Waterworks.

The presence of such luminaries, at least the secular ones, was due to a secular event—the opening of a new steel bridge over the Duchesne River at Myton, built by the federal government at a cost of $25,000 after late spring flooding from the heavy snowpack of 1908–1909 carved a new channel of the river and left the old bridge spanning a dry gully.

Despite being rebuffed in his earlier attempt to build a Mormon center in Myton, Smart chaired the ceremonies, commending "the citizens of all classes for coming together in reunion under such friendly relationships." After speeches by Smoot, Spry, Howell, and others, and both Mormon (President Lyman) and non-Mormon prayers, field sports and a ball in the badly overcrowded pavilion ended the celebration. Some three thousand people attended, Smart estimated, and he was gratified to report that "I saw but one person under the influence of liquor."[66]

A New Stake with New Challenges

For Smart, all this was overshadowed by an event more important to him—the dividing of Uintah Stake and his calling to preside over the new stake. By the summer of 1910, his incessant labors and travels had strengthened the Vernal and other Ashley Valley wards and established units of varying size and strength throughout much of the former reservation lands. Wards were now functioning in Theodore (Duchesne), Roosevelt, and Boneta; branches in Indian Bench, Cedar View, Ioka, and Midview; and Sunday schools in Deep Creek, Bluebell, and Tabiona. It was time, Smart

64. Smart, Journals, September 8 and 11, 1908.
65. Ibid., May 15 and 30, 1909.
66. Ibid., September 15, 1910.

felt, to divide the stake, and he was not reticent in advising church authorities on how and when it should be done.

On August 21, he submitted in writing his recommendation that the stake be divided, and followed that with an interview with Francis M. Lyman, president of the Twelve, President Smith being absent on a trip to Europe. Two weeks later, after "a day's fast and secret prayer in the prayer circle room for light and guidance," he wrote Lyman "a full, candid statement of my feelings." "On the whole," he wrote, he was "more inclined toward continuing my labors on the Reservation rather than remaining at Vernal where the Stake had been built up by the hardships of others." September 14 was his father's birthday, he added, and "if it is designed to divide the Stake soon and call me to labor in the new stake, I should be pleased to see it consummated at that time that I might have in the event the memory of my father."[67]

So, of course, that's exactly how and when it was done. To honor Smart's request that the division be made on his father's birthday, the first session of the quarterly conference convened, not in the stake tabernacle in Vernal or on the weekend as is customary, but in the Myton pavilion on Wednesday, September 14, a day that also saw opening of the Myton bridge and ceremonies noting the opening of the reservation five years earlier.

President Lyman presided. He proposed that the Uintah Stake be reduced to include Ashley Valley and the country east to the Colorado line, and that the new stake include the rest of the Uintah Basin—mostly the former Indian reservation lands. Lyman proposed William H. Smart as the new stake's president, Ephraim Lambert as first counselor, Joseph H. Hardy as second counselor, and William H. Gagon as stake clerk. The voting to sustain all this was unanimous.

Then, in a move probably unique following the division of Mormon stakes, the Myton Commercial Club sponsored a reception and banquet, featuring many toasts, honoring the visiting dignitaries. Surprisingly, in view of past tensions between him and Myton leaders, Smart was chair of the reception.

"Thus closed an eventful day," he wrote, "marking the close of one and the opening of another epoch in the history of the Uintah Basin and in the stake department of the work of the Lord. I will say here that at times I have caught a glimpse by the eye of faith of this day and matters have so evolved and worked out that I cannot but acknowledge the hand of God in them all. . . . may my strength, faith and good works hold out to see the fulfillment of developments I see ahead."[68]

Subsequent stake conference sessions were held at the customary time and place—on the weekend and in the tabernacle. Smart's counselor,

67. Ibid., September 4, 1910.
68. Ibid., September 14, 1910.

Vernal, Utah, about 1910

Don B. Colton, replaced him as president of the Uintah Stake, with David Bennion and Earnest Eaton as counselors, and George A. Davis as stake clerk. Bishoprics of the two Vernal wards and the Maeser Ward were reorganized, and five new members were named to the high council.

Smart exhibited no false modesty about the proceedings. In his journal, he confided his satisfaction that the program and itinerary were carried out as "conceived and formulated by myself and others as moved upon by the Holy Ghost," and that he was "counted worthy to be brought into council in the officering of the old Uintah Stake and of the new organizing of the above wards." Nor could he forgo recording that in his response as the new stake president, Colton told the congregation that "after God he owed to Pres. Smart his training in the order and government of the Church, and for many lessons in the exhalting of God and His work vs. man. He exhorted the people to live up to the many valuable teachings of their retiring President."[69]

At a September 24 farewell meeting with the stake and ward officers, Smart summarized what he felt had been accomplished in his four years as stake president: greater obedience to the priesthood and more systematic work in priesthood quorums, better observance of the Word of Wisdom, completion of the stake tabernacle, erection of a stake office,

69. Ibid., September 18, 1910.

organization of a prayer circle, and the beginning of construction for the stake academy.

Then, evidencing his conviction that church and community had to be built together, he listed the temporal accomplishments, under the direction of the stake presidency, that had brought primitive pioneer settlements into the then-modern world: an electric light and power plant, a telephone system "connecting the various parts of this country with one another and with the outside world," waterworks bringing culinary water—and toilets—into homes, a flour mill, banking interests "through which we might have business relations with our Salt Lake friends," and control of the local newspaper.

For the Smart family, the move from their handsome home into what he called "the wilderness as it were" would involve sacrifice, but he promised that "the Lord would make up to us did we do our duty. . . . I asked them if they felt to accept of the call with me and all held up their hands to do so." Faithful and long-suffering Anna, he noted, was "tried somewhat by the contemplation of removal from her home, nevertheless is true in that she is willing to do whatever is necessary to assist me in performing my duty in the church."[70]

For his part, Smart closed a long, impassioned prayer in a characteristic way: "Hear me, O Father, in this hour of dire need and make me ever equal to my duties and Thine be the glory and honor both now and forever."

70. Ibid., September 18 and 23, 1910.

Nine

Civilizing the Reservation Lands

For William H. Smart's patiently compliant Anna, leaving her beautiful two-story brick home only three years after its completion was but one of many trials she suffered as the wife of a man whose single-minded dedication to his church leadership calling left her so often alone. For William, the trial was different—and far more pivotal. His problem was not that of leaving, but of deciding where he should leave to. Where in his new ministry—named by the First Presidency the Duchesne Stake of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints[1]—would he establish his home?

His decision would have long-term consequences. Where he put down roots would determine where the headquarters of the new stake would be and where the area's first high school would be built. Logically, it would become the seat of the soon-to-be created new county—though that turned out not to be the case. It would, in short, help determine which town in the vast expanse of former reservation lands would prosper, and which would languish. For Smart, the choice was between Myton, Roosevelt, and Theodore, soon to be renamed Duchesne.

By most standards, Myton would seem to be the obvious place. Since its founding in the mid-1880s as a trading post at a natural ford of the Duchesne River, it had grown into the dominant town on the reservation lands. Both the Nine-mile Canyon road out of the basin to the railroad near Price and the road through Strawberry Valley and down Daniels Canyon to Heber passed through Myton. The new $25,000 steel bridge over the Duchesne River at Myton seemed to ensure its future as a transportation center. At the time when Smart was trying to make up his mind, the town

1. Smart, Journals, October 2 and December 2, 1910.

boasted a bank, a newspaper that Smart himself had arranged to establish there, a school, a hotel, and even an opera house. Half a dozen general mercantile stores, a couple of lumber and hardware companies, a livery, and a construction and carpentry company made it the area's only commercial and shopping center.[2] His own ownership of sixteen building lots in Myton and his involvement in a scheme to develop a huge tract of land on the benchlands south of Myton would seem to incline him in that direction. Myton was, of course, a non-Mormon town; a small Sunday school was the church's only presence there. But Smart had dreams of changing that.

Roosevelt, in its early days, was much less promising. A major disadvantage was that it lay on the eastern edge of the new Duchesne Stake. Laid out, under Smart's direction, as a townsite in 1906 on Ed F. Harmston's Dry Gulch homestead, it had no reliable water source. As its name suggests, Dry Creek was frequently dry. Even when the creek was running its water had to be stored for days in a barrel while a prickly pear cactus helped settle out the mud. The nearest good and reliable water had to be hauled from the Duchesne River, ten miles away. Dry Gulch is where Smart's Wasatch Development Company helped the early settlers—almost exclusively Mormon—locate, and his Dry Gulch Irrigation Company promised better things. But at the time Smart was considering the location of his new home, conditions were still primitive. It would be four years before Roosevelt would have a municipal water system. In 1910, Roosevelt's population was barely half of Myton's.

Theodore (Duchesne), approximately in the middle of the new stake, seemed a better choice. On one of his early explorations of the Uintah Basin, Smart had envisioned its site as "the centre place of a stake of Zion when the reservation forms more than one."[3] Its first settler was A. M. (Al) Murdock, who, under Smart's tutelage, became the Duchesne Ward's first bishop and eventually its first mayor. He was the town's unofficial banker, with lending policies so open-handed he was universally loved—but eventually bankrupt.

But despite Duchesne's central location, his earlier inspiration, and an obviously welcoming power structure, Smart described himself as "perplexed" as to whether this was the right place "for a future stake headquarters or whether we should look for another. It is low here and I am sure the river valley part ought not to be emphasized."[4] In his search for a suitable alternative, he climbed a hill a few miles to the east and from its summit examined the surrounding country, finding the sight "inspiring indeed." He knelt before the largest boulder on the hill, and "using it as an altar prayed for guidance and light" in his search for "a townsite of importance as a center for my operations." He received no answer.

2. Barton, *History of Duchesne County,* 159.
3. Smart, Journals, September 5, 1904.
4. Ibid., July 3, 1911.

That effort was typical of a long period of agonizing indecision entirely uncharacteristic of this confidently decisive man, whose decisions were usually followed by fast and effective action. In his journal, he normally credited his unhesitating decisions and action to divine inspiration. On this important issue the inspiration was long delayed, if it came at all.

Shortly after his installation as president of the new Duchesne Stake, he met with Anthon H. Lund and John Henry Smith of the First Presidency about locating the stake's headquarters. "Pres Lund said they felt to leave that to me," he reported, "as there is really no headquarters to a Stake excepting that it is where the Stake President lives. They felt it prudent to take time in this matter."[5] Throughout his leadership career, Smart faithfully followed the counsel of church authorities, but never before or after did he follow it to such an extreme. The time he was to "prudently" take extended to a full year, and then the decision was only tentative, and subject to change.

Barely a month into his new stake presidency, he wrote that "during the entire day and much of the night my mind has been on the matter of where I shall make my headquarters in the Duchesne Stake until my brain is tired and sore with thinking. O that God would make this matter plain unto me." God didn't, leaving him "despondent and almost overwhelmed at the thought of the future."[6]

The next day, Fred L. Watrous, whom Smart had installed as editor of the *Duchesne Record* in Myton, informed him that the "citizens of Myton, thru him will extend to me as the President of Duchesne Stake an invitation to make Myton my headquarters." That might have simplified his decision, but a couple of days later the invitation was less certain. Watrous "wished more time to further canvass [the] situation."

Smart's ambivalence was demonstrated by the unusual scheduling of the new stake's first quarterly conference. The first session was held at Theodore (Duchesne), where the General Authorities, stake presidency, high council and other stake officers were sustained by the membership.[7] Unlike most stake conferences, that was on a Friday. Saturday was an unheard-of open day, and on Sunday the conference moved to Roosevelt, where the sustaining was repeated. "We will emphasize no place as headquarters and shall hold conferences in various places," he told the congregation.

Not to leave Myton out, he convened a priesthood meeting there on March 16. In addition to reviewing the business of the quarterly conference, he emphasized more practical matters. Members should cultivate all the land they can take care of, he advised, and "not to lose energy or time waiting for the railroad, but to settle down and learn to live without it." Myton needed modernizing, he felt, so he urged the "providing of privies

5. Ibid., October 11, 1910.
6. Ibid., October 17, 1910.
7. Ibid., December 2, 1910.

outside and chamber pots for use in the homes and to be as clean and progressive as possible under their close financial circumstances and in the midst of pioneer life."

Throughout his ministry and to the end of his days, Smart relied heavily on fasting and prayer. To focus at such times, he frequently built stone altars in secluded places where he knelt to plead for forgiveness and enlightenment. Seven months into his new presidency, "when the time is crowding upon me to decide as to central office . . . the people of the various sections desiring me to live there with the hopes of the office which I hold bringing prestige to that place," he made perhaps his most intensive and prolonged effort. His description of it tells much of his reverence for symbolism and his sense of connectedness with the prophets of old.

Finding a spot secluded by willows and trees on Ashley Creek a quarter-mile northeast of Vernal, and observing

> rocks along the edge of the stream and my mind dwelling upon sacrifice I decided to erect a simple altar out of these representations of solidity and endurance. . . . my mind centered upon Jacob—Israel—and his 12 sons as my progenetors and the head of all Israel, and I at once concluded to so construct the altar as to represent them. There was a very large smooth boulder that took all my strength to roll in place that I selected to represent Father Jacob. I then selected 12 of the number of stones that I had gathered . . . [and] placed a stone on its east side, and one on its west. Then I placed from East to west—first on the south side and then on the north—five other stones respectively. . . . They were all laid to touch the large central stone and each other, thus symbolizing unity and strength. I then thought of a kneeling place, when I thought that this could also represent the head of the church with the 12 apostles, and as the first seven presidents of seventy are their minute men and assistants in bearing the gospel and in being messengers for Jesus; and inasmuch also as in the days of the ancient apostles seven were chosen to labor in temporal matters as a committee to serve the people; and as in my life 49 years have ended—just seven times seven—therefore I chose seven stones from the others not yet chosen placing four on the west side touching the stones of the twelve and placing the other three west of and touching them thus the seven forming a kneeling place to the altar.

To this place the fasting stake president repaired alone six times in three days—before, between, and after various meetings—singing hymns, reading the scriptures, and, of course, kneeling in fervent prayer. At the end of this period, he replaced the stones in the creek, returned home, and broke his fast "with the feeling of assurance within me that through our faithfulness and the blessings of the Lord we would be sustained."[8] But he received no answer to his pivotal question.

8. Ibid., May 6–8, 1911.

A year after creation of the new stake, he finally made a move—to the still-primitive town of Roosevelt. There was no conviction in it; he clearly regarded the move as temporary, one of convenience. At a quarterly conference meeting, he "told the saints there is no particular significance of my family coming to Roosevelt. I had desired to move within the Stake within the year. Matters had so shaped at Vernal and here that I felt the time had come and the former home of Bp Dan Lambert being available thru counselor Hardy I had moved into it and just in time to be here for this conference." He took pains to express the hope that "the people will not be offended should I move to some other place at any time."[9]

Smart privately confessed to Apostle Francis M. Lyman, the visiting authority at the conference, that "the powers of darkness" had been over him concerning his move, and that he was "blue and discouraged," suffering sciatic pains in his left leg and increasing deafness. Powers of darkness may or may not have been at work, but his sciatica and deafness were real enough, and so was a tendency to periods of depression that, although not as troublesome as in former years, would never entirely leave him.

Something else was also bothering him. He confided to Lyman that he "had been troubled concerning my plural family relations and felt that did I not have the support and confidence of my brethren I could not go on." Lyman's response reflected the church's position on the difficult problem of post-Manifesto polygamy. In Smart's case, as in many others, there would be no breaking up of polygamous marriages. "He assured me that it is felt that my relations had been established in good faith having put confidence in the Apostles that had so advised [Taylor and Cowley] and in such cases it was not felt to disturb the brethren unless the time came when outside pressure made it necessary, when I should hear from them." Lyman also gave him one of the many priesthood blessings he received during his ministry and later.[10]

Because he was "unsettled" about the choice of its permanent location, Smart and his counselors dedicated the parlor of his rented home as the stake office.[11] He opened the new year of 1912 with another visit to Myton, seeking inspiration on "the important labor of deciding upon a permanent location for county seat of proposed new county, and for the same as to stake office." This question, he wrote, "is now upon my mind almost constantly."

But his dream of making Myton his stake center was about to end. Just at this time, the annual stockholders' meeting of the Dry Gulch Irrigation

9. Ibid., September 10, 1911.
10. Ibid. At this time, little effort was being made to hide polygamous relations, nor did they seem to embarrass church leadership. Smart and both his wives, Anna and Mary, were guests of President Joseph F. Smith and his wife at a performance of "Mizpah" at the Salt Lake Theater, April 6, 1911.
11. Ibid., November 16 and December 25, 1911.

Company was to be held. Learning that non-Mormon stockholders in Myton were determined "to prevent members of our church from being elected on [the] board," he set about stopping that movement. He succeeded; after the election, Mormons on the new board outnumbered non-Mormons five to two, and Smart's two counselors, Ephraim Lambert and Joseph Hardy, were elected president and treasurer. "Thus the desire of some to elect a non mormon board was frustrated," he exulted.[12]

In a meeting of the stake presidency the next day, Smart gloated about this result, and with evident satisfaction ticked off a series of other recent victories over the non-Mormon town he now seemed to regard as a rival. Myton had wanted to establish a permanent fair; it failed when Smart went to the public meeting and argued that the time was not ripe, and that in any event Theodore (Duchesne) should "be given the right of way." Myton had wanted to host a Utah State Agricultural College institute; Smart saw that it was held at Roosevelt instead, in connection with a quarterly stake conference. But most devastating to Myton was its defeat in the battle over the site for the first high school on the former reservation lands.

Siting the First High School

During a visit to Myton, he learned that its leaders were organizing a campaign to get the school, counting on the indifference of voters elsewhere. He reported his findings to the Roosevelt Commercial Club, who, no doubt at Smart's urging, "decided that owing to local conditions at Myton it would be unwise for the school to go there, therefore their duty to work for it here on cleaner moral ground."[13]

Smart declared that he felt it prudent to stay out of the resulting election campaign to avoid charges of Mormon influence. But he quietly met with church leaders in various communities to urge support of Roosevelt's bid. Perhaps even more persuasive was his commitment to provide from his own property an eighteen-acre building site for the school at the bargain price of seventy-five dollars an acre. After the close vote in Roosevelt's favor was finally certified, he admonished a stake priesthood meeting at Roosevelt about the need to follow church leadership, reminding them how close they had come to losing the election "thru our brethren listening to the opposition rather than to those that could and should be trusted,"[14] referring primarily, it seems, to himself.

In that poverty-stricken land, despite the fact that the county's nearest high school was in Heber, a hundred miles away over snow-choked mountains, it took more than two years for taxpayers to approve a $39,000 bond to build the high school in Roosevelt. Unlike his earlier resolve to keep a

12. Ibid., January 2, 1912.
13. Ibid., November 4, 1911.
14. Ibid., November 8, 10, 13, 28, and December 19, 1911.

low profile to avoid anti-Mormon resentment, Smart openly used the full weight of his church authority to win the bond election. In a Roosevelt Ward sacrament meeting on February 1, 1914, he emphasized the importance of the election and invited the congregation to join in prayer, "pleading with the Lord to give the victory to the side that will be best for the people," but strongly suggesting to the Lord that an affirmative vote would be best. He followed that by dispatching himself, his counselors and stake clerk, and high councilman Owen Bennion to immediately visit all the wards and branches in the stake to urge a favorable vote, and then organizing committees to achieve it.

Stake clerk Ernest H. Burgess recorded something of his part in the campaign.

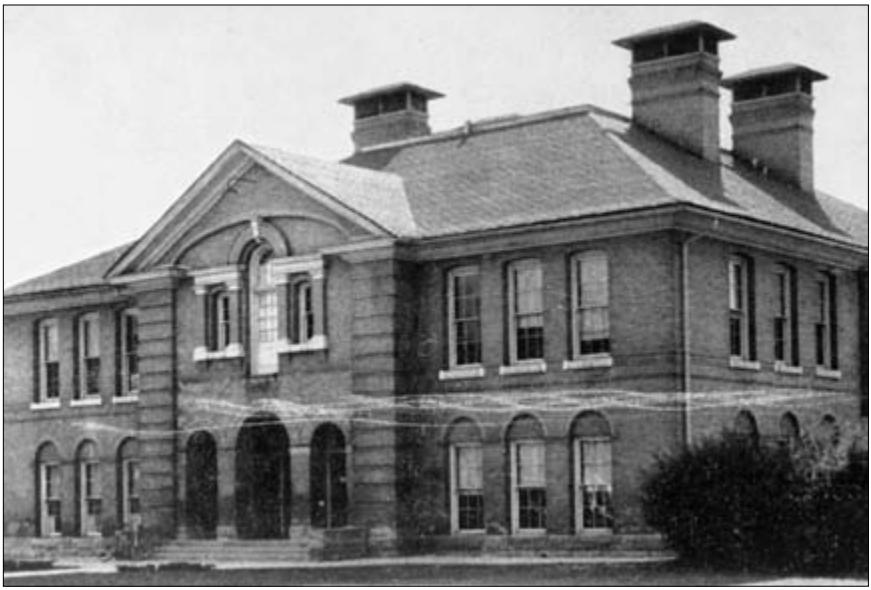
> This bond issue has been a hard fight, and one to the finish. The school was located at Roosevelt by a small majority vote two years ago. Myton fought the location bitterly, and now that the Board decided to bond the District for $39,000 for a High School building at this place, that seemed more than Myton could stand. . . .They used every argument, both fair and unfair, but in spite of all their work, we won out. It almost became a fight by Gentiles against the Church. Myton and her friends objected principally because the school would benefit this town [Roosevelt] of which they are extremely jealous. I went to Mountain home, Bluebell and Cedarview and spoke in public meetings in favor of the school.[15]

The results were predictable. Voters in Roosevelt, where the high school would be built, approved the bond 161 to 1. The nearby towns of Neola, Cedarview, Hayden, and Bennett voted almost as strongly in favor. More remote towns—Duchesne, Boneta, Stockmore, and Lake Fork—rejected the bond, but Altonah, in the upper Lake Fork country, approved it. There was no ambivalence in Myton. Votes there were 14 yes (about the number of Mormon voters), 152 no. The total vote approved the bond 363 to 304.[16]

Smart gave due credit: "I am thankful to my heavenly father that victory came to the side favored by the leading brethren of the priesthood," he confided in his journal. But he reserved a bit of credit for himself as the Lord's servant. Noting the effectiveness of the campaigning done by his stake leadership in the various wards, which may have made the difference in the narrow margin of victory, he added that "I feel that the Lord prompted me to suggest this mission to the brethren."

With the bond approved, events moved swiftly. On May 19, 1914, Smart committed to donate three acres of his farm to add to the eighteen acres already deeded for a school campus on a bluff northwest of town. In July, bids were opened, and in just seven months, the building was completed at

15. Ernest H. Burgess, "Colonizing the Reservation—Roosevelt, Utah," Journals of Ernest Hungate Burgess, 2:21, copy of typescript, in possession of the author.
16. Smart Journals, February 7, 1914.



Roosevelt High School, built 1915

a cost of $36,817. The building was dedicated on July 17, 1915—by Stake President William H. Smart, of course. Four months later, he gave the commencement address to the fifteen students in the first graduating class. The school's problems were not over, though. In a few years, it would take far more personally expensive efforts by Smart to save it.

If the earlier battle over the school's location didn't make Smart's position regarding Myton clear, he stated it flatly, declaring "that everything has a place—even Myton—that I am not at enmity with her, but am willing to accord her all that of right belongs to her, but that she must learn her place and keep it." In a spirit of magnanimity—not to say condescension—he added, "now I feel that I must turn with becoming sympathy, consideration and even brotherly love toward Myton. She has had her chastizement."[17]

With that attitude, Smart was finally able to decide that Roosevelt, now assured as the site of the new high school, would be his stake's permanent headquarters. He claimed no inspiration for the decision and gave no reason for it other than concern that moving his family elsewhere would lose whatever progress he had made in the few months of his operations there.

He didn't entirely give up on Myton. Recognizing it was and for some years would be the area's political and commercial center, he resolved to open an office there "chiefly to be in touch with the temporal matters of the country more than I can be here and thus perhaps be in a position to yield

17. Ibid., January 5, 1912.

more influence for the right things."[18] Moreover, he organized a branch of the church there, with Isaac W. Odekirk, by far the town's most prominent Mormon, as branch president. The members should be "liberal regarding views of others, and endeavor to do good to all," he counseled them, but "not partake of their sins."[19]

Back to Pioneering

So, Roosevelt would be their permanent home, he told Anna, "until at least other light comes in the future." She couldn't have been delighted at the prospect. She had come to Zion the cultured and educated daughter of an affluent family. As a young wife, she had endured the primitive conditions of early pioneer colonizing in southern Idaho and northern Utah. As their fortunes improved, her husband had purchased a fine home in Heber, and then built the finest mansion in Vernal, the first one there with indoor toilets and a bathtub. Now, in Roosevelt, it would once again be outdoor privies, chamber pots, and bathing in a washtub by the kitchen stove.

She never complained. Years later, her oldest daughter, Elizabeth, remembered the wry humor with which Anna described her new home: "We never had it so good. We can go down three steps right from the kitchen to the cellar where everything is handy, and what's more they bring all the water in a barrel right up to the back door."[20] Their youngest son, Joseph, also recalled those early days in Roosevelt and his job of supplying their home with water from Dry Gulch Creek.

> This uncertain stream was the only source of culinary and irrigation water, and in winter it went almost dry, with pools formed by outcropping of hardpan and the accumulation of driftwood and tumbleweeds. . . . It was [my] task from about age twelve to haul the brackish water from the creek to the house. This was done by means of a barrel mounted on a skid or sled, and when the barrel was dip-filled and covered by a canvas secured by an extra barrel hoop, the contrivance was pulled home by a horse. . . . Whenever in later years [I] heard the phrase "'Til Hell freezes over," there was instant recall of mittens and jeans frozen stiff, face blue with cold, and horse and boy floundering on sloped ice underfoot.[21]

Facing those conditions, Anna must have wept at the sale of her cherished Vernal home. Ironically, and to Smart's chagrin, this house built by a man single-mindedly committed to making the Uintah Basin Mormon country was bought by a non-Mormon, Pardon Dodds Jr., son of the former Indian agent who had been the first settler in Ashley Valley. The price was $7,500, big money in those days and beyond the capacity of any likely Mormon

18. Ibid., February 9, 1912.
19. Ibid., February 12, 1912.
20. Rasmussen, "My Memoirs," 8.
21. J. H. Smart, "Fringe Benefits," 23.

Roosevelt, Utah, 1917

buyer. Smart put his best spin on the sale to such a man. Dodds, though a non-Mormon, was "friendly" and perhaps would be converted. So, he rationalized, "it really appeared to me as though the Lord had raised him up to carry this property."[22]

As it turned out, Dodds not only never converted, but his mortgage payments were painfully slow—another reason Smart's finances steadily deteriorated. "I have been delayed here [in Vernal] endeavoring to get settlement with Pardon Dodds Jr. for home I sold him," Smart recorded two and a half years after the sale. "I failed, but may have laid foundation for further payments." It wasn't much of a foundation. Ten months later, still with no payments, Smart helped Dodds sell his meat business and agreed to accept hoped-for future income from the sale to apply on the mortgage.[23] Eventually Dodds sold the home to William H. Siddoway, and in the winter of 1974–75 it fell to the wrecking ball.

If housekeeping was burdensome for Anna in their early Roosevelt years, Smart never acknowledged it. He may not even have noticed it much; in his constant preoccupation with organizing, encouraging, and assisting Mormon congregations and communities scattered throughout his widespread stake, he was seldom home more than a few days at a time. But with the stake headquarters located there, Roosevelt prospered. Its population grew from 688 in 1910 to an estimated 1,000 in 1917. During the same period, Myton shrank from 1048 to 700.[24]

22. Smart, Journals, November 6, 1911.
23. Ibid., April 30, 1914, and March 2, 1915.
24. Barton, *History of Duchesne County*, 169–70.

Shedding Business Burdens

In his early efforts to build the economy of the Uintah Basin, Smart had been deeply involved in organizing or fostering a number of its infant businesses, several through his Wasatch Development Company. At the time he was released as president of Uintah Stake, he was president of the Uintah Stake Bank, the Uintah Realty and Investment Company, the Uintah Telephone Company, and the Vernal Drug Company; vice president of the Uintah Abstract Company; and director and stockholder of Vernal Milling and Light (the basin's first power company) and the Vernal Express newspaper. Now, faced with the task of leading and building up his new stake, he set about divesting himself of business responsibilities in Vernal.

His first step was to sever connections with the Uintah Realty and Investment Company, resigning as president in favor of Reuben S. Collett. For his Uintah Realty stock, he received the price of his investment plus 5,000 shares of stock in Frank Lott's "South Myton Cary Act Co. if it materializes."[25] It didn't, despite Smart's efforts to persuade fellow-Mormon Jesse Knight to invest in the project, and the stock became worthless.

Smart's disengagement from his Vernal business affairs continued. A year almost to the day after he persuaded Uintah Stake priesthood leaders that he should create the Uintah State Bank because of the anti-Mormon bias of the existing bank, he resigned as its president. But that was not all. Because his new stake calling meant leaving Vernal, he announced, he intended "to carry out this same policy with reference to all other companies with which I am connected here."[26]

When that process was completed, his public-interest business positions were reduced to directorships and stock holdings in the Roosevelt Realty Company, the Roosevelt Mercantile Company, and major ownership of the *Duchesne Record* newspaper in Myton. The first two were deeply in debt and paying no dividends.[27] Not one of the three was yet profitable.

His ownership in and presidency of the realty company exemplified the magnanimous but not very businesslike policies that eventually shrank his fortune to almost nothing. In March 1912, he sold all but $500 worth of his stock in the company to Owen Bennion of the stake high council and to Ephraim Lambert, his counselor in the stake presidency, taking only their notes as payment. He explained to his fellow stockholders that he had built the company primarily to promote the growth of Roosevelt, that his money had largely financed it, and that he had now "divided [my] stock with brethren to strengthen the cause . . . trusting that I may now turn with zeal toward other necessary centers as the Lord wills."[28] It

25. Smart, Journals, January 1, 1911.
26. Ibid., February 15, 1911.
27. Ibid., February 9–10, 1911.
28. Ibid., March 11–12, 1912.

didn't work out. Three years later, both men, unable to make payments, defaulted on their notes.[29]

Smart's one enterprise that seemed to be modestly prospering at this time was the Sego Lilly Bee Company that he had established to initiate the honey business in the Uintah Basin. It was a small operation, but big enough to provide an exceptionally sweet gift. "The Lord has been very merciful and mindful of me during my past life," he recorded, "and as I am now in my fiftyeth or Jubilee year I desire to recognize to Him my appreciation by presenting to some of the general Authorities of the Church some honey from the bee company with which I am connected."

He and his son Thomas Laurence loaded a wagon with eighteen five-gallon cans of honey—nearly half a ton—for the four-day drive to Salt Lake City. Five cans were for President Joseph F. Smith and his five families, one for First Counselor Anthon H. Lund, two for Second Counselor John Henry Smith, two for Quorum of the Twelve President Francis M. Lyman, two for Presiding Bishop Charles W. Nibley, one for each of Nibley's counselors, O. P. Miller and David A. Smith, one for President Joseph W. McMurrin of the Seventy, one for Patriarch John Smith, and two for Smart's second wife Mary and her two grown sons.[30] His response to President Smith's letter of thanks evidenced that not all was well with his financial state: "This honey crop—the result of a little bee company I had instigated, and which went before me into this virgin section [his new stake]—is the first successful returns realized from investments therein."[31]

Despite his choice of Roosevelt as Duchesne Stake headquarters, Smart was still intrigued with business possibilities in Myton. With anti-Mormon attitudes softened there, two prominent Myton businessmen, J. H. Coltharp and H. C. Means,[32] invited Smart to join in their ventures, especially to help establish mercantile and electric light and power companies. He could fill a vacancy on their Myton State Bank board, they promised, and a block of bank stock could be his.[33]

After pondering and praying for a month, he accepted the offer, with the understanding that this would not prevent his doing bank business elsewhere or even starting his own bank, nor would it mean "I would throw all or my major influence [here] as I am interested in the whole county." Like so many of his investments, this one turned out badly. After ten years of struggling through Myton's declining fortunes, the bank closed its doors for good in 1922.

29. Ibid., February 13, 1915.
30. Ibid., September 23, 1911.
31. Ibid., December 13, 1911.
32. Barton, *History of Duchesne County*, 146, 158. Coltharp, a principal in the Myton State Bank, and Means, a realtor, had joined with the local Mormon leader, I. W. Odekirk, and others to build the Myton Opera House. Means became chairman of a committee to establish boundaries of the proposed new county.
33. Smart, Journals, March 22, 1912.

Branch President I. W. Odekirk's mercantile store in Myton, 1915

Smart could not have been too surprised by that result. According to his journal, his rationale for getting involved in Myton's business dealings was not in the expectation of profit, but out of a desire to be helpful. "There is a dullness of business here and an unhealthy condition," he wrote.

> They have lived in a boom atmosphere, had distributed here most of the government money thru Indian department, have lived on prospects of rail road and transient money. Now these things are practically shut off, and being non producers they are in an unhealthy state. I feel that I should do something here to prevent a crash if possible and also to assist worthy citizens to become more substantially settled.[34]

Characteristically, he didn't hesitate in recommending changes. The next day, he urged that the Calvert and Waugh General Store be amalgamated with two other stores, one operated by Coltharp and one by his Mormon friend Odekirk, into one general mercantile company, since "there seems to me to be too many business houses here for the trade and there is danger of some failing." If such an amalgamation could be accomplished, he agreed to be involved with it.

Water for Duchesne/Blue Bench

Meanwhile, he set about seeing what could be done to build up the third potential church headquarters site, Duchesne. Water and a canal to deliver it was, as always, the critical need. Meeting with John A. Fortei, counselor in the Duchesne Ward bishopric, he was told that "the prejudice of

34. Ibid., April 24, 1912.

non-mormon homesteaders that has existed against their receiving any of our influence in getting the water out is modified, and that he believes something could now be accomplished by our assistance." Earlier offers to help had been rejected, Smart recalled, "but I feel inclined to make one more attempt to render assistance [since] I learn there is a discouraged, restless spirit taking hold of people here thru no successful effort being made toward watering the land and some are leaving accordingly."[35]

The customary dispatch with which he approached such projects was blunted by an attack—he called it "rheumatic sciatica"—that put him out of action for six weeks. But on July 12, 1912, he met with directors of the two existing Blue Bench Canal irrigation districts, urged them to consolidate and appoint an agent to determine the most feasible way to get water to the land, adding that he was willing to help "in any way I can." So, to no one's surprise, the districts did consolidate and appointed Smart himself to be that agent. He was authorized to incur "necessary and reasonable" expenses and given ninety days to complete the job.

Smart was elated that the "foundation has been laid for the spirit of the priesthood to be introduced into this important project and I verily believe it means a new dawn for this western section." As he so often did, in what could be perceived as either false modesty or humble sincerity, he credited divine intervention for the outcome, while acknowledging that he himself had some part of it: "The Lord is moving in mysterious and unmistakable ways His wondrous labors to perform. While ascribing to Him all honor and glory, I am grateful that in my small way I am permitted to be one instrument therein."[36]

As usual, Smart moved quickly. The next day, he appointed his counselor Ephraim Lambert, as well as Reuban S. Collett and Harden Bennion, as assistants on the irrigation project. Responsible now to help bring water to the land, he was finally convinced that, as he had envisioned on an early exploration, this was the right place for a stake center in the western part of the basin. So he commissioned Alva Murdock and John Fortei to secure options on land in and around the future townsite. Clearly, despite the presence of non-Mormon homesteaders in the area, securing water and building the town was to be done by and for Mormons. But Smart warned his associates of the curse that should follow "any of us using our knowledge unrighteously for our own aggrandizement. . . . That is we should not buy up lands for speculation around prospective townsites wherein others would be handicapped in procurring homes."[37]

On September 30, well within the ninety days allotted him, Smart reported on the feasibility of Blue Bench irrigation. The water would be diverted

35. Ibid., April 26, 1912.
36. Ibid., July 14, 1912.
37. Ibid., July 15–17, 1912.

from Rock Creek into a canal to be dug across Purple Bench and upper and lower Blue Bench, and settlers on the three benches would unite into one irrigation district to accomplish this project. His plan was approved.

The Pioneer Canal from Rock Creek ultimately did bring water to Blue Bench and Duchesne, but not to all three districts. A year after his feasibility report, Smart met with the tiny Winn Branch (later the town of Talmage[38]), located on Purple Bench above the canal takeout point. He advised them that "if they cannot unite with Upper Blue Bench people on Joint irrigation system not to worry but take it that is the will of the Lord not to in which event to organize separately, find the most feasible route and go to and get water."[39]

That proved to be good advice, since the Blue Bench canal was, in the end, a failure. Its cost was far beyond the capacity of the roughly forty homesteaders on Blue Bench to pay through annual fees. The Blue Bench Irrigation District that Smart had helped consolidate issued bonds, $100,000 of which were bought by the wealthy Mormon Jesse Knight. His own Provo Construction Company did the work, and the project soon became known as the Knight Canal.

And challenging work it was. To cross the many ravines and gullies required nearly three miles of wooden flumes, as well as a wooden siphon over the largest ravine. After two years of labor, the first water reached the Blue Bench in the spring of 1915. But its flow wasn't reliable. The Douglas fir planking in the flumes shrank, warped, and leaked. Rocks rolling down the steep hillsides occasionally smashed into the flume. Maintenance and repair were a constant and heavy expense. Worse, the frequent interruption of the water flow for repairs ruined crops. Many homesteaders gave up and sold out to the Knight Investment Company, which ultimately owned most of Blue Bench's irrigable land.

For years, Knight struggled with the canal to water what he hoped would be a profitable agribusiness. His death in 1921 ended that; the project gradually died, and in 1949 the company gave up its water rights to the county for $621.30.[40] The *Vernal Express* later called the canal project that Smart began and Knight finished the basin's "most spectacular [reclamation] failure."[41]

A Foothold in Ouray Valley

Meanwhile, Smart had other interests. With David O. Mackay (not to be confused with Apostle David O. McKay), he rode into Ouray Valley, that wedge-shaped region of mostly desolate land between the Duchesne and

38. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 401.
39. Smart, Journals, September 14, 1913.
40. See Barton, *History of Duchesne County*, 311–15.
41. Gary Fuller Reese, "Uncle Jesse: The Story of Jesse Knight, Miner, Industrialist, Philanthropist" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1961), 82, 83. Quoted in Barton, *History of Duchesne County*, 315.

Green rivers, to determine whether to buy 320 available acres of desert public land through the Desert Entry Land Act, "I having in mind possible route of railroad and location of the leading town to be in this section." This is the area where he had climbed a hill the previous year and "thought the eminences overlooking the Green River Valley east would serve as most admirable sites for a temple and a tabernacle."[42] Of the dry lakebed in the area, he thought "it may be wiser to make a lake out of it than farms." Always optimistic about Uintah Basin development, he felt that "our people should secure not only this [section] but all they can of this valley."[43] On October 19, he himself filed for 320 Desert Entry Act acres on the northwest corner of the lakebed.

As it turned out, his vision of the area's future proved a bit cloudy. No railroad came, and certainly no temple. The area never prospered, its "leading town" becoming the tiny, ultimately abandoned village of Leota. He was right about one thing, though. The lake he proposed to create became Pelican Lake, famous today as perhaps the state's most productive bluegill and bass fishery.

With his counselor, Joseph Hardy, he investigated another opportunity—to invest in a ranch owned by a Mormon, William Miles, in Nine-mile Canyon. Owning some 1,100 acres around springs in the area, Miles controlled a twelve-by-six-mile bloc of public grazing lands. That operation was dwarfed, however, by the holdings of Preston Nutter, Utah's most powerful cattleman, farther up the canyon. In five days on horseback, Smart examined that rugged country, never mentioning, if he noticed it, the extensive ancient Fremont rock art that has made Nine-mile Canyon world-famous. At the end of his inspection tour, he told Miles he would take the matter of investment under advisement.[44] Nothing came of it.

For years, Uintah Basin residents dreamed of and often expected a railroad to end their isolation and spur economic growth. In 1912, with hopes dimming for a line linking Denver and Salt Lake City through the basin, an entrepreneur named Rock M. Pope proposed a modest substitute. His plan was to build a rail line from Provo through the basin to Jensen. Forty percent of the capital would come from Uintah Basin farmers mortgaging their land to the company in exchange for stock. With that evidence of support, he assured Smart, other investors would finance the rest. But, he urged, without the endorsement of the two stake presidents, Colton in Vernal and Smart in Roosevelt, the plan would fail.

Smart was understandably skeptical, but told Pope he would consider it and seek advice. As usual, his request for advice was to the First Presidency. The answer was succinct and clear: "our people ought not incur

42. Smart, Journals, January 12 and 13, 1911.
43. Ibid., September 26 and 27, 1912.
44. Ibid., July 19–23, 1912.

indebtedness by taking stock in proposed railroad."[45] That ended that scheme, but it would be years before the interstate trucking of freight on a national highway system developed and finally ended the dream of a railroad into the basin.

Family Matters

In his preoccupation with church- and community-building, Smart left the raising of his family largely to Anna. His own involvement seems to have been mainly through extended and formal family councils and occasional lengthy lectures. Still, he expressed pride in his children. Elizabeth, the oldest, had returned from her mission in England, served in leadership positions in the stake Primary and the ward Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association, and was soon to leave to attend college in Provo. Son William was filling leadership positions in the German Mission. Except for an undescribed indiscretion that the family formally voted to forgive, Thomas Laurence was doing well at Utah State Agricultural College in Logan, and before long he would be leaving on his own mission to the Pacific Northwest. Edna, Anna, Joseph, and the youngest child, Ruth, were all meeting their father's expectations. Approaching his fiftieth birthday, in one of the many family councils he resolved to be "more balanced and seasoned in righteous judgement," and "exhorted the family to help me by their good works and thereby also help themselves; and to live pure, virtuous lives."[46]

So it must have been a painful shock to him to learn that Elizabeth had married secretly and outside the temple. His unwelcome new son-in-law was James Rasmussen, whom he described as "of Mormon parentage, is a member himself but does not observe the word of wisdom and is inactive therefore was not in a condition to go into the temple. Neither was she really worthy having deceived us by courting him in secret."[47] Smart's complex reactions to this grave insult to his sense of propriety reveal much about his character: outwardly stern and unbending, but loving and forgiving at his core.

First, as stake president, he promptly released her from her position in the stake Primary, and then, in a formal family council, advised her that "our relationships be not too close as she has chosen a life different from our aims." Not until they "square their lives with order of the Gospel," he told her, could those relationships be closer. The family was forbidden to associate with her. Years later, Elizabeth recalled that ostracism:

> Even now I see Anna [her little sister], just eight, and Joseph, ten, standing out beside the banks of a large ditch with tears running down their cheeks, afraid to disobey, and yet wanting to see me. I stood on the other side and talked with them and comforted them. This makes Father seem

45. Ibid., August 6, 14, and 16, 1912.
46. Ibid., March 31, 1912.
47. Ibid., August 5, 1912.

> like an ogre, but he was from old English stock and I had hurt and humiliated him.[48]

Ogre he may have seemed, but not for long. Within ten days he could stand the separation no longer, and called another family council, which, by formal vote, forgave Elizabeth. Moreover, he offered Jim a loan to go to school in Logan to learn the carpentry trade and further his education, which had ended after the seventh grade. The forgiving—and perhaps penitent—father gave the newlyweds a three-piece green velvet living room set and a piano for their small log cabin. A year later, with Jim having given up cigarettes and coffee, at least temporarily, the young couple were sealed in a Logan temple marriage.[49] For all the following years, the two men enjoyed a close, mutually supportive relationship.

Smart's concern for family extended beyond the walls of his own home. He had long been distressed about the spiritual welfare of his wealthy older brother, Thomas. His efforts to involve him as his counselor in the Uintah Stake presidency had failed when, after a few brief months in the calling, Thomas found life in the Uintah Basin too harsh and his Logan business affairs more attractive. William's effort to lure Thomas to chair the executive committee of Frank Lott's Myton Bench development scheme failed, probably for the same reasons and perhaps also because his brother's more finely attuned business sense warned him of the project's shakiness.

While attending the 1910 October conference, Smart had some deep second thoughts about trying to woo his brother into the basin, either to strengthen him spiritually or to help in the work.

> I have been reviewing in my mind how proud men are to exercise unrighteous control . . . and what a temptation is afforded when one surrounds himself with relatives. . . . I have therefore concluded that God being my helper, my policy shall be to go to Him for help—that He shall put it into the heart of such as He wishes to go the Uintah Basin. . . . Should He raise up relatives well and good, but they shall be considered not in that light by us. . . . Acting with the above policy as basis I have written this morning to Thomas and James [James Webster, his brother-in-law and former partner in the sheep business] accordingly, and now I am rid of the responsibility of their future movements. . . . I feel that this policy is given me by Him and if so I pray that I may faithfully observe it throughout my ministry.[50]

Many would argue that he had no such responsibility in the first place. But it is characteristic of Smart's sense of his life's mission that he felt as though he did. In any event, despite his prayer that throughout his ministry he would exercise his new freedom from responsibility for others, he never

48. Rasmussen, "My Memoirs," 11.
49. Smart, Journals, January 2, 1913.
50. Ibid., October 10, 1910.

really managed to do so. Barely five months after shedding this responsibility, he was once again trying to manage Thomas's affairs, this time to bring him to the basin as the new Whiterocks Indian agent.

Meeting with Reed Smoot at the senator's request to discuss the impending vacancy in that position, Smart recommended Thomas, "although it may be branded as partial to my brother." Thomas had earlier refused to consider the post but, under William's persuasion that it was his duty, agreed to accept it if offered. Smoot promised to work to get the appointment.[51] So the deal was set, but not for long.

In June, Congressman Joseph Howell submitted Thomas's name to the Secretary of the Interior. But a week later, Smart's concern about a perception of nepotism proved prophetic. Senator Smoot, his political antenna now quivering more sensitively, wrote that because opponents "would endeavor to manufacture any scandal possible in order to prevent his appointment he deemed it unwise to push Thomas for Agent."[52]

That ended that effort, but not Smart's concern about his brother's spiritual state. Never one to accept no for an answer, he wrote to Thomas three weeks later, "asking him if he has thoroughly decided to confirm himself to Cache Valley or if he has any inclination yet toward this country. Referred to the vision God gave him and how he was benefitted and said that I believed more is expected of him and that either in Cache Valley, here, or somewhere he should be establishing himself and family in the works and drill of the priesthood."[53] Thomas's reply, though unrecorded, must have been unequivocal; he remained in Cache Valley (except for winters in southern California), growing increasingly wealthy and respected, while his younger brother wore out his life and fortune trying to establish "our people" in the Uinta Basin.

Building a Pioneer Stake

Accomplishing that was a daunting task. In the early years of the first Mormon stake on the former reservation lands, he toured the area incessantly by buggy behind his favorite mules, Maude and Molly, usually overnighting with church members in their tiny log cabins, but pitching his own tent or finding shelter in an abandoned miner's shack when necessary. Some of his work was pastoral; there were the sick to be blessed, babies to be christened, funeral sermons to be delivered. Much more of it was administrative—organizing tiny Sunday schools where one or two families were available, branches where a few more could be assembled, even occasionally a ward for a congregation of fifty or so—and then finding leaders among the thin layer of eligible members, or cajoling backsliders into becoming eligible.

51. Ibid., March 20–21, 1911.
52. Ibid., June 11, 1911.
53. Ibid., July 3, 1911.

By the end of 1911, his stake consisted of six mostly small wards—Roosevelt, Hayden, and Bluebell in the eastern part; Theodore (Duchesne) in the west; Boneta in the upper Lake Fork country; and Tabiona on the upper Duchesne.[54] And there were branches—Lake Fork, Altonah, and Utahn. How and why they were formed tells something of the way Smart operated, and of the difficulties he faced.

Creation of the Utahn Branch, it appears, was spur-of-the-moment, without prior planning but, he felt, by inspiration. At a quarterly stake conference, he was seated on the stand and saw three men—Levi C. White, Elijah W. Mayhew, and Joseph Smithes—seated together. He recorded that "instantly they presented themselves to me as the branch presidency of Utahn. . . . To me it came like an open vision—even clearer than an ordinary impression. I feel, therefore, that [forming the branch] is the Lord's will."[55]

The Altonah Branch was born for a different purpose—to settle a dispute over a townsite location. Ranchers in the area around Bluebell, where a tiny ward had been established, wanted the townsite developed there. Seven or eight miles to the northwest, a small cluster of settlers argued that theirs would be a better location. Smart's solution was pragmatic; there would be two townsites. For the settlers in the upper area, meeting in a small log cabin, he organized a branch of the Bluebell Ward. "I suggested the name Altona for proposed town," he wrote, "'Alt' is high, lofty while 'ton' is for town and 'a' for euphony. People voted to commence at once a log Church house to be used for all purposes." Promising to come back the next morning to help decide where to place the building, he returned to Bluebell "tired but full of satisfaction at what had been done—pleased also that this long vexed question of townsite was at last amicably settled."[56]

Locating the townsite for the Boneta Ward was far more difficult and contentious. The problem was the same—the settlers around lower Boneta Flat contesting with those on higher ground six miles to the northeast for the location of the future town. Smart was caught in the middle. Despite his pleas for unity, feelings ran high and were openly and bluntly expressed. Although virtually all the settlers were Mormon, most were inactive and did not hesitate to oppose Smart's initial recommendation to combine both groups into one townsite. The lower-flat people wanted their own town; the upper group, a combined town, but only if it was located in their area. Several hotly contested votes were inconclusive.

Finally, sensing that the prevailing feeling was for separate towns and that many of those voting for one combined townsite did so only out of loyalty to church authority, Smart gave in. He wrote a resolution calling for separate

54. Ibid., December 25, 1911.
55. Ibid., December 18, 1911.
56. Ibid., January 28, 1912.

towns, which was approved by a vote of 50 to 6. The lower-flat townsite selected by Smart was promptly approved and named Boneta, but it took three more months for upper-flat settlers to approve his recommended site. A Mormon named B. B. Mecham proposed that they name it "Smart," for the stake president. Instead, they selected the name Mountain Home.[57]

It must have been a considerable relief to Smart that his townsite for the Lake Fork branch was approved without controversy. The tiny town established there was renamed Upalco, after the newly organized Uintah Power and Light Company built a hydroelectric plant on Lake Fork in 1913 to provide power to Roosevelt and Myton.[58]

Smart's incessant search for townsites and the intensity with which settlers fought for towns to be located in their vicinity stemmed from two aspects of Mormonism that Uintah Basin pioneers shared, and that particularly guided Smart's work there. One was the "City of Zion" plan originated by Joseph Smith and reemphasized by Brigham Young—that for cooperation, social interaction, church involvement, and mutual support, people should live in compact communities and do their farming or ranching outside of the settlement.[59] Smart repeatedly urged settlers to move into the townships he selected, and spent much time studying and counseling on where town halls, schools, or other public buildings should be located.

The other factor was optimism—seemingly unbridled in Smart's case—that with heaven's blessings the towns he established and many others would prosper in the future growth of the basin. It didn't work out that way. Altonah, Upalco, Boneta, and Utahn, among other once-hopeful towns, no longer have post offices, churches, or even stores. They are served by rural postal routes, and residents drive to larger towns for church or shopping.[60] Other wards or branches—Mural, Packer, Midview, Antelope, Stockmore, and Cuneal, each with its own Smart-designated townsite—have simply vanished from the map.

Creating Utah's Twenty-eighth County

When Duchesne Stake was created under Smart's presidency, the vast former Indian reservation lands it covered were still part of Wasatch County, headquartered in Heber, a hundred or more miles away over roads rugged at best, and made impassable by snow and mud much of the year. Ashley Valley and other nearby non-reservation lands on the eastern edge of Uinta Basin had been settled years earlier, mostly by non-Mormons. In 1888, the territorial legislature carved off that even-more-remote area from Wasatch County and created Uintah County. But after the reservation was opened and settlements

57. Ibid., December 6, 19–21, 1911, January 13–16, 21, and March 15, 1912.
58. Barton, *History of Duchesne County*, 188.
59. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 10.
60. Barton, *History of Duchesne County*, 187.

developed there, it was clear that a second Uinta Basin county was needed. Its creation would occupy a great deal of William H. Smart's attention.

He started early in his new ministry, urging Don B. Colton, his successor as Uintah Stake president, to join him in creating a committee to work for a new county. On New Years Day in 1911, the committee was formed, headed by the two stake presidents; it also included Samuel R. Bennion, the aging but highly respected first Uintah Stake president, Reuben S. Collett, Dan Lambert, Bart Bartlett, and George Victor Billings. Three weeks later, a meeting of representative citizens assigned Colton and Smart the task of getting the law changed to allow for the creation of new counties. Collett and Harden Bennion persuaded the Roosevelt Commercial Club to formally petition for a change in the law.[61]

That important step wouldn't be accomplished until more than two years later. In the meantime, Smart seemed to consider it a Mormon prerogative to determine the boundaries and headquarters of what he was now calling the "Reservation County." In frequent prayers, including at one of the many special prayer altars he built, he petitioned for divine guidance. He called a meeting of the presidents of the three stakes—Wasatch, Duchesne, and Uintah—who then appointed Joseph R. Murdock, a Democrat, and Colton, a Republican, to co-chair a committee to get their respective parties to include creation of the new county in their party platforms. He also appointed a seven-man committee, all Mormons, to recommend a location for the county seat. He met with the First Presidency for counsel on the same question, reporting that they favored Roosevelt, with the Duchesne area to be considered as well if two new counties were formed. Myton was "rather disfavored."[62]

A major sticking point was a legal disagreement over whether the state constitution allowed creation of new counties. Smart met with Governor William Spry, who sympathized with the need, but was persuaded by the attorney general's opinion that a constitutional amendment would be needed. Not wanting to go that clumsy route, Smart appealed to what he considered a higher authority—the First Presidency. They agreed with his argument that an amendment was unnecessary. "Their advice is to endeavor to get a bill passed thru the Legislature," Smart recorded. The church attorney, Franklin S. Richards, concurred, telling Smart that "a bill should pass providing for creation of new Counties after which it should be tested before the supreme court as to its constitutionality."[63]

So that, of course, was the way it was done. In late February 1913, both houses of the legislature passed the needed bill. "It was sponsored by William L. Vanwagoner of Wasatch County," Smart recorded, and "had my

61. Ibid., 145; Smart, Journals, January 25, 1911.
62. Smart, Journals, March 30, April 6, May 4, and June 27, 1912.
63. Ibid., January11, 1913.

endorsement."[64] The new law provided for the creation of counties, but only with voters of both the old county and the proposed new one approving the boundaries.

Getting that approval was the next big challenge. It would not be easy. At issue was control of water, timber, and grazing in the western part of the Uinta Basin, and particularly of coalbeds in the Red Creek area. A forty-man commission, under chairmanship of H. C. Means, was formed to tackle the question. They met in Salt Lake City and could not agree.

But the real power of decision, Smart felt, lay with the presidencies of the two Mormon stakes involved, which were led by his protégé, Wasatch Stake president Joseph R. Murdock, and himself. He suggested a meeting in Salt Lake City to seek agreement. Fasting and praying himself, Smart sought further divine guidance through a letter to the First Presidency, advising that the stake leaders would be meeting to consider the boundary issue "with the hope that you may have the matter in remembrance before the Lord."[65]

According to Smart, the meeting was productive. Murdock and his counselors argued that the boundary line should be far enough east for Wasatch County to include the Currant and Red Creek valleys, because Heber stockmen had purchased extensive grazing rights in the area. Also, they argued, such a line would approximate the existing division between the Wasatch and Uintah high school districts.

Smart called the first argument spurious. "Men with their possessions come and go," he reasoned, "but land remains. May as well argue that had Provo people purchased it should be annexed to Utah Co." As for the school district boundary, it "was not decided upon by joint counsel as advised by authorities [meaning, no doubt, himself and his associates] hence we do not entertain regard for it."

The Duchesne River drainage should naturally be in the new county, he insisted, and a boundary including the Fruitland area in the new county would both share the grazing lands fairly and also divide the coalbeds between the two counties. Murdock, Smart reported, "indicated he would use his influence" for that solution. To relax after what seemed to him a victory, Smart took his second wife Mary to the Orpheum Theater, where they "witnessed results of Edison's late invention wherein the moving picture feature is combined with the phonograph with the result that one gets not only the action but also the individual's speech. It is wonderful to note the development of science applied."[66]

On July 3, 1913, voters went to the polls to decide whether a new county based loosely on that boundary should be created. The reservation part of the county, Smart's stake, voted 831 to 130 in favor. But Wasatch Stake voters,

64. Ibid., March 1, 1913; Barton, *History of Duchesne County*, 145–46.
65. Smart, Journals, April 4, 1913.
66. Ibid.

concerned that their county would lose valuable resources, turned it down, 474 for, 721 against. Since under the law the voters in both the old and proposed new counties had to approve of the division, the effort failed.

In a long written report to the First Presidency, Smart blamed the defeat on lawyers and stockmen who had purchased Indian land. These, he wrote, "were practically all either non-Mormons or luke warm and they, together with what we are informed is now known as the pool element of Heber, succeeded in causing such a passionate and inconsitant consideration of the question that the election failed to carry there. . . . The trouble we encountered on both sides is the ignorance of the people generally as to the country and this left them open to persuasions of the above class of men."[67] His appeal to the First Presidency for further guidance on the boundary issue brought no help. "Whatever you leading brethren interested [i.e., the two stake presidents] shall decide in regard to it will be satisfactory to us," the Presidency replied.[68]

To his own congregation, Smart blamed not land-owing lawyers, lukewarm Mormons, Heber's "pool element," or ignorant voters for the defeat, but forces much further beyond his control. In a testimony meeting three days after the vote, he declared, "I feel that the hand of the Lord is in it. . . . He would have turned votes otherwise had He chosen." But, he confided in his journal, "I was sorely tried and tempted thru a spirit of discouragement."[69]

He didn't stay discouraged long. By the following March, the Wasatch County Commission seated in Heber was again urging division of the county, citing the impracticability of governing such a huge and sprawling entity, especially one divided by high mountains with often-impassable, snow- or mud-choked roads. On March 12, 1914, Smart, in his newspaper, the *Duchesne Record*, published an open letter calling for another vote, and followed that the next week with an editorial "to prepare citizens for consideration of same in affirmative."

Again, the two stake presidencies undertook to decide the boundary issue. In a letter dated March 16, 1914, the Wasatch Stake presidency reiterated its position that the county boundary should approximate the existing high-school-district dividing line, and that grazing lands owned by Heber stockmen should remain in the existing county. Smart, with his counselors and high council, responded with a sharply worded letter again rejecting these arguments and insisting, in the interest of "consistency and the dictates of conscience in the matter of equity and justice," on the line agreed upon by the stake presidencies a year earlier.[70]

67. Smart to First Presidency, August 6, 1913, Smart Papers. The full letter is included in appendix B of this volume.
68. First Presidency to Smart, August 22, 1913, Smart Papers.
69. Smart, Journals, July 6, 1913.
70. Ibid., March 25, 1914.

A second county division election was scheduled for July 13, 1914, based on a compromise north–south boundary running five miles west of Fruitland. With a yes vote certain in his own stake, Smart felt he could be most effective by using his influence in Wasatch Stake, from which he had been released as president eight years earlier. At Murdock's invitation, he attended the prayer circle of the stake presidency and high council, where Murdock took the election matter before the Lord and Smart pleaded for a division based on cooperation between the two stakes. The vote for division was unanimous.

During the next few days, Smart spoke at meetings in Center, Caniel, Wallsburg, and Charleston, reminiscing with old friends, urging support of President Murdock, testifying that any good he himself had done had been done "only through the spirit of the Lord," and not, of course, hiding his conviction that the vote should be favorable.

How much that helped is difficult to say, but *something* had changed enough minds that the division of Wasatch County was approved, 1634 to 523. The reservation part of the county voted 783 yes, 98 no, and the western part—Heber Valley and environs—approved two to one, 851 to 425. On August 13, 1914, Governor Spry issued a proclamation creating Duchesne County, with a population of 9000, as Utah's twenty-eighth county.[71]

The new county, with its tiny tax base, faced formidable problems. Foremost among them was the lack of decent roads within as well as into and out of the basin. A week after the county's birth, hope was kindled when, as Smart recorded, "several autos of representative men from the east accompanied by some from Vernal, Heber and Salt Lake came thru the Basin investigating an ocean to ocean auto trail."[72] This was a delegation of the Lincoln Highway Association. Financed mainly by assessing automobile and tire companies 1 percent of their revenues, and with a ten-million-dollar budget, the association undertook to establish a national graveled highway by contracting with states and communities to build their sections. But Uinta Basin hopes for that highway died when the surveyors chose a route down Echo Canyon, north rather than south of the Uinta Mountains.

Without waiting for that decision, Smart tried a different approach. Two weeks after the election, he met with Governor William Spry and, at the governor's suggestion, the State Road Commission board, seeking a state appropriation to help build a wagon road from Duchesne to the railroad at Colton. He won only a promise that they would give it their attention. He followed that up with an editorial in the *Duchesne Record*, one of the last he would write before selling the paper. "We have not yet a good wagon road in any direction, either in the basin or leading out of the basin," the editorial complained.

71. Barton, *History of Duchesne County*, 148. Daggett County, established in 1918, is the twenty-ninth and last county formed in Utah.

72. Smart, Journals, August 22, 1914.

> All that we have we have built ourselves, without taxes, without aid from the State worth mentioning. . . . We ask help to build a western gateway so that we may go to Salt Lake, or Utah county—to the old settled part of Utah, with a load, so that autos may go east and west during the major part of the year. Is it possible for Utah to do this? Yes, it is not only possible but it is morally obligatory that the state does this.[73]

It didn't help. The 1915 legislature appropriated $25,000 for the highway from Vernal and $10,000 for a bridge over the Duchesne River, but Governor Spry refused to sign either bill. Nor did Smart get any results from a letter he wrote to Presiding Bishop Charles W. Nibley, seeking his influence to get the Union Pacific Railroad to build a wagon road into the basin from its line in Wyoming.[74] It would be more than a decade before an all-weather road led into or out of the basin.

The County Seat Campaign

But roads were not at the top of Smart's agenda. The immediate issue was the location of the new county seat. With Myton, Roosevelt, Duchesne, and, to a lesser extent, Lake Fork all vying for the honor, it promised to be—and was—a contentious campaign. Backed by a unanimous vote of his counselors that "the Stake Presidency take the initiative in the consideration of seat for proposed new county,"[75] Smart immersed himself in it from the beginning and stayed with it to the end.

Initially, feeling that in time the basin would include three counties, he favored putting the first new county seat in Duchesne to soften that area's jealousy over locating both the high school and the stake headquarters in Roosevelt, but also to avoid the morally corrupting influence he felt a county seat would bring to Roosevelt's Mormon purity.

Six months later, apparently realizing that a third county was uncertain and at best distant, he had concluded that Roosevelt should go after the county seat after all, "attendant evils and bad society" notwithstanding. He convinced the First Presidency of that course and, after getting their endorsement, undertook to visit ward and branch officers as well as individuals throughout the stake to get a sense of where they felt the county seat should be. In a three-week period, he conducted some ninety such interviews, and reported that 78 percent of those interviewed favored Roosevelt, 8 percent Duchesne, and 4 percent Myton, with 10 percent undecided. He reported those results to the First Presidency in a letter that made no secret of his own bias, stating that

> as eastern section [Roosevelt] is now the one of greatest strength and higher plane of civilization and citizenship generally, and in as much as

73. *Duchesne Record*, January 16, 1915.
74. Smart, Journals, July 27, 1914.
75. Ibid., July 17, 1914.

> much scheming by petty politicians in favor of western division [Duchesne] I feel that it is safer to place Co. Seat in the division of safety especially as the purity or impurity of government is influenced so much by the environments of the seat of government.[76]

What he did not report is that in Myton he interviewed only the three members of the branch presidency, and that in Duchesne he interviewed no one at all. He had learned that a meeting was to be held there of delegates from various precincts to vote on the county seat. "Leading and reliable men have not brought it about," he wrote, "but schemers whose prejudice has caused them to pack the convention, so that Roosevelt will not be successful thru jealousy on account of its being the center of the priesthood and Stake headquarters. The opposition centers against me."[77] So he judiciously stayed away.

Once more, as in the earlier high-school-bond election, Smart pressed his stake leadership team into the campaign. Stake clerk Ernest Burgess drafted a petition making Roosevelt the county seat, then went on the road to help win supporters. He took with him a special asset; his wife Donna led an eight-piece dance orchestra who joined the campaign and, after the political speeches, played for a dance—which often meant reaching home at 4 a.m. In nearby Cedarview and Bluebell, they had reasonable success, and in Altonah their efforts managed to keep the vote close. But in the Lake Fork country, they learned something of the perils of Uintah Basin campaigning and of how inflexible voters can be. Driving down the dugway to the Lake Fork River, the driver was unable to control the team, Burgess recorded, "and we nearly went over the dugway." There were other troubles, too.

> We went on to Boneta and were given the wrong directions to Mountain Home. It was after dark and after a five-mile drive we found ourselves back at the river. We then turned around and followed a mountain road which ended in a man's wheat field. The farmer gave us instructions as to where Mountain home is and we arrived there about 10 o'clock. After that our speakers gave a brief talk and we gave them a dance. The people from that section were bitterly opposed to Roosevelt as the county seat.[78]

Not even the dancing changed minds. When the Mountain Home votes were counted, it was Duchesne 244, Roosevelt 40.

As the election approached, Smart intensified his campaign, seemingly convinced that he represented the right, and that any opposition was evil. He was alarmed to learn that "two ministers—one following the other and belonging to different denominations have canvassed the county

76. Ibid., September 27, 1914.
77. Ibid., September 19, 1914.
78. Burgess, Journals, 2:21.

calling on non mormons and non Utahns to vote against Roosevelt for County Seat they believing that the church wishes Roosevelt to become such. This again makes me feel that no pains should be spared to thwart their evil designs."

To do so, he personally hand-wrote letters to the stake's eleven bishops and seven branch presidents, asking them to "have some suitable brother offer prayer in the middle of fast meeting next Sunday asking the Lord to over rule the location of our County Seat for the best good of the County and the people, being careful therein not to express any personal preference"—as if any Mormon in the county could by this time be unaware of where their stake president stood.

Four days before the election, he convened a meeting of "representative men," non-Mormons as well as Mormons, and reiterated his conviction that "county government would be administered from this point [Roosevelt] purer than from any other." He argued that Roosevelt should be a "home, educational and government center," that Myton could be the business center but had no chance of winning the county seat, and that "her interests are permanently with ours and not with Duchesne." In a not-so-subtle effort to win Myton votes, he said that if Duchesne won he would move his newspaper, the *Duchesne Record,* from Myton to Duchesne, but that if Roosevelt won it would remain in Myton and "there would be no necessity for any paper at Duchesne now."[79]

Finally and characteristically, he undertook the one remaining thing he could do—an extended fast lasting from Sunday to the close of polls on Tuesday, praying for the right election outcome.

From Smart's standpoint, it was all in vain. In what has to be regarded, in part at least, as a rejection of the fervency of his Mormon leadership, the new county decisively chose Duchesne.

The pattern of voting was instructive. Roosevelt, with the largest population, and Duchesne, with the next largest, both voted almost unanimously for themselves. Despite Smart's late-hour appeal, Myton gave the largest share of its non-Myton votes not to Roosevelt but to the more distant and obviously non-competitive Lake Fork. Boneta, where his efforts to settle the township issue had rankled many citizens, voted strongly for Duchesne. By contrast, its more Mormon-oriented near-neighbor, Altonah, split its vote fairly evenly between the two main contenders. Proximity was a major factor in the voting of other towns; Roosevelt's location at the eastern edge of the new county clearly hurt its chances. Harder to assess is how much resentment of Smart's Mormon dominance, and/or perhaps his declining business and financial stature, influenced the vote.

79. Ibid., October 30, 1914.

Duchesne County Seat Vote by Precinct

Duchesne	Myton	Lake Fork	Roosevelt
412	3	1	3
3	4	1	485
244	2	0	40
54	12	32	48
48	1	0	6
31	17	0	0
18	13	0	0
17	8	64	7
5	1	0	78
40	2	0	13
5	7	0	13
4	211	58	21
86	0	0	0
1,067	331	163	817[80]

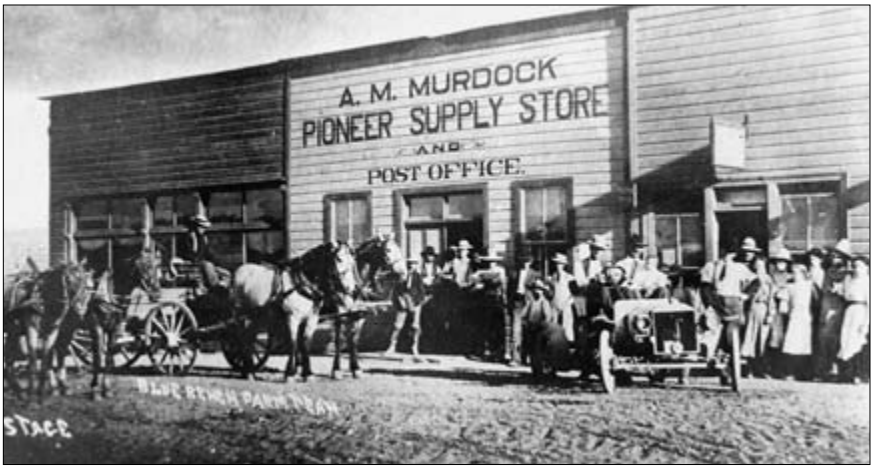
One of Smart's strongest traits (although some may regard it rather as an abdication of responsibility) was a remarkable ability to accept what came, put the best possible spin on it, attribute it not to any failure of his or his people's efforts but to the Lord's will, and move on. Five days after the election, at a Roosevelt ward conference, he counseled the people to "accept the result and unite with our western citizens in building up the County . . . that for some purpose of His own the Lord over ruled the election as it is; that the progress of this section does not depend upon the County seat but upon the development of its resources and our keeping the commandments of God; that if we will do right I feel that this will prove a blessing in disguise and that Roosevelt will be added upon in the future." If that was not solace enough, he added, rather disingenuously, that "the high school is of far more benefit than the County seat, and that [because of jealousy] in obtaining the former the latter was sacrificed."[81]

Wooing Duchesne

Mollifying Roosevelt citizens was one thing. Winning the respect, if not the affection, of Duchesne citizens was another—difficult because of his vigorous but failed efforts to defeat them in the county seat election, crucially important because the result of that election meant Duchesne would become a major player whose support was essential to his Mormon-country dream.

He set about the task immediately. On the day after the election he "felt it prudent" to visit Duchesne, assessing the attitude of the people toward

80. *Vernal Express*, November 6, 1914, as quoted in Barton, *History of Duchesne County*, 151. Columns do not add up because scattered outlying votes were not listed.
81. Smart, Journals, November 8, 1914.



Murdock Store, Duchesne, 1915

himself (he found them "fairly cordial considering that they had charged me with using Church influence because leading brethren exercised their citizenship by working for Roosevelt as County seat") and seeking their reaction to the idea of moving his newspaper from Myton to Duchesne (he found "the citizens of Duchesne are unanimous in desiring the *Record* to go there"). In a visit two weeks later he offered another enticement, disclosing that his stake presidency three months earlier had appointed a committee to work toward establishing a bank in Duchesne, and that at that time he had actually applied for a charter.

Demonstrating that his support of Duchesne was more than talk, he bought a choice homestead on the Blue Bench just above the town for $2,500. He recalled, from his first visit to the area before the opening of the reservation, "my riding over this ground with much zeal and feeling that sometime a stake headquarters would be in this vacinity." Recording foresight and private sentiments that could not have been suspected from his actions, he wrote that "as the election was nearing . . . I thought of the possibility of Duchesne's becoming the County Seat, and indeed feeling inclined that it should so become." He "could not say whether I am to hold it [the homestead] as a steward for some public purpose or whether it is to be cultivated by me as a personal holding . . . but I cannot but feel that the hand of the Lord is in the purchase."[82]

Having laid that much groundwork, on Christmas Eve in 1914, Smart convened a meeting of "representative citizens" for what he called a "heart to heart talk." He reminded them of his efforts to bring irrigation water to the Blue Bench, assured them he had no ill will toward anyone, and that "if

82. Ibid., December 1, 1914.

any have toward me I desire to know that I may explain away or make restitution." He got no response. He explained his actions in the county seat election, and emphasized that he now accepted the results.

Then he got down to the business of the meeting. First, he outlined the need for and the prospects of establishing a bank in Duchesne, and asked them to be candid in expressing whether he should take the lead in organizing the bank or leave it to others. The unanimous sentiment, he reported, was that he should organize a citizens' bank with stock purchase available to all. Next, he wanted to know their feelings about moving his newspaper, the *Duchesne Record*, from Myton back to Duchesne, where it had been established initially. Again the voting in favor was unanimous.

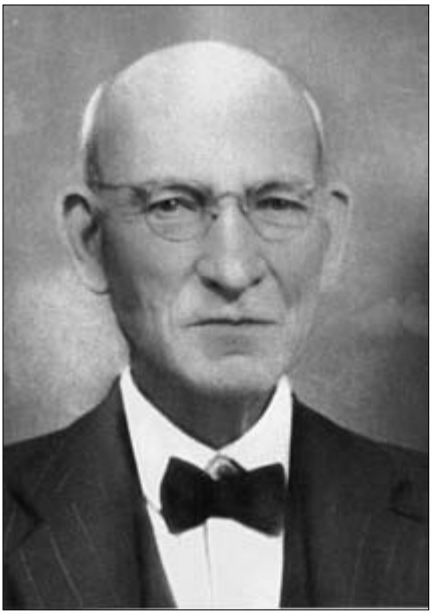
The Newspaperman

With that assurance and with his purchase of the homestead just above town, he was now satisfied that he should concentrate more of his efforts on Duchesne. First was the matter of moving the Duchesne Record, which may have triggered Smart's exit from Uintah Basin journalism. For nearly three years, the Record had been run by J. P. May, initially as Smart's salaried managing editor, then leasing the paper for $300 a year but with Smart retaining control of editorial policy. Now, for unstated reasons—perhaps a reluctance to move with the paper from Myton to Duchesne—May gave up his lease and returned to Salt Lake City. A stock company Smart helped organize, but which was headed by non-Mormon H. C. Means, bought his Myton printing operation for $2,426.[83] Two days later, a corporation organized by his counselor Joseph Hardy, Owen Bennion, and others bought his Roosevelt Standard for $1,500. A week after that, on February 6, 1915, a company organized by Duchesne Ward bishop George V. Billings bought the relocated Duchesne Record for $1,587, and soon Fred Watrous, Smart's original partner in the enterprise, was once again the editor.

"Thus closes my mission as active steward of press here during the pioneer period," Smart wrote of this flurry of newspaper sales. "In dollars and cents it has been expensive, but seemingly necessary. I am thankful it is at an end."

This financial blow was one Smart could ill afford. During fifteen years of virtually full-time church service, with no steady income, his fortune had shrunk. In 1915, while recording the $1,400 sale of eighty acres he had acquired earlier, he confided in his journal that "it is marvelous to me since my ready money has gone how the way is opened up from time to time to enable me to cover just what is necessary and maintain my financial integrity. I am deeply grateful to the Lord for this blessing."[84]

83. Ibid., January 26, 1915.
84. Ibid., July 2, 1915.




A shaved William Smart (left), who had ceased wearing a beard, and Anna Smart (right) in midlife

A Mission as Junior Companion

Three months later, during the LDS October general conference, the way was opened again, in a different manner. He had been thinking of taking a few months' rest from his presidential duties by serving a short mission in the Pacific Northwest, where he could visit his missionary son Laurence, and in California, where his wealthy brother spent the winter months. He knew he couldn't afford it, but soon found an answer. "The thought coming to me that it would be a good thing for my brother Thomas to share in this mission by financing it, I arose early and visited him at his room in the Utah Hotel. . . . He endorsed it and promised to share in it."[85]

With the encouragement of Francis M. Lyman, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, he sought and obtained approval of the First Presidency, informed his two wives of his plans (they both endorsed it, Anna "heartily"), discussed with his counselors his mission call and their duties during his absence, and on October 15 was on his way. For the first time in fifteen years, he had his beard shaved, "as it is rather approved by the leading brethren—especially in the mission field."[86]

For a month, this fifty-three-year-old former mission president and president of three stakes served as a junior companion to his twenty-one-

85. Ibid., October 3, 1915.
86. Ibid., October 7–15, 1915.

year-old second son Thomas Laurence, president of the West Washington Conference of the Northwestern States Mission.[87] "I am pleased to labor as junior to my son and truly hope I may not get out of my place," he wrote, "and that I may support and magnify him in righteousness."[88] The father-and-son companionship did what missionaries do—tracted door-to-door, sang and preached at street meetings, held cottage meetings, administered to the sick, urged lapsed or indifferent members to reactivate, studied, and prayed—and managed to find time for sightseeing in the Puget Sound and Vancouver Island areas. The journals make no mention of baptisms or of any investigator seriously listening to a gospel message.

Smart spent the second half of this brief mission in southern California, again as a junior companion, doing the usual missionary things, but again with no reports of serious investigators, much less baptisms.

The first leg of his return journey home was an ordeal. Weeks of torrential rains, perhaps—or perhaps not—caused by a self-proclaimed rainmaker,[89]

87. "Conference" is a term designating a geographical area in which several pairs of missionaries work. It may or may not include an organized unit of the church. In this case it apparently did not. The Northwestern States Mission was organized in 1897, the eighteenth mission of the church, comprising the states of Oregon and Washington and British Columbia. At the time of Smart's mission there, it was presided over by Melvin J. Ballard, sustained four years later as an apostle. *Church Almanac 2005,* 467.

88. Smart, Journals, October 18, 1915.

89. In December 1915, the drought-stricken city of San Diego signed a contract with Charles M. Hatfield, who billed himself as a Moisture Accelerator, to produce rain to fill the near-empty Morena reservoir. He was to receive a flat fee of $10,000, payable when the reservoir was full. At the Morena Dam, sixty miles east of San Diego, Hatfield built a twenty-eight-foot tower topped with tanks for his chemicals. Early in January smoke and fumes rose from the tanks.

The results, as reported by one historian, were disastrous: "On January 10 it rained hard. Five days later it poured, and water kept falling for five more days. . . . Rising waters marooned a Santa Fe train just north of the city and sea launches rescued the passengers. More bridges washed away. Homes flooded. . . . Someone at city hall decided this was too much too soon and tried calling Hatfield but the telephone lines were down. . . . A dam at Lower Otay Lake 'simply vanished under the pressure.' . . . The Sweetwater Dam ruptured. Muddy waters covered farms and ranches. Homes slipped off their foundations; some ended up like flotsam. Enough water flowed over the dam to have filled the reservoir a second time, Hatfield estimated."

The San Diego city attorney ruled the city must not pay the $10,000 fee, since that would make the city vulnerable to lawsuits for hiring a rainmaker. Lawsuits did follow, but in the only two that came to trial, the court ruled that the rain was an act of God, so no damages were paid. Theodore W. Fuller, *San Diego Originals* (Pleasant Hill: California Profiles Publications, 1987). http://www.sandiegohistory.org/bio/hatfield/htm.

Smart's journals almost exactly match that time frame and report of the widespread damage: "January 10, 1916: Raining. Did not tract. January 14: Too stormy to tract. January 16: Heavy rain continued all day and streets flooded. January 17: Heavy rain continues therefore impracticable to do missionary work. January 18: Rain continued heavily . . . has washed out roads, injured bridges, and undermined homes built in low places. . . . I thought of the passage in the Doc. And Cov. where it says that the waters are cursed in the last days, and felt the wisdom of building and living on safe and well founded ground. Wednesday 19: Owing to heavy storm did not tract. Heaviest storm in

had destroyed roads and bridges and cut the rail line. The only way to reach mission headquarters in Los Angeles from his last post in San Diego was by boat, a short trip on rough seas that left him complaining of "awful sea sickness." From Los Angeles he enjoyed the twenty-eight-hour train trip to Salt Lake City, where he "found Mary and May [his second wife and their mentally handicapped daughter] normally well and we were all happy to meet again after 3½ month's separation."[90]

For his patient first wife Anna, the separation would be considerably longer. After personally reporting his mission to the First Presidency and Presiding Bishopric, he launched into a flurry of extended-family reunions and parties, along with temple work, in Salt Lake City, Logan, Franklin, and Preston. On one memorable Sunday in Franklin, his birthplace, he visited and spoke at each Sunday-school class in the morning, then in horse-drawn sleighs took some thirty relatives and in-laws to the graves of his parents in the tiny cemetery on the family farm, "not to mourn, but to pay homage to them, to ponder on their lives and good teachings and to resolve anew to endeavor to live worthy of them." The homage included giving speeches, singing hymns (three of them), and praying. "All felt the occasion an important one," he recorded.

But that was far from all. In the afternoon testimony meeting, he listened to five testimonies, then spoke for one and a half hours of his life and works, his recent mission, "an outline of work of God from the beginning, the apostacy and restoration, and bore testimony to all."[91] Clearly, despite his frequent ill-health, Smart had stamina—and so did those who listened to him.

After ten days he made his way to Heber for a special event, to observe the fifteenth anniversary of his call as president of that stake. Stake president Joseph R. Murdock, Mayor Ray Hatch, and others "spoke in terms of commendation and welcome beyond what I thought due me," he recorded, after which he responded with reminiscences of his work there, "gave Glory to God for all accomplishments [and] closed with fervent testimony of gospel." It took four seatings to feed the nine hundred attendees, during and after which "I danced freely as did people generally."[92]

On February 13, two weeks after reaching Utah, he arrived home at last, "where I found all well. . . . I was happy to meet them and settle down in my own fireside chair after my four months absence, and the pleasure of

years. Many homes submerged in lower valleys and some lost in Mexico near by. January 21: Today clear. January 27: phoned office of Salt Lake and Los Angeles RR route to ascertain about getting to Los Angeles the Santafee [*sic*] train not having been running for sometime account of damage to road by recent heavy storms. Learned it will not run this week, no autos going and boats only."

90. Smart, Journals, February 1, 1916.
91. Ibid., February 10, 1916.
92. Ibid.

meeting appeared altogether mutual." One of his first acts was to write a letter to his brother Thomas, listing his expenses at $275 plus the $25 he had contributed in both their names to a church building fund in San Diego. This was followed shortly by one of his innumerable family councils, "going over our financial condition, which is not the best, and enjoining economy and industry." To emphasize the need for belt-tightening, he disclosed to them that President Joseph F. Smith "had expressed a desire that I 'go on' in my ministry here, but had also said of course should it become impossible thru bad health or financial distress that would be another thing."[93]

The state of his finances was much on his mind. While attending the April general conference, he again approached his wealthy brother, pointing out that after years of almost exclusive concentration on his church calling, he now needed to work on his own economic affairs. That would require him to arrange for some money, he told Thomas, and "thought he might have some advice."

The answer was brusque if not cold: "He said to get it by putting up necessary collateral." He made the same appeal to his brother-in-law and former partner in the sheep business, James Webster, with the same result. "These relatives have been making money while I have been in other matters," he complained in his journal, "and I thought they might feel some inclination toward assistance in some way, but not so."[94]

Back to the Soil?

The enterprise Smart chose to rebuild his finances was one he had learned in his youth—farming—plus a brief and barely consummated flirtation with what had built his fortune in the first place—the sheep industry. For years he had leased out his farm in Roosevelt. Now he became the farmer himself. "Have spent most of the week weeding and mowing and piling hay," he wrote on September 10, 1915, changed circumstances for man whose schedule had been crowded for so long with affairs of church, business, and community building. The disposition of some of that hay tells much of his generosity and concern for others. The winter that year was unusually cold and long. Hay ran out and sold for $40 a ton, when it could be found. Smart's providence left him with a surplus, which, despite his own straitened circumstances, he sold loose for $10 and baled for $15 a ton. "The hay could have been sold for more," he wrote, "but I do not feel to be exorbitant when it is so scarce. . . . This would please father."[95]

Eighty-three-year-old Melvin Jorgensen, an early settler in the basin, remembered another example of Smart's selfless concern for the needy. A hot, dry summer ruined the hay crop, and as winter approached, the

93. Ibid., February 21, 1916.
94. Ibid., April 9, 1916.
95. Ibid., May 20, 1916.

price ballooned to $80 a ton. A man who heard the stake president was selling his surplus hay for $20 a ton offered to buy his entire sixty tons. According to Jorgensen, the conversation went like this: Have you a family? I have a wife, but no children. Have you a cow? No. Then you can have no hay. "But if a man came who had a family, he would sell him a ton for $2," Jorgensen recalled. "That was a very fine thing, but I'm sure it didn't add to his coffers."[96]

Realizing his Roosevelt farm would eventually be sold for town property, he bought a 240-acre farm north of town for $3,700. The deal required an immediate $2,250 payment, which he did not have. But just at that time he received a $2,300 payment on a $5,000 loan he had made to the Duchesne Irrigation Company years earlier. "I regard this money coming into my hands just now as direct manifestation of the goodness of my heavenly Father in answer to my prayer," he wrote, "and also a testimony to me that it was right for me to make the purchase."

He was further confirmed in that decision when his second son, soon-to-be-married Thomas Laurence, agreed to take over management of the farm, eventually buy it, and, as Smart wrote, "settle down and be firm in temporal and spiritual matters like unto his grandfather Smart after whom he is named. . . . On account of my public duties it is impossible for me to do the work necessary to bring this place to a high state of cultivation and I am desirous of doing it thru a son. I told him I . . . would like him to reflect father's stability and not move around as I had done."[97]

It didn't work out that way. Laurence and his new bride, Nelle Buckwalter of American Fork, whom he had met while both were missionaries in the Pacific Northwest, lived on the farm for just two years. Learning during that time that farming was not for him, he sold the farm back to his father for the purchase price, $50 an acre.[98] With Nelle and their two infant daughters, he left for schooling at Utah State Agricultural College in Logan, where he paid the bills by milking cows and, with Nelle, making candy to sell at the college football and basketball games. After a year at Brigham Young University in Provo, he struggled for nearly a decade as a traveling peddler of woolen knit goods, a teacher and principal in tiny schools near Roosevelt, a radio salesman and installer of thirty-foot radio aerials, and a salesman in the Taylor Brothers Furniture Store in Provo. Not until a successful forty-two-year career with Beneficial Life Insurance Company did he find the stability his father hoped he would achieve. He never farmed again.

Smart's attempt to steer his eldest son William into the sheep business that had made him so wealthy was no more successful. In April 1916, he

96. Thomas B. Smart, interview with Melvin Jorgensen, Moses Lake, Washington, May 1, 1987, transcript in possession of the author.
97. Smart, Journals, April 22, 1916.
98. Ibid., November 13, 1916.

bought for William 1,438 ewes, 120 acres of land on Whiterocks Creek, and government grazing permits on nearby Moseby Mountain from William H. Siddoway. The deal was for $15,000, with $6,000 down and $9,000 to be paid over the next five years, with interest at 8 percent a year. Seven months later, they added another 530 ewes at $8 a head.

Both purchases required bank loans to the father, since the son had no money or credit. They signed a business agreement giving the father 75 percent of the business and the son 25 percent, but with an increase of 10 percent for each year of operation until William owned it all. Smart felt the price was high, but mutton and wool were bringing high prices as well, and, with America likely to enter World War I, they would doubtless go higher. "Thus," Smart wrote, his son "begins in business I hope on sure foundation."[99]

It was not to be. Within a year, Smart wrote, "William having decided that he does not wish to continue the sheep range business longer now—believing he will make a better success to confine himself to the soil at present—we have decided to dispose of sheep and join in Ouray Valley land development."[100] How much that abortive sheep enterprise further depleted Smart's finances was not recorded.

Prohibition and Politics

Other issues caught Smart's attention during these years. One was Prohibition, for which he and his newspapers had vigorously campaigned. In 1911, after a bill for statewide prohibition had been vetoed by Governor William Spry, the legislature passed and the governor signed a local option law.[101] On June 27, 1916, Smart was pleased to report that non-Mormon Myton, "this only place in Basin having saloons," had voted for prohibition by a fourteen-vote majority. Smart reported the happy news to the First Presidency, and also wrote Governor Spry stating he felt the governor had been misunderstood on the liquor question and hoped he would be a candidate to succeed himself, work for statewide prohibition, and "thus be vindicated."

At a political mass meeting at Myton on July 28, Smart spoke in favor of statewide prohibition and presented a resolution "pledging ourselves and all delegates to conventions and candidates for office to prohibition." This was unanimously adopted, and Smart was elected one of Roosevelt's four delegates to the Republican state convention. There, on August 8 in Ogden, Spry paid the price of his prohibition veto. In what Smart called a heated contest, Nephi L. Morris, a long-time advocate for prohibition, was nominated for governor, George Sutherland for the senate, and "various men for various state positions—all prohibitionists." Both parties included

99. Ibid., April 26, May 1, and November 9, 1916.
100. Ibid., August 31, 1917.
101. Powell, *Utah Historical Encyclopedia*, 444–45.

prohibition in their platforms, and when it convened in January 1917, the legislature passed a statewide prohibition measure with one dissenting vote. It was promptly signed by the newly elected governor, Simon Bamberger, a non-Mormon, German-born Jew, who had voluntarily banned the sale of liquor at his Lagoon resort and had "offered to pay $1,000 for a portrait of any better prohibitionist than he."[102] The next year Utah approved a prohibition amendment in the state constitution, and a year later was among the forty-six states that ratified the Eighteenth Amendment.

Smart's partisan efforts in that critical election year of 1916 were considerably less successful. Throughout his Uinta Basin ministry, following the example of several general authorities, he had relentlessly worked for the Republican Party, not hesitating to use his ecclesiastical office to do so. In a September 2, 1916, meeting of his stake presidency, high council, bishoprics, and branch presidencies, for example,

> [I] spoke on matters pertaining to local and state politics and showed brethren that our duty to the church was paramount to all else, and to keep balanced in politics but to take part therein to see that good officers are installed. . . . Also referred to the privilege of the General Authorities to give advice along secular matters if they choose and it is well for us to heed. I told them that in this new county I should feel badly if we did not see to it that it joined the majority of Counties making for a Republican State as while we are left free it is easy to understand that the large majority of our leaders desire it so.

Three days after the November 7 election, he recorded in amazement that "the nation, state and county have gone Democratic. Mr. Bamburger [sic], a Jew, is elected Governor, and Woodrow Wilson succeeds himself as Pres. of U.S. Our state has been Republican but this time the sentiment for Mr. Wilson—the people believing that he has kept the nation out of war—seems to have created a state democratic wave as well. It appears that every democratic nominee in this county has been elected—a general surprise to us all." The Democratic sweep in Utah was so complete, in fact, that the next legislature convened with only one Republican in the House and four holdover Republicans in the Senate.

Again, Smart demonstrated his ability not to brood over defeat or disappointment, but to ascribe the outcome to the Lord's will, accept it, and move on. He told a quarterly conference congregation that "inasmuch as the Lord had permitted a Democratic victory I felt to accept it wholly and commended that course to [the] people."[103]

That ability was really tested, though, when, on November 19, 1918, President Joseph F. Smith died. Smart's journal reported that six weeks

102. Ibid., 444.
103. Smart, Journals, December 17, 1917.

before his death, President Smith told an October general conference audience that while he had been very ill for the past five months, he had been "in constant communication with the Lord and had received many impressions some of which he might impart at some future time."[104] The nature of the most important of those communications soon became clear. As Smart recorded on December 8, "there appears in the *Era* and *Deseret News* a vision on the redemption of the dead received by Pres. Jos. F. Smith in his room at home while sitting up Oct. 3rd, 1918. It was submitted to and approved by the Council of Presidency and Twelve Oct. 31, 1918," and is now included in Mormon scripture as section 138 of the Doctrine and Covenants.

To Smart, President Smith was a divinely inspired prophet—"a stalwart man of God . . . one of the greatest men of the age." Moreover, he was his closest confidant, the man more than any other to whom, throughout most of his Uintah Basin ministry, he had gone for often-needed counsel and inspiration, encouragement, and blessings. But there was also a bit of partisanship in Smart's grief at his passing.

In his efforts to obtain statehood for Utah, Wilford Woodruff had abolished church-related political parties and asked Mormons to become Republicans or Democrats. Many of the general authorities took that policy to extremes, becoming avid and sometimes contentious partisans. Smart followed their example, not hesitating to use his stake presidency to campaign for the Republican party and its candidates. President Smith, though not a partisan activist, was known as a Republican.

So it is no surprise that on the night of the president's death, Smart's son Thomas Laurence heard his father pacing the floor all night, sorrowing in the loss of a dear friend and mentor, but also struggling to understand, as he was heard to mutter, why the Lord would put the church into the hands of a *Democrat*.

But faith in the Lord and prayer for understanding proved far stronger than partisan differences. Four days later, that Democrat, Heber J. Grant, was ordained president of the church. After fasting and praying during most of those four days, Smart wrote that "my soul was filled with absolute acceptance of it, and the Holy Ghost bore witness to my spirit that it was inspired." Another fast followed—"80 hours in memory of Pres. Smith, one hour for each of his years in mortality or 80 years"—after which he wrote that "this event would close my epoch for mortality with Pres. Smith and that so far as my desires, faith and obedience goes his mantle should now fall upon Pres. Grant, and that as a member of the church and president of this stake my allegience and faithful support would be to God thru His divinely called servant Heber as I had always same to Pres. Smith."[105]

104. Ibid., October 2, 1918.
105. Ibid., November 19, 22, 23, and 26, 1919.

End of a Life—and of a Ministry

The loss of a friend and staunch supporter in President Smith was far from Smart's hardest emotional blow at this difficult time. More personal and difficult was the death, at age 62, of his plural wife Mary. Smart described her illness as "jaundice and other complications of bile and pancreatic glands and alimentary troubles." Based on that description, a modern diagnosis probably would have been pancreatitis associated with gallstone disease. She was operated on at LDS Hospital on April 8, 1920, and, after her husband's priesthood blessing of release, died ten days later. Smart accepted the loss with a characteristic expression of faith. "The Lord has wonderfully sustained me physically and otherwise thru this trying time for which I praise His Holy name," he wrote, "and how grateful I feel that I could have been with my beloved companion to comfort her during this last period of her mortal existence. . . . During her conversations with me toward the last she showed no regrets of her marriage nor abating of love but expressed herself that she wanted to be mine in eternity."[106]

Mary was buried in Salt Lake City Cemetery, a few steps south of Wilford Woodruff's grave. In the same plot are buried Howard and Earl Garrett, Mary's sons by her first husband, and May, her daughter with Smart. A month after Mary's death—"with perfect unity among family," Smart emphasized—the mentally handicapped May was committed to the state hospital in Provo, where she lived until her death, at age 59, in 1962.

Mary's illness and death came just as Smart was being recognized for the success of his ministry. In the April general conference of the church, he and Frank Y. Taylor, president of Granite Stake, were assigned to report on their labors because, as President Heber J. Grant explained, "Granite as an in-lying stake and Duchesne as an out-lying stake are among the best considering their circumstances, and that what we could do others can." In what must have been an agonizing effort, considering that his wife Mary lay near death following her surgery, Smart spoke for twenty minutes on conditions in his stake.

> The Duchesne Stake is in a remote section in Eastern Utah, covering a very large area, and its twenty-three wards—some of which comprise territory equal to ordinary stakes—are more or less in a formative, pioneering stage still. . . . For the most part the settlers are among the poorer class, are compelled to apply themselves arduously in temporal duties, and many have had but little previous experience in Church activities. These circumstances militate very seriously against methodical and intensive activity and progress [but] we are striving to "hew" as nearly as may be to the general system and policy of Church government.[107]

106. Ibid., April 4, 6, 8, 18, 21, and 23, 1920.
107. Ibid., April 6, 1920. The address is copied in full in Smart's journal between the dates July 21–30, 1920.

That done and Mary buried, Smart turned his attention to something he knew had to be done—the division of Duchesne Stake. He had long recognized the need for two or more stakes in the vast lands of the former reservation. Three years earlier, he had gone through all the motions of preparing for division: naming a committee to determine the boundary; recommending his counselor, Paul Hansen, to preside over one stake, and proclaiming his own willingness to continue to serve in the other; and recommending Duchesne and Roosevelt as names for the two stakes.

On June 10, 1917, he mailed his recommendations to President Joseph F. Smith and noted in his journal that "thus ended the long labors, travels, prayers and investigations, councils and correspondence relative there unto." A few weeks later, though, after a change of heart, he met with the First Presidency and admitted that "out of a nervous desire . . . I had been inclined to hasten creation of Stakes [but] I now feel that we are yet not ready and therefore that our suggestion was premature."[108]

By the summer of 1920 he was ready. He had already prepared the people by holding separate stake conferences, in Duchesne for the western part of his stake and in Roosevelt for the eastern part. In midwinter and early spring, despite bitter weather, difficult travel conditions, and influenza still striking many homes, he undertook to hold special Aaronic Priesthood conferences in every ward of the stake, expressly to prepare the stake for division. His record-keeping of that tour was meticulous, listing the exact number of meetings in each ward of the stake—a total of 197 meetings.[109]

On May 6, 1920, two weeks after Mary's burial, Smart sent in both his formal recommendation that the stake be divided and a proposed plan on how it might be done. Getting no response, six weeks later he met with Rudger Clawson, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, reminded him of the recommendation to divide the stake, and expressed the hope that he, Clawson, would effect the division.[110] This time the decision came quickly. Later that same day, after meeting with the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve, Clawson announced that he and Apostle George F. Richards would divide the stake in just ten days, at its June stake conference. He asked Smart to recommend a full slate of officers, including himself.

That was quickly done. The stake presidency nominated Smart to preside over the new eastern (Roosevelt) stake, with Ephraim Lambert and Byron O. Colton as counselors, and Owen Bennion as president of the surviving western (Duchesne) stake, with George V. Billings and Ira B. Cannon as counselors. Because Smart intended to devote his major effort to colonizing the vast unsettled land in the southeast corner of the stake, he wanted strong leadership in the wards at the stake's center. So his counselors agreed

108. Ibid., July 24, 1917.
109. Ibid., March 19, 1920.
110. Ibid., June 17, 1920.

with his plan to divide the Roosevelt Ward, installing his reliable first counselor, Paul S. Hansen, as bishop of one ward and David Bennion, former counselor in the Uintah Stake presidency, as bishop of the other. Roosevelt Stake would include nine wards and all the undeveloped country to the southeast. Duchesne Stake would retain the remaining fourteen wards, with the expectation that later it would be divided north and south.[111]

That report was submitted on June 25. In the next two days, under Clawson's and Richards's direction, all this was accomplished exactly as recommended. When it was done, President Clawson gave Smart a special blessing: "He said I was accepted of the Lord and had done a good work; that I should have greater joy in my future work, would triumph over enemies and would prosper temporally and have influence with the people and would be blessed in speaking words of Truth. Spoke of my duty to get settlers for the country and assist them in procuring the land. Blessed my family and committed me to the Lord."[112]

With that, at age fifty-eight, Smart was armed emotionally and spiritually, although less than robust physically or financially, for a whole new set of challenges.

111. Ibid., June 25, 1920.
112. Ibid., June 27, 1920.

Ten

The Fourth—and Final—Stake Presidency

Smart's presidency of the new Roosevelt Stake proved to be short, in large part because non-ecclesiastical affairs demanded so much of his time and energy. Times were tough in the early 1920s. Farmers, overextended during the World War I boom, now faced high mortgage payments and collapsed prices for their products and their lands. Foreclosures were common, and banks, unable to collect on their loans, were in trouble. Smart's struggles to save the two Mormon banks he had fostered were especially draining. His election to and service in the state legislature was another distraction, and the alarming decline of his own financial fortunes still another. Far more of his time and attention went to planning and encouraging the development of the largely unsettled Ouray Valley and adjacent lands than to affairs in the existing wards and branches of his stake.

Except for a brief mention of the creation of a second Roosevelt ward, his journals contain hardly a word of what might be called normal stake leadership activity until late September, three months after his installation as president. On September 29, "having had the spirit of looking over the ward bishoprics and clerks with view of recommending any dead branches to be replaced by new ones," he started on a week-long tour of the wards and branches of his stake—on horseback, since he could no longer afford a team and buggy and had never owned or learned to drive a car. Apparently he found little deadwood, since out of the effort came only two changes—Charles Okey to be bishop of Hayden Ward, and J. Austin Pack of Roosevelt Second Ward.[1] Instead, Smart's major attention was given to saving faltering banks in Roosevelt and Duchesne. He had successfully

1. Smart Journals, October 2, 1920.

founded Mormon-controlled banks in Heber and Vernal, and shortly after becoming president of Duchesne Stake was approached by William A. Miles and others about helping to organize a bank in Roosevelt.[2] That was accomplished in 1914, but, although he spent much time in planning and counseling, Smart declined requests to serve as president or even as a director, because he "deemed it unwise for me to take leading part at least just now as I should be a target and it would handicap my influence with some people." Moreover, he "concluded not to take a large block of Stock. . . . I feel that my mission here is not to become strong financially but to assist in establishing others."[3]

Characteristically, Smart's lack of substantial ownership or a role in the direction of the Roosevelt bank did not relieve him of a sense of responsibility for it, or of others' expectations that he could and would help. By 1920, in the post–World War I doldrums, the bank was in deep trouble. Its officers called on Smart for help. He sought the counsel of President Heber J. Grant, and on his advice notified bank president Owen Bennion that if three-fourths of the bank's stock were put in his hands for placement and all bank officials would submit their resignations, he would undertake to reorganize the company. That plan failed; many of the stockholders declined to attend the meeting he called to approve it, and Smart recorded that "I should have to conclude that my services are not desired by them therefor I was obliged to dismiss the matter."[4] The matter didn't go away, though, and two months later Smart was struggling to secure a loan to save the bank. Failing to find money in the usual channels, in a long, emotional letter he appealed to his wealthy brother Thomas for the $60,000 he felt was necessary to save the bank.

> Just when I should be devoting all my time [in] reconstruction [following division of his stake] I am compelled to leave my duties to answer the cry of my helpless people to help save them from financial drowning in the waters of this bank. Regardless of their mistakes, what can one do before the cries of a helpless and dependent child but make an effort to respond? . . . I can in no wise see that I am able in matter of time, strength or money to carry the financial and labor loads of the bank at Roosevelt, and still do the work designated by the Spirit. . . . If I attempt it, it will not only fail in both directions . . . but I shall be likely sacrificed before my natural time.[5]

Faced with that life-or-death appeal, Thomas could hardly refuse. But his cold-eyed attorney could, advising his client that earlier allegations of banking irregularities could involve him in litigation. So Thomas declined, and

2. Ibid., January 30, 1911.
3. Ibid., May 6, 1913 and May 12, 1914.
4. Ibid., May 6, 17, and 23, 1920.
5. Ibid., written July 18. The letter, seven journal pages long, is recorded in full under the date July 26, 1920.

the next day, fearing a run on the bank that would lead to bankruptcy, Smart helped his bishops and the stake treasurer withdraw their funds, withdrew $500 of his own, and advised bank officers that "I could go no further along the line of financing it under these circumstances.[6]

Being who he was, he didn't hold long to that decision. For the next six weeks he worked feverishly to reorganize and rescue the bank. He wangled a $20,000 loan from the Utah State National Bank by dipping deeply into his own diminishing resources for collateral—$12,500 of his bank savings, $8,500 in stocks, and $3,150 in Liberty bonds. But that was far from enough, and these efforts failed to attract local investors, who were already heavily in debt. Finally, William Weiser of Grand Junction stepped up with $35,000 to buy a majority of the stock, and the bank Smart had created six years earlier by Mormons to serve Mormons was no longer in Mormon control.

That setback to his dream of building a chain of Mormon banks must have been disappointing. Worse, his efforts to establish a Mormon bank in Duchesne not only failed, but turned out to be personally disastrous. Even before the vote for the county seat in 1914, apparently sensing that Duchesne would win, he applied to the state bank commissioner for a charter to build a bank there. A meeting of Duchesne citizens, flush with their victory, unanimously voted to have him "organize a citizens bank giving people at large opportunity to become stockholders."[7] Other priorities as well as financial exigencies intervened, and nothing came of that initiative. In 1920, Smart found his opportunity when an outsider, D. L. Dean, apparently weary of the struggle to operate the bank he had established in Duchesne, wanted to return home to Kansas. Smart found twelve fellow-Mormons eager to invest $1,000 each. In that poverty-plagued area, no one had that kind of money or credit, so he borrowed it for each of them on his own signature, got $2,400 from the church, put up $2,500 of his own, and bought the bank.

"I now have the privilege to shape it up and make of it a home bank," he exulted. "This now makes another of the chain of banks that I had it in my mind to assist in connecting up with the main bank of our people in Salt Lake City—the Utah State National over which Pres. Grant presides. The others are the First National of Logan of which [my] brother Thomas used to be President and of which [my] brother Leslie who purchased his stock is director, the Heber and Vernal banks which I assisted in founding and was their first President and I have in my mind still others for the future."[8]

It was not to be. According to Smart's son Thomas Laurence, Dean had deceived the buyers by borrowing some bonds and securities, representing them as part of the bank's assets, and then returning them after the sale

6. Ibid., July 22, 1920.
7. Ibid., August 14 and December 24, 1914.
8. Ibid., October 12, 1920.

was consummated.[9] Smart's journals don't mention that, perhaps because it wasn't true, or perhaps because he preferred not to leave to posterity the knowledge that he had been so duped.

Smart struggled to save the bank, telling the state's banking commissioner that "on account of moral responsibilities I should rather pledge what I have than have it fail." He met with the First Presidency for counsel as to whether he should "take hold of it," and asking whether they could help. President Grant, recalling Smart's $5,000 gift to help save the Ogden Bank years earlier, replied he "did not wish me to be sacrificial in this present matter." Nor could they suggest help when times were so lean.[10] In what he must have known was a forlorn hope, Smart wrote "a very comprehensive letter" to the bank's founder, W. L. Dean, in Topeka, urging him to "return and rejuvenate it with himself and capital."[11] He didn't, of course, and on August 27, State Bank Commissioner Seth Pixton declared the bank "beyond redemption" and closed its doors.

For years, Smart had seemed unconcerned about the effect his open-handed generosity and misplaced faith in the basin's growth and economic future were having on his financial resources. For example, despite his dwindling funds, on April 6, 1922, the church's birthday and his own, he deeded forty-five acres of his land adjoining Roosevelt to the church for a temple site or "other public purpose (or its proceeds) for which the authorities decide to use it." With this gift he also gave forty shares of Dry Gulch Irrigation Company stock and five shares of Roosevelt Realty stock.[12]

Even as the financial noose tightened, his generosity continued. He had long agonized over the plight of the twelve men he had recruited to invest in the now-defunct Duchesne bank by personally signing for their bank loans. On April 27, 1922, he met with nine of them, telling them that "I had come in the interest of fellowship, brotherhood and justice and desired heart-to-heart understanding and if in any case they felt that I should unite with them in any part or all of the loss on account of my having solicited them as stockholders I should do so as dollars must not stand between me and my brethren. Some felt to bear the matter themselves while others felt I should aid, but in all cases I left them in good feeling."

Good feeling, though, was not enough in the grinding, cash-poor poverty of that time and place. Little repayment was forthcoming, and one by one the bank charged the defaulted notes to Smart's account. One man, M. B. Pope, managed to pay his note in full. Another, D. M. Todd, made good

9. Kristen Rogers, "William Henry Smart: Uinta Basin Pioneer Leader," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (Winter 1977): 73.
10. Smart, Journals, April 7, 1921.
11. Ibid., May 31, 1921.
12. Ibid., April 3, 1922.

his note, discounted to $500. A third, Owen Bennion, paid $250.[13] Smart made good the rest by selling his Beneficial Life Insurance and Utah State National Bank stock,[14] and eventually using the proceeds from the sale of his Salt Lake Realty Company. In his private papers is a letter from Bennion, dated fourteen years after the bank closed.

> Dear President Smart
>
> For some time I have had your letter of May 10 inclosing note and stock certificate of the defunct Duchesne Bank. I sincerely appreciate your action and sentiments, and realize they are inspired by your implicit faith in the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the injunction, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." . . . If at any time I have anything to pay during our lifetime, I will be very happy to pay it to you. If I do not, I shall always have the knowledge that your love for the Lord and his children is greater than your love for yourself. I realize that I owe to you my greatest education in life and perhaps the greatest example I have ever known of entire sacrifice of self to the Lord's work.

Across the bottom of the letter Smart had written "I forgave him debt of some $750 in case he can never pay it, he having financial reverses."[15]

Saving a High School

These were hard times, made no easier by the still-raging influenza epidemic that quarantined homes and canceled or postponed public meetings, including President Smith's funeral and the LDS general conference of 1919. Not only banks were failing; the high school Smart had worked so hard to establish in Roosevelt was failing, too. With little if any money forthcoming from the impoverished county, its doors would close, and with them those of the LDS seminary, where Smart served as principal and Anna as both his assistant and a teacher. Smart was deeply invested in the school, having provided eighteen acres for its campus at a bargain price and donated three additional acres. Now he stepped up again, organizing a committee under the chairmanship of his counselor, Owen Bennion, to raise the needed funds. Remarkably, in that debt-ridden land thirty-five citizens jointly signed pledges totaling $5,000, and in September Smart was gratified to record that the school and seminary opened on schedule, with his son Joseph entering his fourth year of high school and his daughter Anna her second.[16]

By the end of that school year, the harsh reality was that only $650 of those pledges had been collected, including $500 from Smart himself.

13. Ibid., May 24 and September 14, 1923.
14. Ibid., January 13, 1923.
15. Owen Bennion to Smart, 1934, Smart Papers.
16. Smart, Journals, May 18, July 13, August 3, and September 6, 1920.

In this crisis, Smart acted characteristically; he built one of his countless stone altars and, fasting, prayed there for guidance. The outcome was the reorganization of the subscription committee, with Ephraim Lambert as chairman, and the replacement of school principal Charles Scwenke by William L. Woolf, the Dry Gulch Irrigation Company's engineer. At the graduating class commencement exercises, Smart's youngest son Joseph was awarded a medal for the greatest service to the school, and he was now hired as a subscription agent to collect the unpaid pledges. He worked at that task throughout the summer, with enough success that the school was able to survive until, in 1952, it was replaced by the new Union High School.[17] Not until four years later did Smart disclose that he had personally raised the $5,000 by borrowing from the Beneficial Life Insurance Co. and selling some of his Salt Lake property, and that he still owed Beneficial Life $3,000.[18]

From the Basin—A State Senator

As if financial worries and struggles to save banks and schools were not enough distractions from his ecclesiastical responsibilities, Smart found himself elected a senator in the state legislature, representing a district including Duchesne, Wasatch, and Summit counties. He was hardly an enthusiastic candidate, accepting the nomination only "should there be a strong movement for me." He didn't attend the party's nominating convention, and announced at the outset that he would spend none of his own money to campaign. He didn't have to; nomination as a Republican in that part of the state meant almost automatic election.[19]

He reassigned responsibilities in his stake presidency, then held a family council, asking each member "if I could depend on their faith, prayers and good works wherever I shall be, and to freely make the sacrifice of my absence"[20]—which probably surprised no one, coming from a father whose family for the past fifteen years had so constantly made the sacrifice of his absence.

Early in the new year, he took up Salt Lake City residence in the basement room of an old-fashioned house at 107 Second Avenue, at a cost of $6.25 a week for room, laundry, heat, light, and breakfast. "Prefer this to more up to date accommodations," he wrote, "as more like my home conditions and hence will not spoil me." In an organizing Republican caucus, he declined a movement to elect him president of the Senate, because "I preferred to do my duty in quiet way," and supported the election of Thomas E. McKay instead. Reflecting the Mormon tradition of lay leadership, he

17. Ibid., April 29-May 1, 1921; Barton, *History of Duchesne County*, 173.
18. Smart, Journals, October 20, 1923.
19. Ibid., September 7, 22, and November 2, 1920.
20. Ibid., November 7, 1920.

moved to discontinue the practice of having a chaplain; the senators would pray instead. That was approved by the caucus but later reversed by the full Senate. As chairman of the Agricultural Committee, he won approval of a joint resolution to Congress calling for passage of an emergency farm relief bill. Otherwise, his legislative term was distinguished mainly by the controversy he stirred up by mixing lawmaking and religion. On February 3, he spoke in support of a bill regulating the manufacture, sale, and advertising of cigarettes. Because he had happened to read Psalms 118 and 119 in the bible that morning, he quoted them, he wrote, "in preparation for the introduction of the law of God in the Word of Wisdom. . . . While we are assembling witnesses from every department of man, experience and nature, why not the sure word of God—the unimpeachable testimony? And so I decided to hazard it. From the Word of Wisdom [Doctrine and Covenants, section 89] I read the 4th, 8th, 18th, 19th, and 21st verses." They warn of "evils and designs . . . in the heart of conspiring men," flatly declare that tobacco is not good for man, and promise health, knowledge, and long life to abstainers.

In a lengthy speech reported by the *Salt Lake Tribune*, he used secular arguments as well. One was remarkably prophetic. As if he saw today's alarm over secondhand smoke, he declared that "the time will come when this legislative body will . . . endeavor to protect the air we breathe in public places." He argued that just as the law protects the purity of food, "purity of the air might be protected by legislation of the same sort." Perhaps mindful of his own early struggles, he spoke of the terrible power of addiction, speaking of "young missionaries who were unable . . . or had great difficulty in breaking themselves of the cigaret habit." His voice breaking, he spoke of a "father's hand, palsied by the cigaret, trembling as it reached for food, and seeing the baby in the high chair by the father's side also reaching out for the food with trembling hand . . . unable to break [the habit] themselves."[21]

Smart's introduction of the Word of Wisdom into the debate provoked a storm of protest, led by Senator and future governor George H. Dern. The *Salt Lake Tribune* headlined its story "Doctrine of Dominant Church Injected into Legislation, Dern Says." But the Senate passed the bill fourteen to three, and the House approved it three weeks later. "I find I am being approved and criticized by the public," Smart wrote a couple of days after his speech, but "the true Latter day Saints as a rule are supporting me."

Being the single-minded "true Latter-day Saint" that he was, Smart was not cowed into silence, again using a religious argument on the major issue before the legislature that year. As so often since, that issue was tax reform. The Republican party controlled both houses, but was deeply divided between urban and rural factions. In the post–World War I depression, Utah farmers struggled to pay the taxes on their land, and

21. *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 4, 1921. The paper devoted most of a two-column debate story to Smart's speech.

backed a state income tax bill to shift some of the burden. Urban interests opposed it.[22]

Representing one of the state's most rural districts, Smart made a long and impassioned speech in support of the bill, arguing the principle that taxes should be levied on earnings rather than on the land and other resources that produce those earnings. His clinching argument was that "the basic principle is right being founded on that of the old time-tested Israelish [*sic*] law of the tithe. . . . Therefore the principle of the income tax policy is right because of God." This time the protests erupted not only from non-Mormon Dern, but also from Mormon (and urban) senators Perry B. Fuller, Harrison E. Jenkins, and J. William Knight. The *Tribune* headline now was "Smart's Senate Sermon Rebuked: Senator Injects Religion into Argument on Income Tax Bill; Debate Ensues." A brief but pointed editorial followed.

> SMART'S VAGARIES
>
> Senator Smart of the Twelfth district, who also is president of the Duchesne stake of the L.D.S. church, apparently is not quite clear in his mind as to whether he is attending a session of the legislature or a conference of the church.
>
> In his advocacy of the income tax bill, as in his support of the cigaret bill, he went beyond the limits of propriety and good taste in his citation of Mormon church doctrine.
>
> Both of the bills, so strongly espoused by Mr. Smart, were introduced by Senator Southwick, an ardent Democrat. Since Senator Smart asserted of one of them, the income tax bill, that it came from "the fountain of all truth," an uninformed public has begun to wonder if he wishes to convey the information that, in this legislature, the Almighty can function only through the medium of some Democratic member.[23]

Smart rightly blamed "the influence of corporations" for the bill's defeat, and, again rightly, prophesied that "the principle will yet prevail."[24]

A week later, the legislature adjourned. Smart summarized his experience: he had attended all sessions, voted his conscience, done no vote trading, lived moderately, felt his conscience was clear, prayed for forgiveness and the Lord's acceptance of "my poor offerings in this legislative mission," and now, he wrote, "I turn to a life of other things." However, those other things did not immediately involve a return to his family and stake presidency duties. For the next month, during which the quarterly conference of Roosevelt Stake was held in his absence, he remained in Salt Lake City, doing more work in the temple, attending general conference sessions, conducting a meeting of the Thomas Sharratt Smart Family

22. Alexander, *Utah, the Right Place*, 297.
23. *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 5 and 6, 1921.
24. Smart, Journals, March 4, 1921.

Genealogical Organization—where, because "my duties were so onerous in the Uintah Basin," he resigned his leadership in favor of his second son Thomas Laurence[25]—and frequently climbing Ensign Peak for prayer and meditation.

Finally, after an absence of three and a half months, Smart returned home, but not to stay. He spent a week in May touring Ouray Valley, visiting the tiny branches at Leota, Randlett, and Ouray, inspecting canals and townsites, looking over his wife's Desert Entry Act lands near Leota, and calling backsliders to repentance. Another week, in June, was spent visiting and holding meetings in the more settled part of his stake—Hayden, Neola, Cedarview, and Monarch—reporting that he "found wards in fair condition and prospects for good crops everywhere," although high water had destroyed the headgate of the Uintah Canal northwest of Whiterocks, leaving the canal dry.[26] The same high water meant no general authority from Salt Lake could visit the Roosevelt quarterly conference held on June 18–19. Nevertheless, although he recorded few details, he concluded that "the saints generally pronounced it a splendid conference, as I did also."

Exploring the Wide and High Country

That done, the frequently absent stake president spent most of the rest of the summer on horseback, exploring the far, mostly uninhabited reaches of his domain and beyond. He justified it by recalling his early explorations of the basin and the "two county and three stake and many ward divisions in which knowledge thus obtained has been placed to beneficial account." Now, not only as stake president but also as a state senator, he felt the need to greatly expand his exploration "so that I may have a better understanding of possible developments, and also to be more intelligently prepared to enter into council upon either secular or ecclesiastical divisions that might come up for consideration of the public."[27] Such an undertaking seems a strenuous ordeal for a fifty-nine-year-old man, but he clearly relished it, especially the remoteness that gave him freedom from administrative duties and other pressures.

Early in June, he had traded a young mare and colt and $2.50 for "a good sized black horse 7 years of age having been used almost exclusively as a 'cow-horse.' Is gentle & easy and good running walker and appears as if he will be serviceable to me." Two days after the stake conference, on that horse, named Prince, he was on his way for a six-week tour of eastern Utah's wildest, most desolate country.

Even today no surfaced road crosses and no settlement other than an occasional ranch house occupies the land east of the Green River, south of

25. Ibid., April 6, 1921.
26. Ibid., June 14, 1921.
27. Ibid., June 20, 1921.

the White River, and bordered on the south by the East Tavaputs Plateau and the Book Cliffs. In that country Smart envisioned "a large ward that will finally become a stake and in general a County with central county and stake seat yet to be founded—a supporter of a temple and temple city."[28] He wanted to know more about it. Between Hill and Willow creeks, a few miles above their junction, he visited a plant Reuben S. Collett had nearly completed building to extract oil from shale—one of the first of many economically unsuccessful efforts to do so. Otherwise, the only human activity he found was sheep and cattle ranching. At the largest such operation, he met Adolph M. Myrup, a lapsed Mormon from Gunnison, who ran an outfit with 15,000 acres of patented grazing and some cultivated land, mostly along thirty miles of Hill Creek. With him he visited the company's nine sheep and cattle camps, located throughout the watersheds of Hill and Willow creeks and into the breaks of Desolation Canyon.

It was a challenging trip through rugged country, something Smart obviously relished. He ate and slept with the cowboys, occasionally in a house but more often in tents, caves, or under a tree, his only cover a saddle blanket. At the trip's outset, he explained that this was to be a "temporal" rather than a missionary trip. Being who he was, however, that didn't restrain him from bearing testimony in those sheep and cattle camps, exhorting the men to keep the Word of Wisdom and live better lives. Nor did he lose sight of his basic mission to colonize the basin. As he thanked Myrup for his hospitality and assistance, he "told him I felt God had directed him here . . . to use his means and ability in assisting to reclaim Uintah Basin. . . . that his future efforts should be here hence should dispose of outside interests so as to be undivided; to hold himself in readiness for future labors, to be prayerful asking the Lord to direct and prepare him. He accepted all kindly."[29] There's little evidence, though, that he did anything about it.

After six weeks on horseback, Smart arrived home "in good condition" on July 29. For a week he counseled with family, attended priesthood and sacrament meetings, met with the stake presidency and high council, rested, and read. Then it was off on another exploring adventure. He met with bishops of the Neola and Hayden wards, asking those wards to finance, equip, and pilot him on an exploration from the headwaters of Ashley Creek and Dry Fork near Marsh Peak on the east to the headwaters of Yellowstone Creek and the Uintah River near Kings Peak on the west. That's the eastern part of the High Uintas Wilderness, a land of above-timberline peaks, deep canyons, granite boulder fields, dense evergreen forests, alpine meadows, multitudinous lakes, and, in those days, virtually no trails.

Hugh Barnes, of the Neola ward bishopric, and Henry P. Olsen, the bishop's brother, became the party's outfitters and guides. Each rode a

28. Ibid., June 30, 1921.
29. Ibid., July 10, 1921.

saddlehorse, and Smart was mounted on the big black, Prince, that had by now become his favorite. A single packhorse carried bedding and provisions. As always, Smart wanted things organized, so they voted Smart as president, Barnes as camp manager and pilot, and Olsen as his assistant. The third day out, Smart resolved to see the sunrise from 12,219-foot Marsh Peak. With Barnes (Olsen being short of breath) he set out at 4 a.m. He soon found himself sick to his stomach and vomiting, unusually weak, and walking with difficulty. At a high rocky point they "witnessed rising sun most glorious." After a brief rest they continued upward. "I wondered if I could reach highest [peak] in such illness and distressing weakness," he wrote. Characteristically, he found in the experience a metaphor: "I thought of this being a semblance of life's struggles for accomplishments and of the things I yet wanted to do in helping in spiritual and temporal reclamation of this Basin. I felt if I now fail it would be a semblance of the future. . . . from that moment there was no wavering in my mind as to my ascending." He struggled on up steep bouldery slopes and reached the peak at 7 a.m. Exhausted, he still found enough strength to kneel at the rocky summit monument, "praising God and invoking His blessings on the Basin's development including this eastern part." The descent was torture, as reaction set in and he felt more ill and weaker still. A mile from camp he gave out, and rested while Barnes went on and brought back his horse, so he could ride the rest of the way. But this was Fast Sunday, so in midafternoon, while their still-weak president reclined on his bedroll, they administered the sacrament to each other, bore testimony, "all being fervent and faithful," and Smart led them in singing "Arise My Soul, Arise," "Redeemer of Israel," and "Doxology." Then he broke his fast with his usual fare at such times—a piece of toast and cup of warm water.

The next day, and for the following three days, he felt well and strong as they worked their way west, mostly on or near the summit ridge, looking into Wyoming, camping at tiny lakes at the headwaters of Dry Fork, Whiterocks, the East and Middle forks of the Uinta, Lake Fork, and the Yellowstone. On the day he considered to be the climax of the trip, he and Barnes climbed Kings Peak, the state's highest. "Little soil, huge granite boulders splitting leaving great sutures between, very narrow and steep," was how he described the climb. Here, at 13,498 feet,[30] he exulted that "I feel little breathing inconvenience and hoped again this would be good omen of my future. Also feel thankful I had taken this trip before I became too aged [he was fifty-nine] to stand these climbs and rough rides. . . . Here engaged in prayer as usual and with customary sentiments." A long, rugged descent down the main Uinta River brought them to the basin floor and eventually home to Roosevelt, where he found "all well."[31]

30. The elevation has since been established as 13,528 feet.
31. Smart, Journals, August 5–12, 1921.

Another week at home, taking care of family and stake affairs, and he was off again, this time to explore the east end of the Uintas from Marsh Peak and Ashley Creek east to the Green River—country that lay not in his, but in Uintah Stake. Nevertheless, the bishops of Bennett and what he called Attera (Altonah?) wards in his stake were given the privilege of outfitting the trip, and John O'Neil of Attera was assigned as his camp man and guide. On the third night out, they camped in a forest-surrounded flat called Big East Park, where O'Neill had worked at a sawmill as a young man and met the girl who would become his wife. Never one to miss an opportunity to try to persuade bad men to become good and good men to become better, Smart suggested to his companion that in memory of that good fortune "if he had a habit that would well be left behind" this would be a good place to leave it. O'Neil, Smart recorded, "appreciated this and said he could and would do so."

This trip also lasted a week, from August 18 to 25. Its most memorable event was the night Smart got lost on Diamond Mountain. Ignoring O'Neil's experienced advice that because of an approaching storm they should keep the horses near camp, he took them up the mountain for better feed, hobbled them, and then in the dark and during a heavy rainstorm tried to return to camp. He missed the campsite, went too far down the mountain, and tried to return by going up a streambed.

> I scrambled sometimes afoot and again on knees and clutching at brush on steep places to save rolling down into stream below. I finally saw I could not make this, so exhausted and panting, I detoured thru cedars . . . endeavoring to discover again right place to turn out. Not finding it I decided it best to return to horses. . . . The mud balled up my feet and I found it laborious climbing in my exhaustion. . . . Feeling so weary and drowziness I reclined under a cedar and dozed off until I was roused by a cold chill creeping over me. . . . I became chilled and found it necessary to walk and exercise briskly during the night. . . . Resolving to be as happy as possible I prayed sang all the hymns and songs and recited all the selections I could recall to memory and also quoted scripture as I paced the side hill, swinging my arms.

Typically, as the light of dawn allowed him to find the horses, he knelt in prayer "on the hillside the experience had made hallowed," thanking God for His protection and for the lessons he had learned: "to receive uncomplainingly the bitter with the sweet and endeavor to turn it to good account," and "to recognize authority [O'Neil's in this case], a principal I have ever advocated and endeavored to heed."[32]

Anyone who has similarly traversed these mountains, some of Utah's most beautiful, can understand Smart's reverence and his appreciation of

32. Ibid., August 23, 1921.

this test of his manhood, not to mention the lessons and metaphors he always seemed able to draw. But from his accounts of the excursions, it is hard to discern any practical benefit they had for his work as a stake president or colonizer.

Two weeks after his return from the Uintas, Smart was off again to the Hill Creek–Willow Creek area east of the Green River, this time to organize a dependent branch of Randlett Ward there. He sent word ahead asking members to gather at Ephraim Birchill's ranch. Twenty-four showed up, along with three "Lamanites" and "some non-members but friendly." It was "not a good showing," Smart recorded, "but I expected few as population small and generally spiritually indifferent." Niels Myrup was the only non-indifferent Mormon he had met on his previous trip, and he now installed him as president of the Book Cliffs Branch.[33]

The new president's stewardship included all the land east of the Green and south of the White rivers, extending east to the Colorado line and south to the Book Cliffs, virtually all of it reachable only on horseback or on foot. Smart was disappointed but hardly surprised when on subsequent visits to the branch in December, and again in May, he found very little had been done.

Calling It Quits

After less than two years as president of Roosevelt Stake, Smart decided that that was enough. In a long letter to the First Presidency, he essentially resigned, although he took pains to write that his letter "is not under the spirit and letter of retirement—a word I have learned much to dislike." He declared that if the Presidency felt he should continue to serve, "I shall endeavor to get back so far as may be, the former spirit of the work, although it may be difficult without a special blessing."

There are various reasons for his action, he wrote. He didn't list them all, but the main one he stated clearly: "the interests of the Lord in the Uintah Basin would be best subserved by a reorganization of the presidency of the Roosevelt Stake of Zion."

> I went into the Basin . . . as your humble representative, under very peculiar and trying circumstances surrounding the opening and partial settling of the former Uintah Reservation. There came, for the more part, a non-homogenious population from various states and stakes with their respective personal ambitions and ideas, and many steeped in prejudices. I became a target as one inclined to get in the way of those ambitions and ideas; and while often upheld, I could not but incur many jealousies and even animosities, and through which, I feel assured, there are those scattered throughout the Basin—Mormons and non-Mormons—who would become more active and would also have a better feeling toward the

33. Ibid., September 11, 1921.

> Church were a change made. I am sure I have made mistakes through my mortality that have further given cause for such conditions.[34]

That's a remarkable statement from a man who had so single-mindedly and prayerfully pursued what he considered the Lord's work to make the Uinta Basin Mormon country. Through the years he had attributed his disappointments and rejections to the Lord's will. Now, for the first time—in writing at least—he acknowledged the negative reactions to his own zealousness.

Other factors probably influenced his request for release. Unstated, but no doubt on his mind, were concerns over his health and his finances. Gastrointestinal, sciatic, and respiratory illnesses continued to plague him. His hearing was steadily deteriorating, to the point of near-deafness. At age sixty, he must have felt himself wearing down. Moreover, he had to find some way to halt his slide toward poverty—hard for a man who had made himself a full-time stake president. But a critical clue to his thinking is his statement to the Presidency that "I must admit that the spirit of this presidency has waned until my present ministry is more or less mechanical, yet my interest in the further development of the Basin, both spiritually and temporally, has not diminished," which development he hoped to pursue "as far as my poor ability may allow."

From the beginning of his Uinta Basin ministry in 1903, Smart understood that his calling from the First Presidency had been to prepare for, direct, and assist Mormon colonization of the basin. That charge drove his early explorations to locate suitable places to settle. It fueled his incessant search for townships, his efforts to get people to gather there, and his organization of land companies to help them do so. It motivated his creation of tiny Sunday schools, then branches, and eventually wards of the church, many of them in what seem today, and eventually turned out to be, unlikely places. It compelled him to organize water and power, banking, mercantile, newspaper, and other companies to serve the settlers. Now, in most parts of the basin in 1922, what he called "the main pioneer epoch" was closing, and Smart, more a pioneer and an organizer than an administrator, was losing his zeal. Only one part of the basin, Ouray Valley and the desolate lands around the Green and White rivers, remained for pioneering, and Smart apparently felt he could do more about that as a hands-on, on-the-ground participant than as a Roosevelt-based stake president.

He presented his resignation letter in person to President Heber J. Grant on June 6, recommending the reorganization take place at the stake quarterly conference scheduled twelve days later. Grant, he recorded, said he would never have considered it had Smart himself not requested it. Informed of the coming change, Smart's first counselor, Byron O. Colton, said it would be like

34. Smart to First Presidency, June 6, 1922, Smart Papers. Complete text is in appendix B of this volume.

leaving "a ship without a mariner," and high councilman Frederick Musser said "he felt no other man could have filled the time and place so well, and that he thought a monument would yet be raised to me in the Basin."[35]

Despite those perceived misgivings, Apostle George F. Richards conducted the reorganization, as scheduled, on June 18. As Smart had recommended to President Grant, and separately to Richards, Colton was made president, with Smart's other counselor, Ephraim Lambert, and Musser as counselors. Smart recorded in his journal that Richards told the congregation he was to be considered an "honorary president to meet with the brethren when desirous and to come and go at will, until such time as after resting from my long labors the future would consider other labors." In his valedictory remarks, Smart expressed gratitude to the General Authorities for their kindness, forbearance, and helpfulness, and paid a long-overdue and much-deserved tribute "to my wife who had stood by my side through all the years in faithfulness in every way according to her nature and abilities, and who had never shrank when asked to move and had never discouraged me in going any time or place in duty, and for which I pronounced upon her everlasting blessing." Finally, he pledged his "readiness to labor in any capacity even a Deacon, and that I should rather serve as an humble doorkeeper in God's house than sit upon the greatest regal throne."[36] In the years that followed, he had ample opportunity to demonstrate that he really meant what he said.

35. Smart, Journals, June 16, 1922. No monument ever was erected. In fact, a portrait of Smart, presented by his descendants to the small Daughters of Utah Pioneers museum in Vernal, was discovered some years later gathering dust in a storage closet. *Sic transit gloria.*
36. Smart, Journals, June 18, 1922.

Eleven

Struggle and Failure in Leota

What's a man to do when he's released from twenty-four years of virtually full-time church service? Apostle Richards's invitation to Smart to rest from his long labors suggests the story of the just-retired man who sat in his rocking chair and, after several weeks, began to rock. William H. Smart wasn't such a man. A couple of months earlier, on his sixtieth birthday, April 6, he had written that he was "fairly well and full of desire to continue active spiritually and temporally. . . . I have no spirit or thought of retiring."

So he didn't. Shortly after his release, he suggested to the new stake president that he be called to preach the church slogan, "Every Member a Tithe Payer," in every ward and branch. The call quickly came. On horseback, he visited all nine wards and four branches, holding two or three meetings in each place. It took three weeks, from August 14 to September 6, which hardly seems enough, considering the twenty-eight passages of scriptures he reported quoting in his talks "and then expounding them."[1] Brevity was never one of his virtues.

He followed that with a week-long horseback tour of the northern part of Duchesne Stake. Although his authority in that stake was long gone, he did not hesitate to propose to stake president Owen Bennion that the tiny wards of Altonah and Mt. Emmons move together on a townsite Smart selected between the two.[2] They never did.

He returned in time to attend the Roosevelt Stake quarterly conference, where he reported on his tithing mission. Then it was off on another tour, this time to Ouray Valley and the country south and east, traveling as far as

1. Smart, Journals, September 12, 1922.
2. Ibid., September 15, 1922.

Bitter Creek and on into Colorado. Again without authority, he met with miners and their families at the Rainbow gilsonite mine and undertook to organize a Sunday school, subject to the approval of the new stake president.[3] En route home, he felt inspired to attend the general conference in Salt Lake City and do temple work there. That meant a 54-mile ride in one day to Ouray, then another day to journey home to explain to Anna that he would be gone again (his assurance that she was "perfectly in accord" seems somewhat questionable), and the next day, at 5 a.m., he was on his way.[4]

The trip turned out badly. He rode in a truck loaded with meat destined for the Salt Lake market. On a steep dugway the driver, Alfred Lubland, backed up to let a team and wagon pass. He misjudged, and the truck rolled over down the hill, apparently fracturing Lubland's shoulder. Smart was spared broken bones but was badly bruised about the head and neck and much of his body—injuries that bothered him for months. Travelers also en route to conference took him on to Salt Lake, where, after a hot bath, he "poured out my soul to God for this most marvelous escape from severe injury or death"—and that "the Brethren made my ride gratis."

Despite his injuries, he attended every conference session. No longer responsible to report conference messages back to his flock, however, he recorded nothing of the proceedings except to note that his invitation to offer an opening prayer was evidence "of my standing of good fellowship with God's servants."[5]

For the next three months, while living with his nephew, Leonidas Mecham, Smart served six days a week, holidays excepted, in the Salt Lake Temple, generally attending three sessions a day. Then, early in the new year, he reported for his second session of the Utah legislature.

The Uintah Basin's Senator

To be close to the Capitol and avoid paying streetcar fare, he moved to a small upstairs sleeping room at 57 North State Street, "very humble in condition & furnishings," for $3.50 a week. Clearly, he was not one of the "good old boys" partaking of the hospitality of lobbyists and the other emoluments of senatorial office. He took pride in reporting that except for an opening legislative breakfast, he prepared all his meals on a gas burner in that room.

Either because of injuries from his accident, or perhaps because of the controversies he had stirred at the previous session, he kept a low profile in this one. He remained chairman of the agricultural committee, but recorded no committee activity. Except for four days at the time of his daughter's death, he attended every session and "voted conscientiously on

3. Ibid., September 21-October 2, 1922.
4. Ibid., October 2–4, 1922.
5. Ibid., October 9, 1922.

all [bills], never having swapped votes to obtain favor for any bill." Among the measures he felt strongly about was one that would dismantle the state's education system (he opposed it, and it failed), and one authorizing the use of school buildings for church classes and other meetings (he favored it, and it passed). The only speech he records giving seems a curious one for a man in his position—objecting to a special tax on cigarettes because it would make the state a party to their sale. "I did not speak much," his journal records, "and when I did, but briefly," which seems strangely uncharacteristic for a man who had spent much of the previous twenty-four years speaking, usually anything but briefly.

Smart's account of this sixty-day period conveys the image of a lonely man (Anna was in Roosevelt, teaching seminary), cooking his meager meals in his dingy little room, uncomfortable and largely ineffectual in his senatorial role. His journal suggests as much. The day after adjournment, on March 9, he recorded: "having decided to enter Temple again I lost no time but went today. Enjoyed opening meeting very much—a contrast from the Senate I liking it much better."

Whatever stress he was feeling at this time was heightened by the death of his beautiful nineteen-year-old daughter Anna. On December 9, 1922, her father reported receiving a letter from Anna announcing she had completed her first term at Brigham Young University in a course of study to become a teacher, that her health was good, that she rejoiced in the school's excellent spirit and influence, and that she loved her parents and felt deep gratitude for their sacrifice in sending her there. Two months later, on February 4, she was dead. "She appeared in normal health," Smart wrote, "until Monday evening, when she returned from school complaining of headache. She gradually grew worse and administrations and medical attention followed." After six days, she died of what the doctors called spinal meningitis. Smart's reaction of faith and acceptance was, for him, typical: "We feel that her school and other things have had her in preparation, that she was ripened for the next probation mission and that our Father willed it so."

After a resolution of sympathy by the legislature and funeral services in Provo, where BYU classes were suspended and the school band marched and played outside the Fifth Ward chapel, Anna was buried in Salt Lake Cemetery beside her stepmother Mary, but later re-interred beside her father and mother.

For two more months after the legislature's adjournment, Smart served in the temple. During this time, he united the three unrelated Smart families in Utah into what he called a Smart Surname Family Organization, to join in genealogical research and temple work,[6] and sent his youngest son Joseph off to Washington, D.C. for schooling and a federal government job

6. Ibid., April 17, 21, and 26, 1923.

arranged by Senator Reed Smoot. Finally, on May 1, after a seven-month absence, he arrived home and wrote his usual comment, that he was greeted warmly and "was pleased to find all well."

All was not well financially, though. A day after his return, a letter from his long-time friend, Church Commissioner of Education John A. Widtsoe, reported that because of the church's straitened finances, its small seminaries, such as Roosevelt, where Anna as principal and teacher earned the family's only income, would be closed, but that Anna could probably teach in or around Salt Lake City. The Roosevelt Stake presidency and Smart himself sent letters appealing the closure, and Thomas Laurence, Smart's second son, applied for the principalship. The appeal succeeded, but not the application. Laurence was turned down, so Anna would remain at Roosevelt at a salary of $1,000 annually, $500 of which would have to be raised locally.

Despite his report in a family council that "our stewardship [is] now well near depleted,"[7] he continued his open-handed generosity. To his son Laurence he released a $4,500 note representing money loaned to him and lost in his abortive sheep business. To his oldest son William he released a couple of notes totaling $331, and to Albert Stephenson, one of the investors in the defunct Duchesne bank, he sent $325 and ten shares of Mutual Creamery Company stock. Stephenson was not among those for whom Smart had signed loans, but he was "financially embarrassed," and Smart dipped into his own meager resources to assist. Thus, he was able to record, "all those to whom I sold have received help."

Smart had enjoyed his temple service, but was now feeling the need for something more demanding. He sought it in an unusual way. Following the death of the Myton Ward bishop, Smart approached stake president Byron O. Colton and offered to take the job. In Mormondom, people are "called" to positions; they don't apply for them. But in that leadership-sparse region, Colton, Smart wrote, "was moved at this and could hardly express himself so much did he approve." So that recommendation went to headquarters, and Smart confidently waited, fasting and praying at one of his many altars for the right decision, and recommending to Colton the date and program for his installation. It must have been a shock when word came that "the general authority decided it would not be well to call me as former Stake President to serve as bishop under my successor—at least so soon. They also felt it may handicap him." But if he was hurt, it didn't show. His only comment was characteristic: "I am in harmony there with."[8]

So, in a few weeks, by way of a solitary trip on horseback, it was back to Salt Lake City for six more months of temple service. Anna, as usual, remained behind to manage the household and teach in her seminary. Smart's ego

7. Ibid., May 25, 1923.
8. Ibid., May 6, 14, and June 17, 1923.

now suffered a bruising. Summoned to the presiding bishop's office, he was informed that it had been decided to put him on a church pension of $50 a month.

> When I protested he said it could discontinue should my circumstances in future justify it, but the brethren felt that had I not been tied up so much in church work I could have given more time to family genealogy and temple work, and inasmuch as I now desired to do so they wished to relieve me somewhat temporally by this action. When he assured me that it would not meet their pleasure did I not accept I did so. . . . Subsequently I met Pres. [Heber J.] Grant on sidewalk who greeted me warmly. When I tried to thank him and assure him I did not like to seem thus to draw upon my service of the past, he said that anyone who would assist a brother by a free gift of $5000 and more if necessary, in his mission to raise money to preserve the honor of leading brethren, and that committeeman finally becoming the president of the church, was deserving of any such little consideration, and that he had never forgotten that act.[9]

The reference was to Grant's assignment to raise money to save an Ogden bank in 1898, and Smart's financial contribution to that effort while he was serving in the Eastern States mission.

The Search for Financial Security

Near the end of Smart's self-assigned six-month temple term, temple president George F. Richards said that he would like to call him as a regular officiator, unless that full-time, unpaid service would make him financially dependent. It would do exactly that, of course, and Smart turned to President Grant for counsel. Would there be any objection, he asked, to his engaging in work that would take him away from the temple? Grant replied that such men as he were free to use their best judgment with perfect freedom to act. Smart's rather broad interpretation was that "he desires me to do so; therefore that he really would be out of sympathy for me to be tied up in any present missionary Church work as in the temple."[10]

With that assurance, he outlined his financial goals. "As the Brethren especially do not wish to see me dependent in my old age thru having become in somewhat humble circumstances during my long Ecclesiastical service, I should like to accumulate $10,000 as insurance against it." To honor his father's dying request to have genealogical and temple work done for "redemption of my father's house," he wanted another $10,000. And to contribute to the building or maintenance of temples, still another $10,000.

For an ambitious young man to amass $30,000 in the burgeoning sheep business of the late nineteenth century was no problem for Smart; he had

9. Ibid., October 1, 1923.
10. Ibid., February 1, 1924.

done that and much more. For a sixty-one-year-old man, long-removed from the business arena, to propose doing so in the grinding poverty of his present time and place seems out of touch with reality.

Still, he tried. He first took a train to Brawley, California, to join his son William, who was investigating farming possibilities in the Imperial Valley, a few miles north of the Mexican border. In the stifling heat of early March, at a hundred feet below sea level, they decided that this was no place to live, and that they would return to the Uintah Basin and once more go into the sheep business.[11]

In the last two weeks of April, he and William studied range possibilities in Castle Valley, around Dragon, and as far east as Grand Junction, but "saw nothing very enticing."[12] A month later they ventured farther east, crossing the Continental Divide and arranging for summer range on the 14,000-foot Mountain of the Holy Cross, and for spring range near Leadville.

William returned to Utah to buy 1,500 ewes and lambs in Sanpete Valley, while his father went on to Denver to arrange financing. There, fortuitously, he met John Clay, owner of the finance company with whom Smart & Webster Livestock had done business years earlier. Based on the mutual trust they had developed, Clay loaned him $12,000 instead of the requested $10,000, at what Smart considered a favorable interest rate of 7 percent.

So they were in business, and by July 4 the sheep had been purchased and shipped, but to a different range that William had arranged along the Continental Divide, not far from where the Moffatt Tunnel was being bored northwest of Denver. They could not afford to hire herders, so William would handle that job himself. "Thus after having traveled and investigated much," Smart wrote, having "bot sheep and way provided to pay for & handle them, I hope and pray we may merit success with this deal."

But no. After less than two months with the sheep, William came out of the mountains and informed his father that he had changed his mind, that he neither wanted to be away from his young family nor bring them into a sheep-camp environment, but wanted to return to try to make a living in Utah. The patient father expressed no dismay, or even a bit of irritation, at this further evidence of his son's instability, but "told him I can approve of it. Indeed it was along the line of my own thot and desire."[13]

Failure with the sheep wasn't Smart's only trial during this venture. Crossing a street in Longmont, Colorado, he was struck down by a car and his scalp laid open. An hour and a half of stitching, without anaesthetic, closed the wound, and after a day in the hospital he was taken into the home of a German farmer, George Reppler, for a week of recuperation. Here he experienced an epiphany.

11. Ibid., March 5–11, 1924.
12. Ibid., May 1, 1924.
13. Ibid., May 1, July 17, and September 1, 1924.

"While laid up had some serious reflections on God's children and the church during which I had an unusual feeling of liberality and tollerence come over me," he wrote. But his newfound feeling of tolerance did not mask his missionary spirit. "I viewed the great majority of these agricultural good people thru here as all but church members—just blinded by precepts of men or not having had good opportunity to learn the Gospel, & looked upon them as my yet-to-be brethren and sisters." His fond feelings may have been influenced by the way he was treated financially. Pleading poverty, he was not charged for his week's lodging. As for the combined hospital and doctor's bill, his plea of "modest temporal circumstances" reduced it to $19.50.

Despite that generosity, he wrote that "all the time I was east of the Rocky M't Divide and out of the mt's I could not but feel a fluttering, uneasy and fearing feeling and the scripture came to me 'Come out of her Oh my people that ye partake not of her aims and receive not of her plagues,' and returning westward I again felt better as we crossed the Divide and came this way. This indeed seemed a testimony that my place is in Zion unless called hence."[14]

Ouray Valley: Back to Pioneering

But where in Zion, and doing what? With other avenues seemingly closed, he concentrated now on the Uintah Basin's most unpromising, still largely unsettled lands. One such area was the Ouray Valley, a desolate, wedge-shaped region bounded roughly by the Duchesne River on the west and the Green River on the east. Another was the even more desolate land east of the Green River, bisected by the White River and extending south to the Tavaputs Plateau. It was in this region that the government stripped away 7,040 acres from the Ute Indian reservation in 1888 to accommodate the gilsonite miners, land the Utes themselves considered worthless.

Despite that assessment, from the time Smart first beheld it in 1907, the land held a strange attraction for him as a place for pioneering and development. In his remarkable optimism, he had organized the Uintah Realty and Investment Company in 1910, with specific responsibility to develop Ouray Valley and the country between the Green and White rivers. During many inspection trips over the area, he identified the Leota Ranch, established in 1904, as a likely site for the region's major town ("several times I was filled with emotion even to tears as I contemplated with joy this location," he wrote),[15] selected a temple site on Leota Hill, studied railroad and road routes, organized an irrigation company, got started on a canal (putting his sons, William and Laurence, to work on it), and chose a dividing line between the occupied basin region to the north

14. Ibid., September 1, 1924.
15. Ibid., October 25, 1912.

and the LDS stake and the new county he felt would eventually be established in this southern section.

To cement his personal commitment to the effort, in 1912 he had bought the relinquished homestead rights for $795 and filed on 320 acres of land near the Leota Ranch, on the northwest edge of Dry Lake, the area that under his direction would be transformed into Pelican Lake. With Anna's filing on 240 acres two miles south of Dry Lake, that represented a substantial investment in the area's future. During the remaining eight years of his Duchesne Stake presidency, at least as much thought and time was spent in working toward that future as in administering the settled part of his stake.

All this activity involved a region over which Smart had no ecclesiastical jurisdiction at that time. When the Uintah Stake was divided in 1910, and he became president of the new Duchesne Stake, he felt he would have all he could handle in settling and administering that vast area, including the creation of a new county. The southern lands, he recommended, could best be developed under the Uintah Stake, and that's where they were assigned. That proved to be a mistake, as the area was largely ignored. But Smart's conviction that he had been called to pioneer the settlement of the entire Uintah Basin, including these unpromising lands, wouldn't let him rest, nor would frustration over the Uintah Stake's lack of both interest in and activity about settlement.

His sense of urgency was heightened by a letter from Frederick Brind of Salt Lake City, who was in London trying to raise British capital to build a railroad into the basin through Ouray, and also by a rumor that "a wealthy English Baron" had purchased much of the Indian land in the basin and was contracting with Ed. F. Harmston to survey a Denver & Rio Grande rail route into the basin from Green River. Smart met with Uintah Stake president Byron Colton, "expressed uneasiness regarding this southern section," and pleaded for more activity by the stake lest Mormons lose out should a railroad materialize. Colton was unimpressed; apparently he, like most Utahns, no longer shared Smart's "Mormon fortress" zeal to exclude outsiders. His only response was that Smart could feel free to do anything he wanted to do personally.[16]

That, of course, didn't suit Smart's sense of administrative order, nor his need to be in control of events. He pushed for a better solution—transferring the region to Smart's Duchesne Stake. Conceding that he lacked a pioneering spirit, Colton agreed, and on June 6, 1913, wrote a formal letter advising Smart that the Uintah Stake presidency and high council had agreed that "your stake is doing pioneer work and it would seem to us to be more in keeping with the original mission and undertaking assigned to that stake for you to direct affairs in that part." The General Authorities to whom

16. Ibid., May 21, 1913.

the proposal was presented didn't act on it, though, and for four more years Smart continued his solitary efforts to develop what he called this "new field which is looked upon as the most forbidding of this Basin."

The first essential for development was, of course, getting water onto the land. That involved digging a canal to take water from the Uinta River, thirty miles upstream. Work started in 1912 under the direction of J. Winter Smith, a civil engineer. By the summer of 1914, water was coming into the western part of the valley, and the *Vernal Express* was able to report, with undisguised optimism, that the first crop of wheat raised under the new canal was of "fine quality and the yield was heavy. . . . The canal is nearly completed and water will be ready for this year's crops."[17]

In 1915, though, Smith left the basin, and the work languished. World War I essentially stopped the project, and on January 2, 1917, Smart recorded that he rode on horseback through the valley and found "few new settlers. Called on them. Found them much discouraged having still no water, canal system being so slow developing. Feeling still the land good I encouraged them to hold on."

The plight of those people stirred Smart to another attempt to have the southern region transferred to his Duchesne Stake. Colton again agreed, conceding that "these outlying sections had been a burden to him and that he would feel greatly lightened were the boundry so readjusted." For his part, Smart expressed his relief that "while I feel that added burden and responsibility coming, I also feel happier in assuming again the stewardship that appears to be in line with the spirit of my mission."[18]

This time the change was approved by the First Presidency, on July 12, 1917. Pressing his luck, Smart met with the presidency four days later with a map of the area and its water courses, "endeavoring to show them that we are now in the majority north of the Duchesne River, that our people are prone to settle near Mountains and unless a vigorous effort be made to secure lands south it would be dominated by non mormon elements." To forestall that misfortune, he "urged an appropriation so far as necessary to assist in colonizing . . . and that if necessary the church will back our irrigation project there."[19]

With weighty financial problems of its own, the church never did, but with new validation of his stewardship, Smart lost no time in getting the irrigation project moving again. As president of the Ouray Valley Irrigation Company, he personally signed for a $40,000 bank loan, replaced the company's manager, George E. Wilkins, with Byron Collett Jr., won approval of his plan to convert the area known as Dry Lake into the Pelican Lake reservoir and pleasure resort, and for $8,000 bought the water rights previously

17. *Vernal Express,* January 29, 1915.
18. Smart, Journals, January 4, 1917.
19. Ibid., January 16, 1917.

held by the grandiose but now defunct South Myton Bench irrigation project Smart had tried to help Frank Lott develop a decade earlier.[20]

In that harsh and arid country, building a canal did not mean the end of water problems. There was seldom enough, and on July 19, 1919, Smart and officers of other basin water companies met with state and federal officials to discuss "the seriousness of insufficient water for irrigation in the natural flow and means to remedy it."[21] They found no answers.

With little or no payments being made by the few impoverished settlers drawing water from the canal, on December 4, 1921, Deseret Mutual Bank notified the irrigation company that $2,450 was due in interest on the $40,000 note. When no payment was forthcoming, they pointedly reminded Smart that he had personally guaranteed payment of the debt. He couldn't pay it, of course, and for a decade the matter dragged on. Finally, in 1931, when for Depression-stricken borrowers the alternative was bankruptcy, the bank forgave 70 percent of the debt. The company would pay the remaining 30 percent, and Smart's obligation was ended.[22]

Putting Down Roots

Under severe financial pressure after his release as stake president, and after the abandonment of his and William's Colorado sheep venture, Smart seems to have accepted the reality that his only option was to grub it out in or around Ouray Valley, like the other homesteaders there. The first essential in that effort was to prove up on the 320 acres of Desert Entry Act land he had filed on in 1912. On July 20, 1925, he submitted proof of eligibility at the U.S. Land Office in Vernal. His patent was approved on April 9, 1926, and the land was his. He made a deal with Ray E. Dillman to do the work needed to prove up on Anna's 240 acres, for which Dillman could have the best eighty acres at cost.[23]

To be close to his land and also to "lend more help to that section if God so will," on June 25, 1925, he moved his church membership to the Randlett Ward.[24] That move apparently didn't put him close enough to his land, and in September he became a member of the tiny Leota Branch, where he recorded that "Pres [John G.] Ekker said he had much desired

20. Ibid., January 23, April 24, and August 5, 1918.
21. Robert Cooper, *Leota: End of William H. Smart's Stewardship* (Salt Lake City, self-published, 1979), 35.
22. Ibid., 36.
23. Smart, Journals, October 15, 1925. Dillman was a Uintah Basin native, born in Vernal in 1890. He became bishop of the Roosevelt Ward in 1929. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:589.
24. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names,* 310. Randlett was first settled in 1892, abandoned, and resettled in 1905 when the reservation was opened. It was named for Colonel James Randlett, commanding officer at Fort Duchesne.

the Branch to be strengthened by the Priesthood but he had little thot of such coming in the form of my presence who is a stalwart of spiritual strength."[25]

Anna remained in Roosevelt, teaching seminary, and Smart rationalized this latest of many lengthy separations.

> While things are crude and she by nature and education [is] more adapted to higher developed conditions, and while I am assisting more according to my spirit and nature now in this pioneer work, while her special calling and aid is to teach and thus assist in much needed financial strength as well as to do good in the calling she likes most, I recognize at her age and general condition, she should have her liberty to reside, while this condition exists, where she deems it best.[26]

On September 13, 1925, a week after Smart became a member there, stake president Colton acted on his recommendation to reorganize Leota Branch into Leota Ward, with Lester E. Eklund as bishop. At that time, Colton privately commissioned Smart to represent the stake presidency in the eastern and southeastern part of the stake, acting as a special advisor to the Randlett and Leota wards.

Once More a Missionary

That assistance would have to wait, though. He and Anna attended the October general conference and heard President Heber J. Grant announce a program of short-term missions—three months to a year. Just two days later, Smart recorded that "the spirit of the 'Short Mission' and . . . the advisability of my representing the two wards Randlett and Leota that I am called to serve came over me."[27]

A mission call would, of course, prolong his absence from Anna. It would also interrupt the Ouray Valley colonizing efforts he felt were so important. And it would certainly do nothing to improve his personal finances. The only apparent motivation was what had directed much of his life—he was prompted by the "spirit."

In any event, he acted immediately. Back in the basin, within five days he got Bishop Eklund to recommend his mission call, resigned as president and director of Roosevelt Realty, arranged for the care of a couple of buggies, a horse, and span of mules, and with $327 in his wallet returned to Salt Lake City. There he spent three more weeks working in the temple, visiting family, and making another of his many financial sacrifices for the sake of his religious convictions. From a matured Beneficial Life insurance policy, he withdrew all but $3,000 and deposited the $1,200 proceeds in a bank

25. Smart, Journals, September 6, 1925.
26. Ibid., October 14, 1925.
27. Ibid., October 6, 1925.

account to be used exclusively for genealogical research and temple work for his and Anna's ancestors.[28]

On November 12, he entered the mission home at 31 North State Street for a week of instruction, then entrained for Atlanta to serve a six-month call to the Southern States Mission. Unable to afford a sleeper or meals in the diner, he sat up for three nights and survived on what food he could pick up at train stations along the way.

With the concurrence of Apostle George F. Richards, the mission president, Charles A. Callis, assigned him to remain in Atlanta to strengthen the branch and its indifferent members. He was told the branch needed "one who can interest and edify as a speaker, and that I could well fill this requirement." Smart, who had hoped to labor out in the mission field, not at headquarters, felt no joy at the assignment. "While I now feel depressed, unworthy and incapable," he wrote, "I hope and pray to receive the spirit of the appointment, to come to love it."[29]

Despite his plea that he had no desire for executive responsibility, and contrary to the normal lines of authority, he was given supervision over the branch presidency and also responsibility to organize missionary efforts there. But his living arrangements were those of a regular missionary at the time, with he and his young companion splitting the monthly $25 cost of their shared room and bed.

For six weeks he labored at this assignment, but he did find time for a bit of sightseeing. At Grant Park he marveled at the panorama painting of the Battle of Atlanta. He took a streetcar to Stone Mountain east of the city, where he witnessed and disapproved of the work in progress to carve Civil War scenes and images of the South's leading generals on its granite face. "I felt that it is too bad to continue their part in the war by cutting it for all time in this solid granite wall," he wrote. But he climbed to the top of the 1,120-foot-high mountain, found the view of the surrounding countryside "a beautiful sight," and located a secluded spot where "under a tree and with a granite rock before me for a pillar I knelt and prayed."[30]

After seven weeks, he got his wish to labor away from headquarters, but not as an ordinary missionary. He was assigned to Columbia, South Carolina, to strengthen various branches, and had the president's specific charge to "do much speaking, not being too modest therein as the people are hungry therefor." He was also able to organize and conduct training sessions for the missionaries.

He arrived in Columbia on January 6. There he promptly met the first three converts his youngest son, Joseph, had baptized ten years earlier, after his stake president father had arranged his mission call at the unusual age

28. Ibid., November 12, 1925.
29. Ibid., November 25, 1925.
30. Ibid., December 5, 1925.

of sixteen to get him away from his self-described "mixed prior performance in the Church and in the community."[31]

Throughout his stay in South Carolina, the father met many members who remembered his son with fondness, including members of the Catawba Indian branch. This was a tribe once about 6,000 strong but reduced by smallpox to about 150. The Catawbas, almost as a body, had joined the Mormon church forty years earlier, and about 90 percent were members at the time of Smart's visit. Naturally, he preached to them about their Lamanite forefathers, as recorded in the Book of Mormon.

Smart's career as a proselytizing missionary didn't last. On March 29, almost thirty-nine years since his appointment to his first successful administrative responsibility, as president of the Brooklyn Conference, he was appointed to an identical one—president of the South Carolina Conference. From then until the end of his mission he traveled throughout the state, visiting Georgetown, Charleston (where, he remembered, Joseph Smith had prophesied the Civil War would begin), Hartsville, Lake City, Society Hill, Patrick, Blythewood, Centerville, Gaffney, Grangeville, Greenville, and Spartanburg, meeting with and training missionaries, encouraging and blessing members, baptizing, organizing, and, of course, following his mission president's instructions to speak often and at length.

In May 1926, his six-month mission term ended and he hurried home to resume his calling as special advisor to the Randlett and Leota ward bishoprics. Two months later, though, the stake presidency, perhaps uncomfortable with Smart's tendency to expand his assigned role, decided the position of special advisor didn't exist in church organizational charts. They released him, and once again, despite his colonizing zeal, he was left with no other calling than as a stake missionary.

"After much thot and prayer," he sought counsel from Colton on what he should do. Should he now consider his work in the basin was ended and make his home in Salt Lake City to do temple work? For him personally, that would be ideal, he told the president, but added that he still felt he needed to help in the development of the Uintah Basin. Colton's response was obviously what Smart wanted to hear: "He said . . . my presence here will be appreciated and that he had, with others, much confidence in my ability to assist."[32]

Life on the Mormon Frontier

With that assurance, talk turned to the land east of the Green River. In that isolated Willow Creek–Hill Creek area, effective church supervision was impossible. On one occasion, for example, as Leota Ward bishop, he tried to bring the scattered members together for a meeting. He rode on

31. J. H. Smart, "Fringe Benefits," 45.
32. Smart, Journals, August 29, 1926.

horseback to the few ranches along the creeks, inviting what members he found to meet the following Sunday at a certain ranch. When he arrived, he found the men branding calves in the corral between pulls at a well-used jug of whiskey.[33]

Jed Wardle, president of the tiny Book Cliffs Branch in that area, was being released and his successor had not yet been chosen, Colton told Smart, adding that "as I had always had a clear conception of that section and as important developments are sure to come he felt no other man could handle that situation as I."

From the beginning of his Uintah Basin ministry, Smart had reflected the same defensive-fortress attitude that had prevailed in the Brigham Young era—keep the non-Mormons out. A half century after Brigham's death, during which time Mormons and so-called gentiles had learned to live more or less comfortably together, this attitude had softened, if not dissipated. But Smart was of the "old guard," and his response to Colton was characteristic: the Willow Creek–Hill Creek region must be developed by Mormons before the coming of a railroad would make it more difficult. "While not presuming to recommend," he wrote, "I felt to say 'Here am I,' should my services be required."[34]

Ten days later, Colton recommended to Bishop Eklund that Smart be installed as president of the Book Cliff Branch of Leota Ward. Nothing happened. Twenty-five days later, on September 5, Smart took the matter before the Lord, praying at one of his twelve-stone altars that "my future be made clear." Still nothing. A week after that, at another altar, he reminded the Lord that he had promised President Colton to let him know when he was ready for installment as Book Cliffs Branch president. He wrote Colton the next day, announcing that he was ready.

Finally, on September 22, the answer came in a letter from the stake presidency: "Due to the poor promise of definite development of that section, at least in the immediate future, we do not feel at all clear in placing the responsibility on you. . . . Under the present condition we now feel to relieve you of any definite obligation in this direction." Smart's response, showing none of the disappointment he must have felt, was typical of his entire ministry: "Having prayed fervently that you might be guided by the spirit of the Lord in this matter I accept your decision as His will and desire with all my heart that His will be done regarding it."

Looking back three-quarters of a century later, it is obvious that the stake presidency's vision of the future was more clear-sighted than Smart's optimism. No railroad came, and except for a few scattered ranches, modern maps show not a single settlement in the vast area east of the Green River between the White River and Tavaputs Plateau.

33. Cooper, *Leota*, 130.
34. Smart, Journals, August 29, 1926.

Smart had long urged his sons and sons-in-law to join him in developing Ouray Valley. Only one did—James Rasmussen, husband of his oldest daughter Elizabeth. William, the oldest son, had tried a number of unsuccessful ventures with his father, and expressed no interest in trying another. Thomas Laurence, the second son, needing a secure income for his wife and five children, had landed a job with Taylor Brothers Furniture Store in Provo. Edna's husband, Charles E. Pearce, was doing well as a businessman on the Wasatch Front and supporting their five children. Joseph, the youngest son, had made it clear that ranching was not for him. Ruth was only fifteen.

But Jim and Elizabeth arrived with their three sons, the oldest being eleven. They and Smart himself moved into an abandoned government building at Randlett on the former Indian reservation. Smart's $150 loan enabled Jim to settle affairs at the service station he had operated in Salina. The new arrivals quickly found a place in the Neola Ward fabric, Elizabeth as organist and Jim as chorister.

Selling Out

Now Smart took a huge step toward eventual disengagement from the Uintah Basin. Throughout his ministry there, he had professed his intention to obtain land only for the purpose of making it available to other Mormons he could attract to the basin, and had urged others to do the same. It is not clear whether his next move was in fulfillment of that ideal, or because he was in critical need of cash. For whatever reason, he proceeded to sell his Ouray Valley Desert Entry Act lands.

The biggest piece, the northern 160 acres, went to Lawrence C. Wall, bishop of Randlett Ward, for $2,000, payable over ten years, but with no payments for the first three years and 6 percent interest due only after the first year. Mark S. Woolley bought eighty acres of the southern half for $2,000 on similar terms. The remaining eighty acres remained unsold for five years. There had been talk of selling Anna's Desert Entry land as well, but nothing came of that, and it remained as the only tangible legacy he and Anna passed down to their descendants.[35]

Six months later, he took another step toward disengagement from Ouray Valley. Explaining that he wanted "to lessen my own responsibility, and assist those who need it," he sold thirty-two shares of Ouray Valley Irrigation Company stock at half the going price, allowing the purchasers seven years to pay, with no interest. The buyers were three homesteaders, Orson Neilson, Oscar Jensen, and Albert Jenkins, described by Smart as "good, worthy but poor men with families. . . . My feelings went out in

35. During the exploration boom caused by high oil prices in 2006, Stonegate Resources, a Grand Junction oil and gas exploration firm, bought drilling rights on Anna's 240 acres for $25 an acre, with 12.5 percent royalty on any production. As of this writing, no drilling has been done.

sympathy for them and a desire for them to succeed, knowing how difficult it will be for them to pay water assessments, reclaim the land and also provide for their families."[36] The fate of one of these men soon sadly illustrated how Ouray Valley settlers struggled to survive on land that could not yet provide a living. Jenkins, a member of the Leota Ward bishopric, was killed while working in the gilsonite mines east of the Green River.[37]

Creating Utah's Newest Town—Leota

Throughout his Uintah Basin ministry, one of Smart's major activities was a search for suitable sites for the towns he hoped to see built with Mormon settlers. That was certainly true in Ouray Valley, where, beginning in 1912, he was involved for a decade in considering no fewer than six sites, including his own Desert Entry Act filing at the northwest corner of Dry Lake and Anna's filing two miles south of the lake. Finally, a site was chosen near the eastern edge of Dry Lake. A two-story brick school house had been built there in 1924, and a post office was established in the home of Frank Roberts in 1926.[38]

But to round out an adequate townsite required more land. Stake president Colton proposed buying 160 acres from a non-Mormon woman, a Mrs. Logan. But how to pay for it in that cash-starved community? Smart suggested bringing a few solid citizens together to counsel to find a way, adding that "as I had done so much in such lines in past I do not desire to repeat it here unless absolutely necessary." The council was held, without success. Five days later Colton called, appealing for help. With what must have been a sigh of resignation, considering his straitened circumstances, Smart wrote to the Uintah State Bank, authorizing Colton to draw a loan of up to $1,000 from his savings account.

With the site secured for the new town, then there was the matter of naming it. Smart, of course, was appointed to the naming committee. In its first meeting he suggested three names—Byron, the first name of stake president Colton; Smithton, for deceased president Joseph F. Smith and also because Smith was Colton's middle name; and Irreantum, a word from the Book of Mormon (1 Nephi 17:5) meaning "many waters," because "while this town site now is in the semi-desert I expect to see it and environment well watered." Colton, in polite response, had suggested William or Smart, and his name was also nominated. The committee voted for the name Byron.

Neither man really wanted the town named for an individual, though. Smart wrote that he "disfavored a personal name so as not to exalt man where we wish a pure city to glorify God."[39] Colton, after first accepting

36. Smart, Journals, May 16, 1927.
37. Ibid., March 15, 1928.
38. Cooper, *Leota*, 45–46.
39. Smart, Journals, December 2, 1926.

the honor, changed his mind and asked the committee to choose another name. The name finally submitted in the application for a post office was Ekker, for John Garret Ekker, a Holland-born Mormon convert who had moved into Ouray Valley, probably in 1918, bought part of the Leota Ranch, and built a home,[40] one room of which Smart was renting. But word came from Congressman Don B. Colton that the Ekker name had been rejected. Bishop Ecklund then suggested Leota, the name both of the ranch originally established there and of the already-functioning LDS ward.[41] The committee, probably tired of the matter, promptly agreed.

Notwithstanding his personal and financial contributions to locating and acquiring the townsite, Smart remained ambivalent about settling there. He had acquired a forty-acre parcel nearby, with the intention of building a home and farming the land while Anna taught at the Leota school. He didn't do it, possibly because at his age the labor involved was daunting, and possibly because of his limited finances. His recorded rationalization was something else: he was concerned that doing so could prove a "stumbling block to the people . . . as they would think that I the ex-stake president and President Colton had connived to build it up for personal aggrandizement."[42]

Instead, he leased the farm, along with a few dairy cows, to his son-in-law James Rasmussen, and spent many days laboring there, as well as hiring out with Jim to do farm work for others. He lived in a tiny cabin on the farm of one of those employers, George Ashton, sleeping on his canvas cot and cooking his simple meals on a campfire because the cabin had no stove. Despite those primitive conditions, he didn't neglect to dedicate the place as his temporary home.

A year later, he offered to sell the farm to Rasmussen. Terms were to be arranged later, but there was no delaying the accompanying lecture, telling his son-in-law that "in considering his prospects of success and my faith in same I based the same on four cornerstones: Industry, economy, continuity and keeping at least in fair degree the commandments of the Lord—especially that of temporal salvation, tithing that by it they may sanctify their stewardship."[43]

Throughout his Uintah Basin ministry, Smart never forgot his basic calling from the First Presidency, to colonize the basin and get home-seekers, preferably Mormons, to settle there. To accomplish that, he extended remarkably easy terms to the buyers of his land. Even that help was often

40. Cooper, *Leota*, 76.
41. Ibid., 45; Smart, Journals, January 26 and 28, 1926. Ironically, in view of Smart's and Collett's agreement that the town should not bear an individual's name, the Leota ranch had been given the name of a local Indian girl. Van Cott, Utah Place Names, 225.
42. Smart, Journals, March 14, 1928.
43. Ibid., June 11 and July 30, 1929.

not enough, and failures were common. In 1928, for example, he had to reclaim the 240-acre farm adjoining Roosevelt he had sold to Bishop Joseph West and his sons. That cost him several hundred dollars to pay delinquent water assessments, which he uncomplainingly did "to avoid giving them trouble." It also left him owing $600 to the bank for a loan he took out to help West buy a threshing machine.

Earlier, he had to reclaim from his son Thomas Laurence his second Roosevelt farm, adjoining the first one on the north, when the son decided farming, especially Uintah Basin farming, was not for him. Now, in his continuing efforts to divest his basin holdings, he offered to sell Bishop J. Austin Pack both farms and "all our lands in Ouray Valley to consider with the possibility of disposing of such as they may wish." The bishop chose only the farm adjoining Roosevelt, and the deal, with fifty-six water shares, was done—the price $6,000, no down payment, seven years to pay, and interest at 6 percent.

"I have always felt that I was moved upon by the spirit of revelation to purchase from a non-member this farm," Smart wrote, "and that should I dispose of it I wished it to be owned by a member of my family or a good Latter-day Saint. As my sons did not choose it, B'p Pack was my next choice. . . . it however was not without deep sentiment and emotion that our old farm is deeded to other stewardship."

Three months later, he sold his other Roosevelt farm to LeGrand Mecham, also for $6,000, the first payment due within two years, the others annually for five years, and interest only on any delinquent payments. Even with those liberal terms, "I promised to be lenient in case needed if he does duty," Smart noted.[44]

Smart's inability to get any of his sons securely planted in Uintah Basin soil was not his only paternal disappointment. His oldest son William seemed to fail in everything he tried, and for years would be a worry and financial drain. Smart's support of his youngest son Joseph's business venture—a produce and livestock business at Roosevelt—proved even more devastating.

Smart loaned him $1,000 to start, then another $600, then another $1,000 borrowed from the Roosevelt bank, and finally $8,000 borrowed from the Uintah State Bank he had organized years before in Vernal. The company's first—and as it turned out only—project was to ship a carload of turkeys and chickens to California. It lost money. Smart recorded the events in one of his few journal entries that was not upbeat, philosophic, or faithfully ascriptive of the outcome to the Lord's will.

> Joseph not finding anyone available to unite with him and having lost too much to continue alone—I feeling it unthinkable to borrow further to try to save him . . . he decided to close out. [Enough was salvaged to pay the

44. Ibid., February 3 and 28, 1928, and May 12, 1929.

> $8,000 loan, but Smart lost the rest.] It has been a sad and disappointing experience perhaps the severest trial I have yet faced along such lines, and besides the anxiety and disappointment it has placed us in a very cramped financial condition. . . . I should have known better than to have loaned my means and given my approval to his venture at his age [he was twenty-nine] and lack of experience, but it is one of many cases of overconfidence in children and our hopes for their success.[45]

Joseph escaped to American Fork to wait tables in the restaurant run by his sister Edna's husband, Charles E. Pearce, while his pregnant wife went to Denver to be with her mother. They never again lived in the basin.

Understandably, when at about this time William wrote pleading for another loan, Smart noted that "of course I had to write refusal explaining to him Joseph's matter." It was the first time he could not respond to a call for help, but would not be the last.

Although Smart had trouble getting his sons to settle in the basin, he had better luck with his in-laws. His daughter Elizabeth and her husband, James Rasmussen, along with their three sons, ages ten to fourteen, were busy grubbing out a farm on the forty acres acquired from her father, living in a one-room, dirt-floored and dirt-roofed log cabin, hauling their water from a spring five miles away, fighting grasshoppers, and making adobe bricks for the house they would build when time and money allowed. They stuck it out there until 1935, when they moved to Salt Lake City to get her sons into what Elizabeth felt would be a better environment.[46]

In February 1928, Smart's second son Thomas Laurence arrived with his wife's brother, Morris Buckwalter, announcing that they wanted to get into the sheep business. Of course that got Smart's interest, and they spent days exploring range possibilities throughout Ouray Valley and across the Green River to the Willow Creek area, perhaps with summer grazing in the Book Cliffs. In the fall they similarly explored western Colorado, but found "few sheep with forest range permits and prices rather high."

On August 29,1928, Smart wrote to Utah governor George Dern, soliciting a letter that might help him get grazing permits on the forest reserve, emphasizing that "I wish only fair play." The governor obliged with a "To Whom It May Concern" letter introducing Senator Smart as "a good friend of mine . . . a citizen of sterling character, who has given much valuable service to the State of Utah."[47] It didn't help.

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45. Ibid., March 29, 1929.
46. Rasmussen, "My Memoirs," 42–43, 64.
47. George Dern Papers, September 11, 1928, Series 204, Box 20, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City. Smart's plea for "fair play" was understandable. Non-residents of the Uintah Basin held key alpine grazing rights. In 1937, 23 percent of the grazing rights went to outside stockmen. The average outside owner received permits to graze twice as many sheep on the public domain as the average basin resident. Brian Q. Cannon "Struggle Against Great Odds: Challenges in Utah's Marginal Agricultural Areas, 1925–39," in *A*

By the following spring, Smart recognized that his age and financial distress made it inadvisable to join his son as a partner, but with his experience and contacts he was able to arrange a $7,000 loan from the Uintah State Bank and counseled in the purchase of 1,280 ewes and rams at $14 a head.[48] The brothers-in-law put the herd on Diamond Mountain, and soon learned why they had been able to purchase grazing permits so cheaply; the area was infested with coyotes.

"Morris and I took turns riding all night," Laurence later recalled. "We set out intermittent firing pots of gunpowder pellets mixed with sawdust. We hung lanterns in the trees over each small flock of ewes and lambs in an attempt to keep the coyotes away. Our efforts were futile. In at least three cases, a coyote had even carried a lamb into the light of the lantern to devour it.[49]

After six months the sheep were sold—at a loss, of course—and the partnership dissolved, in debt both to Smart and the bank. Laurence struggled all through the Depression years to pay interest on the loan, finally clearing a much-reduced note after launching a successful career with Beneficial Life Insurance Company. Morris never did pay his but hung on in the basin, eventually acquiring a ranch five miles southeast of Myton. He ran sheep there throughout the thirties and forties, then switched to cattle. In 1963 he died there, alone, apparently of a heart attack.

End of the Leota Years

With Leota established as a town, his Ouray Valley property disposed of, and his offer to labor to establish a settlement east of the Green River rejected, Smart apparently felt his work there was ended. Without fanfare, on September 12, 1929, he moved to a rented home in Vernal, reuniting with Anna and sharing the rent with his youngest daughter Ruth, twenty years old and teaching school at $75 a month. The three occupied only a couple of rooms, renting out the other five rooms, including the kitchen, for $25 a month.

Presumably, he left Ouray Valley still confident about his dream that what he had established there would develop into prosperous Mormon communities, forming a stake of the church and with a temple on the hill. It was not to be. Leota Ward, when Smart left, had around 230 members. It never grew much larger, and had no outlying branches. It struggled, with declining membership, through the Depression and the drought years of the thirties. Its church house, built so proudly of locally produced bricks,

World We Thought We Knew: Readings in Utah History, edited by John S. McCormick and John R. Sillito (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 310.

48. Smart, Journals, February 16 and September 26, 1928, and March 29, 1929.

49. Margaret Smart Fife, "Thomas L. Smart: A Life Sketch," 1955, typescript, copy in possession of the author.

burned to the ground on January 15, 1932, days after the last payment for its construction.[50] Declining population closed the school in 1936, and the post office in 1941. By 1948, only 135 members remained. Finally, in 1954, Leota Ward was dissolved.

Today, Leota remains on highway maps, but all that shows where it once was are a highway sign, the ruins of the brick schoolhouse, and the cemetery. The Leota bottoms are a wildlife refuge. The Willow and Hill Creek lands Smart hoped to settle are part of the Uintah and Ouray Indian Reservation, with only a few scattered ranches around its perimeter.[51]

50. Smart, Journals, January 19, 1932.
51. Cooper, *Leota*, 158–60.

Twelve

Hard Times

If life had been hard for settlers trying to scratch out a living in the Uintah Basin's inhospitable soil—and for William H. Smart himself—it was about to get harder. Six weeks after he left Leota for good, the collapse of the stock market on Black Friday, October 29, 1929, started the Great Depression. In the subsequent bank runs, $140 billion of depositor money disappeared, 10,000 banks closed their doors, and shrinking credit brought widespread foreclosures. Utah was hit as hard as any place, and the basin, where farmers and ranchers were barely holding on anyway, harder still.

Smart's move to Vernal meant Anna lost her teaching job at Leota. Defaulting payments on various of his land sales meant the Smarts had little income. In November, he mounted his mule and headed west to see what money he could raise, but had little success. He tried to get John Spencer to make at least a small payment on the $600 note Smart had signed so he could buy a threshing machine, but Spencer could not. Smart tried to get one or more of the long-overdue payments on eighty acres of land near Midview he had sold to Raymal W. Beals, but Beals could not pay, and defaulted on the contract. He sold to William H. Gagon his stock in the Roosevelt Realty Company he had founded years earlier, but for forty cents on the dollar and "payable in the future—if he succeeds."[1]

Though financially stressed and no longer with any leadership role, Smart was still possessed by what he deemed his stewardship to assist Mormon settlement of the basin. He soon found another opportunity. He learned that with Bishop Ernest H. Burgess and others giving up and leaving the area, and most of the remaining members indifferent, the Midview Ward was

1. Smart, Journals, November 8–14, 1929.

about to be dissolved. "This sent a thrill of sorrow thru me," Smart wrote. "This community was among the first I assisted in founding spiritually and temporally and was one of the best Latter-day Saint communities. . . . I am moved to compassion toward it."[2]

Ignoring the harsh economic facts of life that drove people from the land,[3] Smart devised a plan he thought could save the ward. Members lived on both sides of the Duchesne River, including those in the nearby Antelope Branch, and he felt that bringing them together to a common meeting house and community center would do it. He spotted a farm just north of the new bridge over the river, and decided this would be the right place.

With his erstwhile optimism and confidence in his persuasive powers, he approached the discouraged and lukewarm Mormon owners, James W. Parker and wife, pleaded with them not to give up and leave the area, "at least until the ward was either saved or disorganized," and persuaded them to host a special sacrament meeting in their home. The meeting was held, with just thirty people attending. Despite that poor response, he insisted that "I did not feel discouraged," and proceeded to move his church membership to Midview Ward and to settle, rent-free but fixing his own meals, in a single back room of Raymal Beal's home. His living there was "very humble," he wrote, "mostly bread and milk. Meals usually cold."

During the next two weeks, he visited every family in the Midview and Antelope sections of the ward, urging a spiritual awakening and a favorable vote for his plan at special meetings to be called by the Duchesne Stake presidency. It worked; in meetings held at Antelope and Midview, members voted to continue the ward and to build a common meetinghouse on the Parker farm. With the impending departure of Bishop Burgess, stake president Owen Bennion offered Smart either that position or the chairmanship of both the building committee and, subsequently, the Midview Community Committee. He chose the latter two, urging the calling of Charles W. Smith as bishop.

So, Smart was back in harness. His first task was to buy the Parker farm. That proved difficult, as Parker grew increasingly uncooperative and, in the end, antagonistic. After four months of fruitless negotiations, Smart offered an alternative—exchanging Parker's Midview farm for Smart's Roosevelt farm, which by then had been repossessed because the buyer, LeGrand Mecham, could not make payments. Parker immediately accepted, sight unseen, rejecting Smart's urging that he first look over the

2. Ibid., November 15–20, 1929.
3. Cannon, "Struggle," 314–17. Nationally, the price of wheat fell from $1.03 a bushel in 1929 to thirty-eight cents in 1932. Utah was particularly hard hit, Duchesne County—the former reservation lands—even harder. Average farm income in the county was $108 below expenses. In June 1934, 71 percent of the Duchesne County population was on federal relief, the highest in the state.

Thomas Laurence Smart and wife in front of his father's Roosevelt home, about 1930

property. Smart saw in the transaction "the hand of the Lord in all things pertaining to this new Midview–Antelope movement. For me, never in all my experiences have I felt the guiding hand of the Lord more than in these matters."[4]

A few days later, after examining his new acquisition, Parker complained he had been worsted in the deal. Smart's recorded response was uncharacteristically judgmental: "While I regret his venom and dissatisfaction I did not expect it to be otherwise, and am strongly of the opinion that the Lord in His own way dealt thru me with him according to his deserts and in order to wrest this stewardship from his hands that plans concerning ward may proceed and that he and his companion who are bitter enemies of Bishop Smith may be eliminated from the ward."[5]

Meanwhile, Smart had labored, with indifferent success, to organize a ward teaching program to look after the spiritual as well as temporal condition of its members, and had worked with the building committee to purchase a couple of buildings to move onto the new ward center. And he had labored, with no success at all, to improve his own finances. He had sold his Roosevelt home, had it returned for non-payment, then sold it again to Dewey Grove, with his wife and six children, on the condition that Anna

4. Smart, Journals, April 3, 1930.
5. Ibid., April 14, 1930.

could continue to live there in a screened-in porch. Despite his promise of "leniency in case of unavoidable failure," he had to take it back because Grove could not make the payments.[6]

He sought in vain to find land to lease to start a turkey farm, and asked his old friend, Harden Bennion, chairman of the State Agricultural Commission, to help him obtain a lease with an option to buy state land. He wrote to his three sons, William, Thomas Laurence, and Joseph, inviting them to join him in such a business. The Land Board turned him down. So did his sons, William twisting the knife by stating his conviction that his father's work in the basin was not worth the sacrifice.[7]

But Smart had accomplished what he considered the keystone to his plan to save the Midview Ward—securing the Parker farm for a joint church-community center. With that done and with no prospects in that area of any way to rebuild his own finances, he began to think of moving on to save another failing Mormon ward. "I am praying fervently," he wrote on April 17, 1930, "if it is the Lord's will that I proceed westward to the Fruitland–Strawberry section under the Strawberry Ward and begin to lay plans thru which L.D.S population may increase sufficiently to justify continuance of that ward, the Stake Presidency contemplating dissolution as last fall they did this Midview Ward."[8]

First, he had to dispose of the two farms he now owned in the Midview area. It wasn't easy. He had sold to two brothers-in-law, Wanless Shields and Marion Ross, the farm Raymal Beal had lost because he couldn't continue to make payments. The price was $1500, but the new owners were credited with the $500 payments Beal had made before giving up. So the new deal was $150 down and five annual payments of $270, with no interest. Smart consoled Beal on his loss, pointing out that "as I have lost in this land before and am now waving all interest, we are companions . . . in assisting to establish worthy brethren" on the land.[9] Even with these incredibly easy terms, though, the "worthy brethren" never made the down payment, and Smart still had the farm on his hands.

In April 1930, he sold it on the same unprofitable terms to Raymal Beal again, but this time the purchasers included Beal's two sons, Jesse and Austin. "Thus is brot to a termination a long meandering consideration on this Dean farm," Smart rejoiced, "and it goes into the hands of a pioneer family who I am glad to assist in its acquisition. Thus also is saved from going into improper hands a farm which was once owned by a non-mormon, and into hands of our own people."[10]

6. Ibid., May 19, August 5, and October 19, 1930.
7. Ibid., April 12, 1930.
8. Ibid., April 17, 1930.
9. Ibid., November 12, 1929.
10. Ibid., April 24, 1930.

Disposition of the Parker farm was even harder. Smart approached several potential buyers, reciting his efforts to acquire it as a ward and community center—in effect a townsite—which would make the property more valuable. In that depressed time and place he found no takers. Finally, a soon-to-be-married young man, J. Ervin Pearson, agreed to lease it for $400 a year, and the deal was struck. Overnight, Pearson decided he couldn't make that payment, but would operate the farm on shares. Smart accepted, because he felt Pearson came from a "good LDS family."[11]

Even that uncertain arrangement didn't work out. Hail destroyed Pearson's crops, and there was no income. Smart searched for meaning in the disaster. Had his methods in obtaining the farm displeased the Lord? Had the lives of its former non-Mormon and unchristian owners desecrated it? Had the Lord "taken this means to purify this place by this devastating storm as well as to permit it to pass thru this tribulation before the foundation is laid for the ward center?" He found no answer. In any event, the lease was terminated in October 1930.

Another Self-assigned Saving Mission

But that was months in the future. For now, with the disposition, he thought, of both of his farms, Smart felt free to ride his mule west to save other failing wards and, hopefully, find some income for himself. In a meeting with George V. Billings of the Duchesne Stake presidency, he summarized his goals: "to engage in temporal matters in Fruitland District for personal revenue with hope and desire also assisting in bringing about residence of more of our people, more water development and a consequent greater land cultivation, and therefore a stronger colony of our people which would assist in bringing about such church organization and civic and other conditions as to make of it a more thrifty and progressive community."[12] Billings encouraged him to give it a try.

Smart's quest for personal revenue proved fruitless. He got himself appointed as agent to sell the Brooks Mercantile store and adjacent land in Fruitland, and also contemplated finding buyers for a rival store and post office, owned by a Mrs. Rockhill, "so as to eliminate these undesirable parties who give no support to us and the former eastern non-mormon blood whose business also has name of selling spirituous drink."

Seeking to find investors to buy out one or both of these businesses and to partner with him in community-building, he met with Lester Stott, one of several Heber sheepmen prospering in the western end of Uintah Basin, and William Coleman, a director of the Bank of Heber City, which Smart had organized and for which he had served as its first president. After consulting with his associates, Stott reported that they had no interest in going

11. Ibid., May 2, 1930.
12. Ibid., May 26, 1930.

into business in Fruitland.[13] There is no record that Coleman responded at all. So Smart would handle no real estate sales there.

On his faithful mule he spent days exploring the lower Red Creek and Strawberry River region. Many homesteaders had settled there, but over time had left the area as they sold out to Smart's earlier protégé, A. M. Murdock, who, contrary to Smart's policies, had consolidated their holdings into a large ranching operation. As stake president, Smart had encouraged "personal family farm homes with smaller ranges," and it may have been with some satisfaction that he reported that Murdock had mortgaged the operation and lost it all. But Smart's hopes to attract settlers back to the land never materialized. No one came, and there were no commissions.

Building up the struggling church units without an influx of new members was a daunting task, but he was determined to try. On James Carey's farm near Fruitland, he found pasturage for his mule and two back rooms for himself—"dirty and well ventilated with openings"—but he swept them out and, as always, dedicated them. Then, on June 1, he attended Sunday services at the Strawberry Ward, comprising the few remaining farm families along the Strawberry River. He presented his membership record to the Strawberry Ward, was accepted by the sixteen members attending, and at this first meeting with his new ward, pronounced the invocation, blessed the sacrament, and spoke at length in Sunday-school class. Then, with the bishop's approval, he spoke at length on Aaronic Priesthood restoration and tithing, two subjects the General Authorities had urged be treated throughout the church but that were ignored in the Strawberry Ward since, because of its "weakened condition," no meetings had been held that month. The next Sunday he spoke on the same subjects to a small gathering in the Fruitland Ward, because meetings had been suspended there as well. Clearly, this part of the Lord's vineyard needed help.

So, financially, did Smart. He found nothing to produce income, but soon found at least a way to survive. Near the confluence of Red Creek with the Strawberry River, he visited the farm of John Mezenen, a baptized but never-active Mormon, where years before Smart had organized a small Sunday school, long-since abandoned as homesteaders gave up. He found Mezenen's wife near death, and administered to her. After her death, in consoling the widower, he urged him to establish closer communion with God. Mezenen, he recorded, took it kindly and requested Smart to use his influence with Mezenen's two sons to live a "higher life."[14]

The two men also struck a deal for Smart to work as a field hand on Mezenen's farm in return for a room and one meal a day. Smart chose to do it, he explained, because "I wish to be busy for my own good . . . to assist in expenses," as an example to the people, and "as a reasonable excuse for

13. Ibid., May 30, 1930.
14. Ibid., July 2, 1930.

being here while investigating and endeavoring to finally make foundation for self."

In the first couple of days he hoed potatoes, fixed a buggy, helped repair a dam in the river, ate the noon meal with the family, hauled hay, chopped wood, then took a bath in the river and "ate supper of bread and sweetened water and little of it while my breakfast eaten in field was one egg, bread and water." So at least his immediate future seemed secure, although this sixty-eight-year-old man found that "not having been at continuous manual labor for sometime I must approach it gradually."

Then came a shock. Three weeks after his wife's death and a week after Smart felt he had aroused him spiritually and began working for him, Mezenen dropped dead of an apparent heart attack. At the request of his sons, Smart spoke at the funeral, but only after arising at dawn and hoeing weeds until he finished the work Mezenen had assigned him.

In his funeral sermon, as recorded in his journal, he told the family that, based on his intimate talks with their father, he was now acting as his messenger: "I felt sure he would like them to do what he resolved to do had he lived—to keep in general commandments, to enter temple and get endowments and sealings for himself and wife, and to aid in strengthening ward which is threatened with disorganization thru weakness." The latter wish must have involved special inspiration on Smart's part, since Mezenen had told him after his wife's death that he was discouraged and considering a move to Provo, something Smart pleaded with him not to do.[15]

The family, Smart recorded, expressed gratitude for his helping their father prepare for the hereafter. More immediately important, from Smart's point of view, was that Mezenen's son-in-law, Clarence Baum, invited him to work for room and board on his farm a few miles upstream. He went there the next day, finding a spot in a granary where he could put his canvas cot. On Sunday he persuaded the family to go with him fifteen miles downstream to church ("very few there"), then testified of his conviction that the deceased "will use influence in behalf of continuance of this ward and will be near to us."

But his own labor and influence in that area would soon end. He worked for Baum for a week, hoeing gardens and cutting wood. Then, without explanation other than "feeling impressed," he left to join Anna, who had vacated her screened-in-porch living quarters in Roosevelt to settle with their daughter Ruth in an old four-room rented home ($15 a month) in Duchesne, where Ruth would teach school. After three weeks he returned to the Strawberry area, and worked for four days helping Baum salvage a hay crop that had been mowed and then was soaked by a heavy rainstorm. "Being unwise in working and lifting too strenuously I strained myself," he

15. Ibid., July 3, 1930.

complained. "The work has made me very sore but have been blessed with ability to continue." Then, on August 21, he left for good.

Mixed Results

For nine months now he had devoted himself almost exclusively to saving failing wards and strengthening the church in the Midview–Antelope and Fruitland–Strawberry regions. He succeeded in the first, but failed in the latter, not through lack of effort or effectiveness on his part, but because prospering on those lands was problematical in the best of times, and far more difficult under the grim realities of the Depression.

In the beautiful Strawberry Valley today, small, tidy ranches and vacation homes testify to twenty-first-century prosperity, but no community ever developed there, and the Strawberry Ward is long gone. So, too, is the Fruitland Ward. The name is still on the map, on U.S. Highway 40, but no community exists there. In December 2006, a pickup truck coming down the Red Creek road ran the stop sign and hit a semi-trailer truck, which then veered off the highway and smashed into the old Fruitland general store, demolishing the last remnant of what Smart had hoped to establish.

The Midview–Antelope church and community center, for which Smart worked at such financial sacrifice in obtaining the Parker farm, did materialize, but the path was not easy. After hail and poor management drove young Pearson from the land, Smart negotiated a deal to sell the farm to Midview Ward bishop Charles W. Smith. The times were too tough for a purchase, though. Smith took a lease instead, on terms, Smart wrote, "I am allowing him to name."[16] Smith also set the price, $75, for a 200-by-200-foot piece of the farm Smart sold the ward for its community center. A small meeting house was moved there, and on March 16, 1931, the ward celebrated with a house-warming. Smart declined an invitation to attend, "not wishing to risk drawing any glory to myself." For the same reason, he squelched a movement to name the center for him, "desiring no honor for my labors here as I prefer any consideration that may be given me to proceed me to the other side."

So the ward's central location was established. But any proper community needs at least one thing more—a post office. Smart took care of that as well. A vacancy existed in the Midview post office, and Congressman Don B. Colton wrote to Smart for advice on who should fill it. Smart replied that he would look into it, and that nothing should be done in the meantime.[17] His recommendation, after several weeks of maneuvering, was a clever one: Helen L. Nielsen was qualified for the post and anxious to assume it, but only if the post office were moved to the new community center by the bridge. His recommendation prevailed. The relocated post office was

16. Ibid., February 2, 1931.
17. Ibid., January 10, 1932.

named Bridgeland, as were the former Midview Ward and the small town that developed where U.S. Highway 40 crosses the Duchesne River, on what had been Smart's Midview–Antelope Community Center.

A Seventy-Year-Old Field Hand

Ironically, at the same time that he was accomplishing this, Smart himself was again laboring as a field hand. He leased the George Stott farm, adjoining the community center, for $150 a year, then subleased it to a young man, James Wilson, for the same price, on the condition that he could work for Wilson for nothing more than his meals. Leaving Anna in Duchesne for another of their many separations, he rode his mule to the farm, and there "put tent up, placed bed [his canvas cot] and other effects therein. This will be my quarters but will eat with family. . . . I in my night prayer dedicated tent ground and tent home for my use and invoked the Lord's blessings on labors and my association with this family who have received me kindly."[18]

If that is not evidence enough of hard times in general and Smart's slide into poverty in particular, his journal suggests many others. For example, in his absence, Anna wrote to their son William, pleading for some return of the hundreds if not thousands of dollars they had loaned or gifted him. He returned $10. From the $75 Smart collected for the land he sold for the Midview Ward house, he repaid a $25 loan from his daughter Ruth, "fearing that if called upon for it later I might not be in a position to pay it." Pressed for payment of a $4 assessment for Ouray Valley water, he arranged with son-in-law James Rasmussen to pay part of it through labor on the canal, and gave him a blank check to cover the balance. He offered to give the remaining eighty acres of his Ouray Desert Entry Act land to anyone who would pay the water assessments, because "it would not be right for me to obligate myself for something I had no visable way to pay in the future." His paid-in-full 10 percent tithing in 1931 was $41.35.[19]

A Salvation Calling

In these depressing circumstances, he received a huge psychological boost—a call as president of the Genealogical and Temple Stake Department of Duchesne Stake.[20] Except for his six-month Southern States Mission, it had been nearly a decade since he had held other than what could fairly be called self-assigned church responsibilities. This official affirmation of his leadership capacity, in work he had long cherished, and especially with the opportunity to resurrect an organization he described as being "in an inactive state," was like a bugle call to action.

He plunged into the work with a zeal reminiscent of the way he had

18. Ibid., May 10, 1931.
19. Ibid., February 21, March 8, May 31, November 10, and December 31,1931.
20. Ibid., June 14 and July 19, 1931.

created entire stakes out of the wilderness. He formed a ten-member stake genealogical council, including his wife Anna and, in at least one case, a ward bishop, Charles W. Smith of Midview Ward. He pushed bishops to organize councils in each of the stake's thirteen wards, and met frequently with them individually and in ward genealogical conventions. He urged the organization of genealogical classes in every ward, and helped recruit teachers for them. He organized committees to hold a "sacred genealogical pageant," which didn't happen, and a three-day excursion to the Manti Temple, which did. Smart managed the $15 to pay Anna's excursion fee, but was able to attend himself only because the stake appropriated that amount to pay his own fee.

Then he launched an undertaking that would tax even prospering, leadership-rich stakes, and that seems incredible in a stake whose wards and their members were struggling to survive. He assigned himself a mission that would take three months during the summer and fall of 1932. He would spend a week in each of the thirteen wards of Duchesne Stake, preaching genealogy, temple work for the dead, proper courtship, temple marriage and family relations, "and such other aid as may appear for consideration." "I am conveyed by my one-seated buggy (which I used when Stake President traveling over Basin) drawn by my mule Jane," he recorded, "and shall have my cot and bedding so as not to inconvenience people, and also my saddle."[21]

In each ward his procedure was the same. He would throw his old saddle on Jane and ride through the area, visiting members and urging attendance at his various meetings. These included a training session for the ward's genealogy–temple council, four or five cottage meetings among neighbors in the homes of members, and a general public meeting in the ward house.

He stayed and ate with the members, repaying their hospitality with labor. He arose, typically, around 5:30 a.m., worked an hour or so before breakfast, and then off and on throughout the day, either there or at homes he visited. He mostly hoed gardens, pulled weeds, and chopped wood, but on occasion sharpened tools, helped with the milking, mowed, piled and hauled hay, unloaded grain, cut corn, harvested beans, and banked celery.

He reported that attendance at some meetings was "only fair," and he had moments when "I was depressed and brain tired & weak in body & pled with the Lord to make me fit." But mostly he wrote of good, attentive audiences, the liberty he felt in speaking, and his gratitude for the hospitality and faithfulness of the members. At the end he called this "the most interesting and profitable of all my missions . . . and I do thank my heavenly Father for it and for His sustaining power."[22]

21. Ibid., July 18, 1932.
22. Ibid. October 23, 1932.

Smart felt a bit of guilt, though, because during his genealogical–temple mission at his home ward in Duchesne, he had lived at home and hadn't done manual labor for the members he visited, as he had done in other wards. He assuaged his guilt by spending much of the fall and winter replenishing the woodpiles of widows in the ward.

Back to Harsh Reality

No doubt much of Smart's enjoyment of his simple but strenuous life on the genealogy mission was because it was a respite from worrying about financial cares. That didn't last. Days after his return home, he learned that Dewey Grove had been unable to pay rent on the Roosevelt home and had moved out, and that the home had been damaged. About the same time, the bank demanded payment or a new note on the loans he guaranteed for his son's and Morris Buckwalter's failed sheep venture. "I am much at sea as to finances and how to manage & labor so as to have means to meet obligations & expenses of life," Smart wrote, "especially as there is general depression over country."[23]

That Depression brought more bad news to this confirmed Republican. Notwithstanding President Hoover's election-eve speech in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, his endorsement of Utah's Senator Reed Smoot, the "great ovation" given by the 12,000 people attending, and Smart's and his wife's straight-ticket vote, "the election nationally and locally has gone overwhelmingly Democratic. While our General Authorities were desirous to have it otherwise . . . even Utah joined the 'slide' to Democracy," he lamented. Not only that, he added, but "there is a sentiment wide spread to do away with prohibition."[24]

Within a year, that sentiment produced exactly what Smart feared; Utah became the necessary thirty-sixth and final state to vote to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment, prohibiting the manufacture or sale of liquor. Smart was predictably dismayed, especially by what he perceived as church members' disloyalty to their leaders. "I am impressed with the seriousness of this condition far more on account of the state's vote in opposition to the advice of our General, Stake and Ward leaders than for the prohibition cause," he wrote. "I fear it is an ill oman of the signs of the times both for the nation and for Utah."[25]

Shortly thereafter, he became even more convinced of society's dangerous drift toward ruin. After attending a couple of movies, he deplored the "drinking of intoxicating liquor, smoking cigarets and licentious sex intercourse. I was pained to note it as a serious sign of the times and could not but associate it with the late elections for repeal of constitutional amendment to National and State Constitutions on liquor." Moreover, he was told

23. Ibid., November 13, 1932.
24. Ibid., November 8, 1932.
25. Ibid., November 10, 1933.

The Smart family, probably 1933: (*front row*) Gretl Smart (wife of William, not present), Ruth Pope, William H. and Anna Smart, Elizabeth "Bessie" Rasmussen, Edna Pearce; (*back row*) Lloyd Pope, Joseph and Doris Smart, Thomas Laurence and Nelle Smart, James Rasmussen, Charles "Ed" Pearce

of and deplored the early stages of a problem that plagues Mormondom to this day: "a secret society with oath of secrecy that is teaching practice of Plural marriage secretly and performing them—members of our church: another sign of the times showing a dangerous falling away."[26]

For Smart, there was more bad news, closer to home. Their youngest daughter Ruth announced that, after two and a half years of off-and-on courtship, and against her parents' advice, she was marrying Lloyd S. Pope of Duchesne, a non-practicing Mormon. "Upon his advances for her company we showed her clearly both by our own precepts and revelation the consequences of a worldly marriage," he wrote, "and warned her against giving her company to him as it may lead to this."[27] He had mellowed, though, in the twenty-one years since their first daughter Elizabeth married a lapsed Mormon, James Rasmussen, and was ostracized from the family for a time. James's subsequent solid citizenship in the church and community,

26. Ibid., November 25, 1933.
27. Ibid., August 4, 1933.

their happy marriage, and their support of her parents had taught him that things can and usually do work out. So his reaction to Ruth's marriage was mild; he expressed regrets but wished them well.

Smart had other family concerns, mostly financial. As the Depression deepened, it became clear that his sons would not be able to repay their debts to him. So he made drastic reductions. He reduced by half the $2,600 his youngest son Joseph owed for his backing of the failed produce and livestock business. He figured he had lost $6,000 through his various ventures with his eldest son William. Since they were equally responsible, William's share of the debt would be $3,000. Smart cut that in half. To his middle son he was even more generous. Including accrued interest, Thomas Laurence owed $3,600 as his share of the bankrupt sheep venture he had started with his brother-in-law, Morris Buckwalter. Smart canceled the interest and halved the balance, leaving $1,500 "to be paid as he can," without interest.[28] All three sons expressed gratitude, and a few modest payments—$10 or $25—trickled in.

Buckwalter was a different case. Although Smart had also halved his debt to $1,500, he declared that he could not pay it and wanted to simply repudiate the debt. Smart's response was remarkably charitable and restrained: "He wished to know that if he did that I would hold no feelings to which I answered that I should pray to have that spirit and leave judgment to the Lord. . . . While this was one of the bitterest experiences to me I kept my feelings down. . . . I want to have charity and hold it not against him. O Lord help me herein I pray."[29]

Chicken Farming and Other Troubles

Both Smart's Roosevelt farm and his home were now back in his hands, because in those hard times it had been impossible to either make mortgage payments or pay rent. In his search for some way to produce income, he came up with a new idea. Czar Rudy of Roosevelt, struggling to support his six young children, had some training and experience in raising poultry. Smart proposed that they become partners in what they named the Roosevelt Poultry and Dairy Company, operating on Smart's Roosevelt farm. They would share his Roosevelt home, Smart and Anna occupying three rooms on the west side of the house, and the Rudy family the rest. They would divide gains or losses equally. Smart was made supervisor, and Rudy was chairman. They and their wives constituted the executive committee. The agreement, signed on April 1, 1933, was for three years. "Thus is launched . . . our business," Smart wrote, "and dedicated to the Lord and His blessings solicited."

With high hopes, Smart ordered two thousand baby chicks from a

28. Ibid., September 4 and 8, November 25, and December 4, 1933.
29. Ibid., February 13, 1934.

Missouri hatchery. Son-in-law James Rasmussen built chicken coops, his labor credited against his debt for the Ouray Valley farm Smart had sold him. Together they hauled away ashes and rubbish, and returned with sand for the coops. Chicken feed, ordered from Salt Lake City, was delivered on the milk truck.

Ten months later the chickens went to market as capons, less 852 lost, mostly through theft. For the balance, the Utah Poultry Association paid $775, about sixty-seven cents a bird. After months of labor, the result was a net operating loss of $186.60, and that didn't include the cost of building chicken coops and other improvements around the farm. The way Smart arranged the settlement was typical of his compassion and generosity—and one reason his finances had so rapidly melted away.

Ignoring the $1,263.59 he had invested in the project compared to Rudy's $53.78, and the Rudy family's months of rent-free living in Smart's home, they divided the $186.80 loss equally. Still, Smart worried that Rudy's wife was dissatisfied. "We had thot with our concessions they would be over-pleased," he wrote. "We wish right, and hope we are led by spirit of Truth." Anna worked out the disagreement in a woman-to-woman talk with Mrs. Rudy. For that, for her labors in auditing the books, and "being supporting and faithful to me," Smart recorded, "this evening I kissed her and expressed my appreciation to her." Not surprisingly, that was the end of the Roosevelt Poultry and Dairy Company. The partners closed the books and dissolved what was intended to be at least a three-year partnership.[30]

During this period Smart made a business decision that seems highly questionable for a man who was land-rich but so cash-poor. This was a time of devastating drought, when, in order to save farmers, the federal government was buying and destroying the livestock they could not feed, and when the Depression made cash and credit so tight that Smart and many others could not sell their land, or even lease it with a reasonable hope that payments could or would actually be made. In his first inaugural address in 1933, Governor Henry Blood summarized the grim conditions: "Agriculture is in helpless and almost hopeless distress. Basic farm commodity prices in recent weeks have receded to levels never before reached in modern times. Shrinkage of values is rendering private and public income uncertain. Unemployment [35.8 per cent in 1933] stalks the city streets, and reflects its shadow on rural life."[31]

At such a time it is almost inconceivable that Smart would make a deal with a Salt Lake businessman, R. A. Shipp, to exchange his Roosevelt home for an eighty-acre farm Shipp had reclaimed from a bankrupt settler, with Smart to assume the farm's $1,500 mortgage. On October 2, 1933, the two

30. Ibid., February 15, 1934.
31. R. Thomas Quinn, "Out of the Depression's Depths: Henry H. Blood's First Year as Governor," *Utah State Historical Quarterly* 54 (Summer 1986): 217.

men jointly signed a notarized letter of intent to that effect.

In all their forty-five years of marriage, Smart had recorded no instance when Anna failed to support his decisions. Patiently and without complaint, she had watched their slide into poverty, had moved time and again, almost every time into more humble and difficult living conditions, and had endured his absences and assumed all duties of homemaking for months at a time. As a good Mormon wife, she had relied on and bowed to his priesthood and the inspiration received through his fasting and prayer.

Not this time. Patient Anna put her foot down—hard. She could not and would not accept the prospect of losing her home to obtain a farm they would probably lose as well, because they would have no way to pay off a $1,500 mortgage. She could see no way they would manage anyway, farm conditions being what they were.

Smart didn't suffer that insubordination lightly. He argued that he planned not to sell the farm's produce but to feed it to livestock that could be marketed, and that they couldn't lose the farm because "no doubt it would be sold for more then enough to pay up"—ignoring the fact that livestock were being killed and farms lost because there was no market for either. He warned that "should she not be able to fully harmonize in this matter it were better for her to . . . attend to her [housewife] sphere's matters and I not bother her in these temporal matters but proceed alone." He discoursed at length on the fact that their financial distress was due to "our childrens' failure to make good wherein they fail financially," because of "disabilities in preexistence [or] because of what we have bequeathed to them in this life and perhaps some acquirements of their own." He even suggested that, like the Savior who

> sank in privation, humility and painful sacrifice below all things that he might rise above all and lift up with him fallen humanity, so we, in order to succeed, will find it necessary to get out of our environment of commodious and comfortable home [the three rooms they were presently occupying there] into inexpensive and humble quarters . . . in order to make necessary atonement with hopes of rising above and bringing up with us those who bear the burdens and privations with us."[32]

He did, however, grant Anna the privilege of choosing where those "humble quarters" would be.

She was unmoved in her opposition, and a week later Smart backed out of the deal, telling Shipp, as if it was his own idea, that "we felt it unjust at our age, with obligations now on us and against the general Council of Church Authority to go into debt further to procure more land and thereby to deprive ourselves of a home. My wife was united on same." The reversal cost him "a complete emotional breakdown . . . during which I was

32. Smart, Journals, November 4, 1933.

convulsed with weeping."

But he was not ready to give up. After his wife's sympathetic caressing and after taking a little nourishment, he climbed to his altar on the bench north of town and "poured out my soul on this matter rehearsing the present status and pleading that the right way be opened up." The prayer seems to have worked. On December 29, 1933, papers were signed for a compromise deal. Rudy, his former poultry partner, leased from Shipp the best thirty acres of the farm. Smart got the remaining fifty acres without a mortgage. For this, he gave Shipp not only their Roosevelt home, but also ten shares of Roosevelt State Bank stock. So Smart had one more parcel of land to worry about. Anna didn't have to look for a more humble place to rent, though; for $9 a month they continued to live in the three rooms of their former home.

Worry about their other non-income-producing lands and their long-past-due debt at Uintah State Bank was a constant. Having traded away his home, Smart decided to sell or lease the farm on which it sat. He found no interest in a sale, but a young man, Clarence Bowden, offered to lease it on a sharecrop basis. Having been burned earlier by such an arrangement, Smart declined. But in those desperately difficult times, he agreed to a lease for payment of taxes and water assessments only, providing no income. Anna found some income, though, by serving as city librarian. Negotiations over her salary illustrate the financial stringency of the times. She had understood from the mayor that the salary would be $25 a month. Later she learned it would be $15. When the appointment finally came from the library board, it was for $10, which she rejected. Mayor Heber Hall intervened, stating that if she could accept $12.50, he would find a way to pay the extra $2.50. Assured that her services were badly needed, she took the job.

Free at Last from Ouray

Drought conditions were especially critical in Ouray Valley. In May, Smart saddled the horse he had traded for his mule and took a trip there. With wells and canals dry, milk trucks were hauling drinking water from Roosevelt. He found that most Leota residents had left their waterless homes and were camping by and drinking from the Green River.[33] Seeing such misery, he and Anna concluded that the $25 per acre for which they had sold Mark S. Woolley eighty acres five years earlier was too high. For that reason—and probably also because they realized that the region's dim future meant that it made no sense for them to continue paying taxes and water assessments on the unsold adjoining eighty acres—they signed a deed for it to Wooley as a free gift.[34] "This places the 320 acres in the hands of two good families,"

33. Ibid., May 12 and 23, 1934.
34. Ibid., February 21, 1934.

he rejoiced. Prospects of getting mortgage payments from the other good family, that of Lawrence C. Wall, were not good, though. Wall managed to pay $10 in August 1934, but saw no way he could pay more unless he could secure one of the federal farm loans the administration was offering to ease the desperate times. Smart wished him success on that, and took the occasion to bless both families to correct their imperfections, encourage each other, and especially not to fight over the irrigation water that flowed—when it flowed at all—through Wall's land to Woolley's.

Apparently Wall's loan was not approved, because on November 2, 1934, Smart wrote to him that he owed $350 in overdue interest, but that because of the hard times and his wife's illness, the debt would be reduced to one-seventh, or $50, if paid by the end of the year. No record was found that it was.

The plight of Ouray Valley farmers and the government's response to it produced one surprising result—a crack in Smart's ironclad Republicanism. This man who had so lamented the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt now wrote that "the Government appears to be doing all possible, according to judgement of those in power, to relieve the financial stringency which is now agrivated by a drought of wide area." He particularly approved the New Deal program of buying drought-doomed livestock, including those he owned jointly with his son-in-law James Rasmussen, calling it "a great blessing to people." Prices were low, he wrote, but "fully up to market prices or better as there is scarcely any market—otherwise these stock mostly would perish. . . . the President has in general the people's Confidence and hence support. But all are wondering of the future."[35]

Typical of those who were wondering were Loreen Pack Wahlquist and her husband Fred, who had bought a farm near Randlett in 1928. Fred was promptly called as bishop of the tiny ward, and spent much of the winter in the mountains cutting timber to build a chapel. With three children under four, Loreen later wrote, "I milked nine cows, had twice that many to feed, and had to drive them half a mile to water and chop holes in the ice." So they were accustomed to hard work, but not to what a depression and drought could do to young hopes. They would soon learn.

We bought this place for $2,800 and within a few years we couldn't have

35. Ibid., June 24, 1934. Within days after his inauguration, President Franklin D. Roosevelt called Congress into special session to address the plight of farmers, emphasizing that true prosperity would not return until farming was prosperous. Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, designed to protect farmers through subsidies and production controls. Under the act, farmers were given subsidies for leaving some of their land idle, with funds provided by a new tax on food processing. Some crops were destroyed and some livestock slaughtered to support prices. In 1936, the Supreme Court declared the AAA to be unconstitutional, but it was replaced by a similar program that won court approval. Federal regulation of agricultural production has been modified many times since then, providing subsidies that still exist. http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1E1_AgrAdj.html.

> sold it for a tenth of that. . . . We bought that bunch of cows from the folks for a high price just before the depression. The first year our cows did fine and we had high hopes for the future. Then prices started a steady decline. The drought hit us exceptionally hard and we were unable to raise enough hay and grain for our stock. Some years our grain burned completely and there was no harvest. During the year 1931 we had a chance to sell our five best cows for $70 each. The spring before we had lost five cows from eating grasshopper poison and to part with five more of the best cows would leave us with scarcely any cream check but still with a debt of over $3,500, so we turned it down. It was a big mistake, as prices dropped so low we got practically no returns from the cows and we couldn't sell them at any price. . . . Three years later we sold all but a few of them to the government for sixteen dollars a head because we had no feed for them."[36]

For Smart things weren't quite that bad, but they weren't great. He had high hopes of selling the farm he had originally acquired to be the center of the consolidated Bridgeland Ward. The latest renter, Bernard Liddell, reported that his father was ready to loan him the needed cash, and offered $4,000. Smart figured it had cost him $5,750 to acquire the farm, and that it was now worth much more since it was on the highway and the site of the town of Bridgeland. In the ensuing negotiations, Smart was handicapped by the plunge of land prices, and finally settled for $4,750.[37] That agreement became moot when, two and a half months later, Liddell's father reneged on the loan offer. Deeply disappointed, Smart mustered his long-standing practice of ascribing to the Lord responsibility for his failures as well as credit for his successes. He and Anna had asked the Lord to direct the outcome to be best for all concerned, he rationalized, so "we cannot but graciously accept the result."[38]

He did get something out of the Bridgeland visit, though. From former bishop Charles W. Smith, he accepted as long-overdue payments on eighty acres of land sold to Smith ten "good early ewe lambs to be delivered next fall somewhere in this Basin."

Giving Up at Last

In his nearly three decades of struggle in the Uintah Basin, Smart had never admitted to more than momentary discouragement. But the more recent years of financial frustration had taken their toll. So had his advancing years. At age seventy-two, he was increasingly suffering from deafness, agonizing tooth problems, and back miseries from a misaligned spine, as well as being concerned about bloating in his legs, feet, and face. In a melancholy scene symbolizing the decline of his usefulness, he had sold the light

36. Loreen Pack Wahlquist, "Memories of a Uintah Basin Farm," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Winter 1974): 167–70.
37. Smart, Journals, July 1, 1934.
38. Ibid., September 14, 1934.

harness and white-topped buggy he had used for all those years as a stake president ministering to a vast area,[39] because they had "finally outlived usefulness to me." Perhaps, although he never said so, his vision of a growing, prosperous Mormon settlement of the Uintah Basin was finally fading. In any event, he and Anna decided to leave the basin and that major part of their life behind.

On October 30, 1934, he wrote to a Salt Lake City realtor, instructing him to either sell the Roosevelt farm or exchange it for property in or near Salt Lake City, Logan, or Provo. Without waiting for results, they arranged with a neighbor to store their furniture, including a large bookcase with books and his diaries, and on December 1 caught a truck ride with E. H. Petersen to Salt Lake City. They settled into and promptly dedicated a one-room apartment in a tall, old-fashioned house in the Eighteenth Ward at 113 First Avenue, rented for $15 a month, and now faced the often-difficult challenges of retirement.

39. Ibid., March 31, 1934. Smart never owned or learned to drive a car, traveling by buggy or horse- or muleback during most of his ministry. During the latter years, when automobile travel was common despite the lack of good roads, he had little difficulty finding rides with associates, neighbors, or truck drivers. Occasionally, he simply waited at one of the infrequent service stations for someone driving in his intended direction.

Thirteen

The Final Years

Throughout his long Uintah Basin ministry, William H. Smart gave countless priesthood blessings for healing and/or comfort. His retirement to Salt Lake City did not end that. On the very day he and Anna settled into their one-room apartment, word came of the killing of FBI agent Samuel P. Cowley in a gun battle that also killed the notorious gangster Lester ("Baby Face" Nelson) Gillis. Smart hurried to the home of the victim's mother, his niece Luella Cowley, wife of former apostle Matthias F. Cowley. At her request, he gave her a blessing of comfort. After a funeral attended by church and civic officials in a packed assembly hall, he recorded that "niece Luella bore up under the strain admirably and assured me of the strengthening influence of my blessing."[1]

But Smart's own health, never robust, was worsening. Nasal surgery to remove "abnormal growths" left him painfully incapacitated for weeks. Worry about his swollen legs and feet put him on a twenty-four-hour fast of consecrated olive oil and warm water, followed by days of nothing but orange juice and water. Experiencing back pain, he saw a Dr. Kesler, who recommended x-rays ($17) and a month of back adjustment treatments at

1. Smart, Journals, December 2, 1934. On November 27, 1934, FBI Inspector Samuel P. Cowley and Special Agent Herman E. Hollis located Gillis, his wife, and a companion, John Paul Chase, in a car near Barrington, Illinois. A running gun-battle ensued in which both FBI men were mortally wounded, as was Gillis. Chase, wounded and captured, was sentenced to life in prison.
In January 1957, at the time of President Eisenhower's second inauguration, Cowley's sister Laura, wife of long-time federal official Edgar B. Brossard, arranged for the author to interview FBI director J. Edgar Hoover in his sumptuous Washington office. After discussing how highly he regarded Mormon FBI agents, Hoover pointed to a photograph of Cowley on the wall and declared, "there is probably the finest agent I have ever known."

$1 a visit. Moved by Smart's plea of poverty, Dr. Kesler agreed to perform the adjustments free of charge as his "missionary contribution."[2]

The x-rays showed that the upper and lower sections of his spine were seriously out of line, causing the doctor to wonder how he could have functioned all these years. For his part, Smart pondered about what in his long life could have caused the misalignment. In a passage reminiscent of the Apostle Paul's account of his trials, he summarized a life of misadventure.

> When [I was] a boy [I] stopped our team by grabbing bits, jerked off feet but hung on until stopped with harvesting machine. Fell from load hay and lit on head cutting same badly on sharp rock. At various times thrown from horses at times so injured as to suffer months or years. Kicked by animals being thrown in such positions as could have strained spine. Several riding with team—mostly mule—accidents when thrown out or dragged off feet & hanging to lines jammed violently against ground on shoulders. Several automobile accidents carrying injuries long—even some yet; e.g. thrown up kinking neck; scalped by run upon and thrown upon shield; twice turned over dugways and pinned under cars—on loaded truck on way here to Conference.[3]

But, he rejoiced, he had escaped broken bones, and by "observing word [of] wisdom, eating wholesome diet the Dr. hopes to benefit me thru his spinal adjustments." Apparently he did, because there are few subsequent references to a hurting back.

Smart's move to Salt Lake City apparently brought his financial distress once more to the attention of the First Presidency. A brief letter from President Heber J. Grant, dated December 28, 1934, informed him that "learning that your financial circumstances are anything but satisfactory it is a real pleasure to the presidency of the church to place your name on our pension list for the small amount of $30 each month . . . [in] sincere appreciation of your loyal service to the church."

In a lengthy letter of reply, Smart expressed "an aversion to pensions except where very necessary," acknowledged that he had dissipated his finances in his Uintah Basin ministry, but insisted that "we do not feel that the church is in the least obligated to us." He pleaded for an assignment to some kind of service, "be it ever so humble," to "ease my conscience, keep my self-respect on higher plane and add very much to my happiness and the chances for success as a candidate for exaltation."[4]

No such assignment was forthcoming, so Smart created his own. During the remainder of his and Anna's lives, except for bouts of illness, he labored daily in the temple, and Anna in the genealogical library, on both of their ancestral lines. He soon found that such service could produce not only

2. Smart, Journals, December 6 and 12, 1934, and January 22, 1935.
3. Ibid., December 14, 1934.
4. Ibid., December 31, 1934.

spiritual blessings but much-needed, though modest, financial ones as well; people were willing to pay for endowments performed for their ancestors. On July 2, 1937, after two and a half years of performing two or three sessions a day, he reported that he had done over 1,200 endowments, some unpaid but most at fifty cents apiece.

That helped some. So did the $41 that his son-in-law, James Rasmussen, remitted from the government's New Deal purchase of cows they jointly owned. And after years of struggle with defaulted contracts, failed land sales and leases, and improvident sons who needed help, always worrying that he couldn't pay his note to the Uintah State Bank, he finally got some really important good financial news. Bishop J. Austin Pack, who had purchased his original Roosevelt farm but was far behind on his payments, finally secured a $3,000 loan under the government's New Deal farm program. With that, he paid off the mortgage, and Smart was able at last to pay the worrisome loan he owed the bank for his son Laurence's and Morris Buckwalter's failed sheep venture.

There was other real estate activity, too, although not so financially helpful. In February, he sold the Bridgeland farm to Bernard Liddell, not for the $4,750 cash deal they had negotiated earlier, but for $5,000 on a time contract. Then, in March, he leased his second Roosevelt farm to J. W. Anderson on terms conceivable only during the Depression. There would be no crop-sharing; Anderson would take all products. He would have the use of a horse and cow, and Smart would pay for any necessary fencing. Anderson would pay nothing but expenses, and Smart even promised to loan him money for seed and water assessments, if needed.

Smart was relieved. With his note to the bank retired, his Roosevelt farm leased "to a good industrious Latter-day Saint family," and the Bridgeland farm finally sold, his "soul being filled with thanksgiving," he left home in the five o'clock darkness of a March morning and climbed Ensign Peak. There, he knelt during the 6:15 a.m. sunrise and "expressed in fervent prayer my feelings and invoked the Lord's blessings still in our future and that of our family [and] . . . especially upon those who have taken over our realty matters."[5]

But these were Depression times, and prayers weren't always answered in hoped-for ways. Anderson found he couldn't meet even the incredibly easy lease terms Smart had extended. So, two months later, the Roosevelt farm was leased to another, Earnest Pearce, on terms that still provided no income for Smart. As for the Bridgeland farm, a year after the purchase contract was signed, Smart was pleading for the first payment. His journal records no payments up to the time of his death.

Meanwhile, his oldest son William remained a worry. Smart wrote to him in Denver, where he was struggling at his latest failing enterprise, and urged

5. Ibid., February 21, and March 25 and 27, 1935.

William to return to Utah, where proper church and school facilities were available and where he could assist him in finding a "more stable and permanent" occupation. A subsequent letter offered to join him in a "home & business plan through which there may be mutual spiritual, temporal and family union benefit, more spirituality laying foundation for united eternal progress." William's reply acknowledged his weaknesses and unworthiness, and accepted the offer.[6]

So it was decided. Smart sent his son $300 to buy a used car, and the family arrived in August. For $25 a month, William rented an eight-room, two-story brick home with basement at 506 East 2100 South. Smart and Anna would occupy this home jointly with William's family, and Smart would pay the rent. His criteria for buying home furnishings reflect the strong views on morality that his granddaughters remember were part of his persona. "Soft seats & foot rests," he proclaimed, "often made for soft bodies, minds & morals & cards, unwholesome drink & food, extravagant artificial facial make-up & semi-nude bodies, painted finger nails, etc., not approved by our Master."[7]

The father–son business partnership that Smart hoped would put William on his feet worked out no better than any of the previous ones. They planned to raise angora rabbits. William wrote for government pamphlets on the matter and attended an angora convention in Washington state—at Smart's expense, of course. Nothing came of that. They investigated buying into a hide-and-wool plant owned by a Frederick Smart (no relation) on the Jordan River, but backed out after an investigator's unfavorable report. Finally, William proposed that they invest in a casket company by borrowing money on the property his father owned.[8]

By then, Smart had had enough. Since they had not been able to agree on any business in which to join, he dissolved their partnership. In a stern letter to William dated January 20, 1936, he declared that "having struggled to get out of debt caused by signing with others & having to pay, I do not deem it wise to involve myself now by signing notes to borrow either for self or others." Moreover, he declared, he could no longer pay their joint rent or William's other expenses. He and Anna would have to live with their other children, and William "would have to arrange otherwise."

That stern resolve lasted approximately six weeks. On March 1, he and Anna decided to reduce William's indebtedness from $2,300 to an even $1,000. Three weeks after that, because William complained that the knit goods he was now trying to sell were not moving, they withdrew $100 of the $300 they had deposited against emergencies. Forty dollars went to enroll William's oldest son, also named William, in the University of Utah, and sixty

6. Ibid., February 9 and April 1, 1935.
7. Ibid., April 18 and August 26, 1935.
8. Ibid., September 9, 1935, and January 19, 1936.

dollars to his son's German-born wife Gretl for living expenses. A month later, William came up with another prospect—to go on the road selling a device someone had invented to prevent glaring from auto headlights.

"He feels sanguine that it is a worthy and saleable article," Smart wrote, "and that financial success for him looks bright." But he needed $200 to tide the family over until the money came rolling in. The patient parents provided that with their remaining "emergency" money, with the proviso that they receive "some reasonable royalty on profits." Apparently there weren't any, because six weeks later, when Gretl found a modest house in Sugarhouse, Smart paid the rent—$22.50 a month.[9]

During this time, Smart prayed often at his various altars that his son would find a steady job to support his family. Finally, the prayers were answered. In February 1937, William was hired by the Church Security Department—the original name of what became the church-wide LDS Church Welfare Program.[10] His duties, in an area covering several stakes in Salt Lake Valley, were to ascertain those needing employment and to try to find jobs for them. The salary was $100 a month—$50 in cash, the rest in supplies—"with promise of just increase as he learns the business and proves successful."

Coincidentally, the department's early home, out of which William worked, was in the building Smart had constructed in 1902 on the corner of 100 North and 300 West to house the Western Knitting Factory and later the Salt Lake Knitting Company, of which Smart was chairman of the executive committee. When the department moved there, on June 1, 1937, Smart joined a group of priesthood volunteers helping to relocate it into the new quarters. "Labored all day assisting in stacking in basement store of canned goods canned by the Dep't," he recorded. "It has a voluminous amount of food supplies on hand."

A month later, he was obviously proud to record that "Harold E. [B.] Lee, General overseer of the Church Security Dep't and chairman of the General Committee, requested son Wm to formulate to him for use with other regional units a letter giving results of experiences in this Salt Lake unit and offering suggestions."[11]

So William seemed, at last, to be on solid ground. So did Smart's other two sons. Thomas L. had moved his family to Reno, where he was the Nevada general agent for the Beneficial Life Insurance Company. Joseph

9. Ibid., March 1, April 27, May 22, and July 4, 1936.
10. Ibid., February 4, 1937. The Church Welfare Program was formally begun April 15, 1936, based on plans drawn by Harold B. Lee and others, and modeled after the relief program he had instituted in 1932 as president of Pioneer Stake. Lee, later to become an apostle and ultimately president of the church, resigned as Salt Lake City commissioner to become the first managing director of the new program. L. Brent Goates, *Harold B. Lee, Prophet and Seer* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1985), 140–54.
11. Smart, Journals, July 5, 1937.

was working out of Denver for the federal government, where, Smart recorded, "2 million dollars had been made available for farm Dep't for settlers on new homes & his office has responsibility of placing it—he primarily. . . . A grave responsibility, we feel, for our baby boy."[12] Both, however, were still deeply in debt to their father and making only small, sporadic payments. The oldest daughter Elizabeth, with her husband James Rasmussen and their teenage sons, had given up in Ouray Valley and, also still in debt, moved to Salt Lake City, where James, a competent carpenter, found work despite the Depression.

It must have been a relief to the parents that at least their two youngest surviving daughters, Edna and Ruth, had not needed or asked for financial assistance. Edna, with her husband Charles E. Pearce and their six children, had moved back to Salt Lake City, and they were doing well in business. So were Ruth and her husband Lloyd Pope, her father's chagrin about their non-temple marriage notwithstanding.

Despite advancing age and faltering health in these final years, Smart seemed driven to activity. Typically, he rose from 4 to 5:30 a.m. for long walks. Ensign Peak was a favorite, where he prayed at the summit monument. City Creek Canyon was another; he built an altar where the road loops to cross the creek, and frequently prayed there. Often after being in the canyon, he walked east to the city cemetery and prayed at the graves of his second wife and daughter and at the monument of Joseph F. Smith. He walked from his home near town to the small "This is the Place" monument at the mouth of Emigration Canyon, prayed there, and visited the zoo. On one June Saturday, at age seventy-five, he climbed Ensign Peak, continued up City Creek Canyon past Rotary Park, and on to the heavy timber and alpine meadows of Black Mountain, where he knelt at a tree stump and prayed. By the time he reached home he had walked nineteen miles, much of it in steep country, and "was truly astonished and grateful that I had stood it so well."[13]

There was more. Learning that the Ouray Valley Irrigation Company had consolidated with the Colorado Park Irrigation Company—something he had urged during his Ouray years—he decided he needed to go there and "do what I can to help things along." He bought a $1.55 bus ticket to Duchesne, then caught the mail bus to the farm of Clarence Baum on the Strawberry River, where seven years earlier he had worked as a field hand for his room and board. On this latest visit, he daily chopped wood and hoed in the garden, gave a priesthood blessing to Baum's dying mother, and spoke at her funeral as well as at the sacrament meeting where Baum was installed as new bishop of the Strawberry Ward.

A frightening event on that trip reminded him of his age. He hiked up a steep ridge where he "was at dizzy height & had I slipped . . . I should have

12. Ibid., May 22, 1937.
13. Ibid., June 19, 1937.

gone to bottom. . . . I could now easily remember that at various times after climbing in past wife and others have reminded me of not being so young active as once and cautioned against going into dangerous places. . . . I now sensed the propriety of this advice and promised myself to heed it."[14]

Perhaps that realization influenced his reply to an invitation from nearby Fruitland to help them colonize and develop water there—a challenge he once would have leapt to accept. Now, for once, he declined, explaining that "it is now beyond my age and physical capabilities." Probably for the same reason, he apparently decided he really couldn't help much in Ouray, and after two weeks in the Strawberry River area he left for home. On the way back, in the Duchesne post office, he found a letter containing eleven dollars in final payment for the land he had sold to the Bridgeland Ward for its church and cemetery. "Came in opportune time," he noted, "as I found I lacked a little for bus money home."[15]

In their final years in Salt Lake City, Smart and Anna moved seven times, including one summer spent caring for son Thomas L.'s family in Provo while he and his wife traveled on business. Mostly, their quarters were in one- or two-room apartments, but in October 1936, they moved to three downstairs rooms in a home at 143 Second Avenue, a site now occupied by the upscale Garden Towers condominiums. It was only a half-block from the Eighteenth Ward house in Ensign Stake and two and a half blocks northeast of the Temple, Smart pointed out, and they would even have their own bath, with gas for heat and cooking. With a rent of $20 a month and having to pay for heat, it would be more expensive, but Smart felt that Anna deserved it because, although she "had imperfections and made mistakes, her general trend has been successful, according to temperament and ability has done her part as my companion well and uncomplainingly."

After a winter of ice and snow, they found their home's hilly location on Second Avenue was difficult for Anna, so once again they went looking. This time they found a downstairs two-room apartment with bath in a home at 121 West 100 North, in the Seventeenth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, about the same distance from the temple as before. Rent was $25 a month, heat and hot water furnished. It would be their last move and their last home.

This builder of altars throughout the Uintah Basin, as well as in Turkey, in his Eastern States Mission area, in the foothills above Provo, and in City Creek Canyon, now decided that he needed one more. On a rocky ledge on the southwest slope of Ensign Peak, "within the environment of our new home and overlooking it as a sentinel," he repeated what he had done so often before. Twelve stones in a circle represented the Twelve Tribes of Israel. A larger stone resting on the others represented Father Jacob being supported by his sons. On an adjoining flat stone he knelt, dedicated the site as a sacred

14. Ibid., July 9, 1937.
15. Ibid., July 22, 1937.

William and Anna Smart in their last years

place, thanked the Lord for their new home, and reported their plans to dedicate it the next day. On the way home, "its being May day I gathered a boquay of wild flowers and presented them to wife with loving compliments."

That tender gesture may have come as a surprise. Throughout much of their forty-nine years of marriage, as a single-minded, driven church official and community builder, Smart had often seemed to under-appreciate if not neglect his wife. His absences had been frequent, long, and sometimes seemingly unnecessary. Except for—and perhaps in spite of—his lengthy family councils, lectures, and passion for family organization, Anna managed the burden of homemaking and child-rearing. Designated as secretary in the family organization chart, she edited and copied his letters. In some years her modest salary as a teacher was their only reliable income. All this and more often seemed taken for granted.

In these declining years and dwindling days, that changed. On Christmas Day in 1935, he organized a family reunion specifically to honor Anna,

expressing to her "our confidence and loving devotion won by your years of loving sacrifice for us all. May the pure joy we hope and bespeak for you this day foreshadow that of your future." The following September, because she had located and furnished it, he honored her with the privilege of dedicating the apartment they occupied at 79 C Street, "which she willingly did and to my entire satisfaction. . . . We closed with kiss of love and union." The next month, for her sixty-ninth birthday, he arranged a surprise party—the first recorded in all the years of his journals.[16]

There were also more personal and perhaps more meaningful expressions of his love, admiration, and gratitude. On New Year's Eve 1936, he presented Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith's new book, *The Progress of Man*, to Anna, and wrote of his gratitude "that I have a wife that in faith and intelligence is on that plane. . . . I further stated that I could not express in words adequately my gratitude and blessing in having a wife who in truth could and does unite with me in living—as we do and have done for a number of years—a strictly continent sexual life thus not wasting energy and vitality in waning life."

For her seventieth birthday, on October 11, 1937, he couldn't afford even a small material gift, but he gave her something worth more. Hiking to his Ensign Peak altar, he prayed "in satisfying fervancy and invoked future blessings upon her and my ability to appreciate, love and cherish her." He found a small heart-shaped rock, returned to tell where he had been and why, and presented it to her as her birthday gift. He served her favorite breakfast—buckwheat cakes and maple syrup. In their usual morning devotional, they sang together a song no longer found in the LDS hymnal, "My Light is but a Little One . . . Shine on." He hung an enlarged photo of Anna beneath a picture of Mary with the child Jesus in her arms, and "told her that in her sphere she is like Mary in purity and maternal love. . . . I rejoice in the thot that thru prayer & this grouping we are united perfectly therein."

Smart's altar prayer was his next to last; his time was fast running out. He spent two more days in the temple, then went to bed with a cold that gradually worsened. On Sunday, October 24, he rallied, and at the end of the day made his last entry in the last of his forty-nine journals covering a half-century of a sometimes turbulent and error-prone but mainly purposeful, energetic, selfless, and fervently devoted life.

> We attended S. School, Tabernacle general and ward Sacrament meetings. Am feeling better. Yesterday taking it slowly in middle of day made my usual Sat. trip to Ensign Peak bench and engaged in prayer, and this morning to cemetery usual Sunday Morning visits and offered prayer upon visiting grave of Pres. Smith. During day have read Church section Deseret News, Relief Society Magazine and Gospel Doctrine by Pres. Joseph F. Smith.

16. Ibid., September 6 and October 1, 1936.

Anna then takes up the pen.

> The previous page is the last written by my dearly loved husband. He attended the Temple on Monday and Tues. and Wed. On Wed. he was stricken during the afternoon session with pleurisy but finished the session before returning home. He was in great pain and we sent for Dr. Spencer Wright who pronounced it pleurisy and gave him an hypodermic which eased the pain till morning when he recommended that he go to the L.D.S. hospital, fearing pneumonia. He was here for six weeks. The pleurisy became better in about a week but the pleural cavity kept filling with water and having to be drained which was done five times removing about a qt. of water each time. Pus having made its appearance it was thought best to operate and insert a tube at the back to get a more perfect drainage.
>
> This was done on the morning of Dec. 2nd and appeared to be successful, three qts of water & pus being removed. He rested well during the fore part of the night and was sleeping when our son Will left at 10 oclock but in the early morning I was hastily summoned to the hospital and found that he had passed away about 7 a.m. He had apparently not been conscious of approaching death but appeared to have been in peaceful sleep.
>
> During the time he was in the hospital I went every day spending the entire afternoon & most of the mornings, and our son Will was unfailing in his devotion, coming nearly every evening after his work.
>
> The casket we chose was of dark wood such as we thought he would approve, neither extravagant or cheap, but in keeping with his position and character. We had him brought home on Sat. evening that we might have him to ourselves for the one night. There was a feeling of peace & comfort in the home, family all united.
>
> Pres. [Heber J.] Grant called late in the evening, being on his way to the train to attend a conference in Idaho & dedicate a meeting house. He brought a large package of books which on being opened contained three books for each of the children and four for me, also for each a beautiful letter. He expressed deep regret that he could not be at the funeral but sending Pres. David O. McKay to represent the Presidency. Elder John Widtsoe also sent a letter of sympathy and regret that he had a previous engagement of long standing which prevented his coming. We had hoped to have him speak.

Funeral services were held in a packed Seventeenth Ward chapel. The speakers were McKay, Joseph Fielding Smith representing the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and Don B. Colton, former congressman, Smart's counselor in the Uintah Stake presidency, and his successor as president. The grave in Salt Lake City Cemetery was dedicated by Byron O. Colton, Smart's counselor in Roosevelt Stake and his successor as president.

Smart had planned to be buried next to his second wife Mary and their daughter May, but, fortunately as it turned out, her two adult sons wouldn't have it. Instead, a larger family plot was chosen a few yards to the northwest

from Joseph F. Smith's monument. Daughter Anna's body was reburied there and was shortly joined by Anna herself and, later, William and Gretl and daughter Ruth. Two months after the funeral, on February 6, memorial services in Duchesne Stake honored the stake's first president, with Anna attending as a special guest.

To manage a home, rear seven active and sometimes difficult children, keep an often-absent or preoccupied husband happy and efficient, and be a sometimes bread-winner herself, Anna had to have developed some remarkable skills in arranging schedules and events. Nothing illustrates those skills more than the time and manner of her death. She lived, in apparent fair health, for a year after her husband's death. As Christmas 1938 approached, she faced a dilemma. She wanted to be present for the Christmas Eve wedding of her grandson Ralph Rasmussen to Blanche Chandler, but she also wanted to spend Christmas with her husband. So she arranged to do both. She attended the wedding, kissed the newlyweds, then went to bed and, at age 70, well before midnight, quietly died. She was buried beside her husband, and there would be no more separations.

Epilogue

As he understood it, William H. Smart's commission from the LDS First Presidency was to see that Utah's last colonizing, made possible by opening of the Ute Indian Reservation in 1905, would be done primarily by Mormons. A century later, the results can be measured.

When Smart arrived in the rough frontier town of Vernal in 1905 to become president of the church's Uintah Stake, it consisted of one small ward in Vernal and five tiny outlying branches, all outside the reservation boundary. By 1930, when his Basin ministry was about over, growth of the Uintah Stake had been slow. In that year the stake included only two wards in Vernal and others in Ashley, Naples, Maeser, Jensen, and Tridell,[1] with total membership of 1,397, 15 percent of Uintah County's 9,035 population.

Smart spent by far his greatest efforts on the former reservation lands, what became essentially Duchesne County. Not a single Mormon unit existed there when he arrived in the basin. By 1930, Duchesne Stake included thirteen wards, with membership of 3,215, and Roosevelt Stake included eleven wards, with 3,614 members. The combined 6,829 LDS membership of these two stakes organized and nurtured by Smart made up 83 percent of Duchesne County's population of 8,263.[2] Clearly, though the procedure for opening the reservation to land seekers was carefully designed to be open and fair to all, the actual settlement was overwhelmingly Mormon. Smart's efforts were obviously successful in meeting his commission.

In the seven decades after Smart left the basin, trends changed. Prosperity and growth in Duchesne County hardly measured up to what he envisioned.

1. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 895.
2. These percentages are skewed slightly by the fact that three very small Roosevelt Stake wards–Bennett, Randlett, and Leota–were in Uintah County.

Between 1930 and 2000, the county population grew by only 74 percent, to 14,371, compared to statewide growth of 341 percent. There were now five LDS stakes with a total of thirty-four wards in Duchesne County, but the Mormon share of the population had declined to 70 percent. Many of the wards Smart established—Altonah, Boneta, Upalco, Mountain Home, Utahn, Hanna, Strawberry, Leota, Ioka, Bennett, Cedarview—no longer exist. The LDS share of population continues to decline, as it does throughout Utah.

Uintah County, mostly non-Mormon when it was founded, evolved differently after Smart's departure. The percentage of its LDS population in 2007 had grown to 59.8 percent. Moreover, its general population has grown much faster than Duchesne's, almost tripling between 1930 and 2000—from 9,035 to 26,224. So today it contains four LDS stakes (Uintah, Ashley, Glines, and Maeser), with thirty-one wards, almost as many as Duchesne.

Uintah and Carbon are the only Utah counties where the LDS share of population is holding more or less steady.[3] With these exceptions, the decline is statewide. Demographers estimate that if present trends continue, by 2030 Mormons will no longer be a majority in Utah.[4] Unless a new economic boom comes to the basin, perhaps fueled by oil or shale oil extraction, it will probably take a bit longer for that to happen in Smart's beloved Uinta Basin. But, sooner or later, happen it will as an increasingly diversified society is built on the foundation he laid.

So, concerning Smart's goal of building in the Uinta Basin a dominating Mormon society, the pattern is clear—reasonable success short-term, failure long-term. Depression and drought in the 1930s drove many Mormon settlers from the land, leaving it available for others. But there were more general factors that continue to have inevitable consequences.

Smart's goal of filling the basin with Mormon settlers was based primarily on agriculture. But making a living that way is tough in country that is too high and cold for many crops; where irrigation is expensive, unreliable, and leaches out soil that is thin and tends to alkalinity anyway; where government restrictions limit summertime grazing of sheep and cattle. Increasingly, the basin's economy has turned to extractive industry, government employment, and outdoor recreation, all of which attract outsiders.

Another large factor yet to have its full impact is how the nature of society has changed. Americans have become mobile. They move about. Increasingly they move west, especially to parts of the West with space and

3. Cathleen D. Zick and Ken R. Smith, *Utah at the Beginning of the New Millennium: A Demographic Perspective* (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 2006), 133. See also Matt Canham, "Mormon Portion of Utah Population Steadily Shrinking," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 19, 2005, and "Utah Less Mormon Than Ever," *Tribune*, November 18, 2007.
4. Canham, "Mormon Portion."

nearby natural beauty. Unlike some other parts of Utah, the Uinta Basin has not yet become much of a destination for new homeseekers, but that will surely come.

So how to evaluate the life of William H. Smart?

He was one of a sizeable group of second-tier Mormon leaders in the latter half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries who devoted a great deal of energy and a substantial part of their lives to church and community building in Mormondom's peripheral regions. They, Smart included, were stalwart, dedicated, effective stake presidents. But in some ways Smart was unique.

Many served twenty or even thirty years in their callings, almost always as president of one stake. Smart served twenty-two years, but as president of four different stakes.

Other colonizing stake presidents were involved with the development of a headquarters town and a few outlying settlements, in a limited area. Smart was the chief development force in four large towns and scores of smaller settlements scattered over a remote and harsh area roughly ninety by thirty miles.

Other presidents generally presided over members who had been formally called as colonizing missionaries. By Smart's time colonizing of that sort was essentially over. Except for Smart himself, no one was "called" by church leadership to the Uinta Basin. He had to recruit his own associates in leadership and spent much time personally recruiting settlers.

The ministries of other presidents involved sacrifice, though some prospered not despite but because of their leadership positions. Smart carried his sacrifice to extremes. His descent from wealth to poverty was due in part to his own mistakes, in part because of events beyond his control, but in large part because of his conviction, frequently expressed, that his wealth was a gift of God and should not be withheld from benefiting his church and its leaders, his community, his Mormon brothers and sisters.

Probably no other stake president played such a part as Smart in the long, sad history of displacing Native Americans. His journals say little about the process of opening the Ute reservation but a great deal about his efforts to settle Mormons on the lands the Utes lost. He wrote one entry about the incompetence of reservation supervision and his conviction that Mormons could do it better, and he made a brief, abortive effort to put his brother in the job. Otherwise, his fifty voluminous journals are silent about his Indian neighbors. There is no clue about whether he regarded them, as Mormons were urged to do, as Israelite brothers or, as others of his generation did, as ignorant, lazy savages.

Smart's life mirrored the painful, divisive closing period of mainstream Mormon polygamy. He believed deeply in the principle. As a young missionary he wrote a scathing journal entry criticizing what he felt was the

church's weak and dishonest defense of it. Nearing midlife, twelve years after the Manifesto supposedly ended the practice, he took a second wife and then lived in polygamy for twenty years, until her death.

Several prominent polygamous men left or were evicted from the church during this period, laying foundation for the apostate fundamentalist sects that have carried on the practice to the present day. Not so with Smart. From the time he shouldered full-time church service to his dying day, through the ministries of Lorenzo Snow, Joseph F. Smith, and Heber J. Grant, his faith in and allegiance to the president and other leaders of the LDS church never wavered, neither did his faith in the doctrine and principles of the church itself. During his early years of addiction, torment, failure and guilt, during his latter years of poverty and disappointment, and in the trials and crises of all the years between, his journals reflect no weakening of his basic beliefs or resolve to serve.

Did he, in the end, feel he had failed in his life mission? There is no evidence he did, or should have. If the mission was to build a lastingly homogeneous Mormon society, yes, that failed. If it was to build up the church and its members, for which community building was only a means to an end, there was no failure.

As for Smart himself, sad as his final years seem, there is no whining in his journal about it. And there's something triumphant about his climbing in his last days to his secret altar, offering his next-to-last prayer there, finding a small heart-shaped rock to give his wife as her only birthday present, and then singing with her the songs of Zion.

Appendix A

Thomas Smart's Vision

Nov 5, 1903
W. H. Smart,

Dear Brother, I have been wishing to see you very much. I have had something very wonderful come to me & it is this in part: when I was shipping sheep and just arrived at Stockdale with a train load. The sheep were being unloaded and I went into the hotel and got supper. It was abut 9 O.C. p.m. After supper the cook asked me if she put lunch on the table if that would do for the other boys when they came in. I said it would. I was the only one in the hotel after they left. As soon as they left there was a loud knock—the door, and then you and all the family appeared at the big glass window and said to me: "We have come after you to get you to join us as we find out by father your name is not on the records" I saw there was a place for all the family and they were all in their place. I also saw my place and it was vacant. You showed me up in the worst light possible, and the outcome of me if I did not repent and be baptized, and if I would obey that and go on a mission and gather sheep unto the fold of the Lord my sins would be forgiven and I would have a clean sheet. I was raked over as hard as a man could be for breaking the word of wisdom, and a promise made me if I did not keep the word of wisdom I would gradually go down, and if I would I would go up and become very wealthy. Since the 10th of Oct. I have not taken it, I have observed it to the very letter and was baptized shortly after I came home. I feel well. The appetite for tea & tobacco was taken away. When my mouth commenced to parch and dry up there would rise in my mouth a substance like salt peter water and my mouth would become moist, so I had no trouble in overcoming the habit. After I went to bed a heavy sweat broke out on me, and the discharge of my body I could hardly stand the smell and my body for three days was going under a great change. It seemed like I was sweating drops of blood for one day, and for two days it seemed like it was discharging matter of some kind. I

can't understand how the Lord would be so merciful to me without he has got a work for me to do. I tried to get out of the mission and explained how ignorant I was and knew nothing of the principles of the gospel, and I could do more good somewhere else. But that would not do. I was told I had been gathering sheep to myself all my life, and now I was wanted to gather sheep into the fold of the Lord. This is only a very little I saw. I was showed I think about everything how things was after the resurrection and in the spirit world. I was told I was like Thomas Adidamas or I was as hard to convince. I saw all the Presidents and Apostles from Pres. Jos. Smith down, when I see you I will tell you more. I am worried about the mission as I don't know much. Dear Brother, I would like to see you so much and talk over the mission. When you come to Salt Lake telephone me at my expense and I will meet you there. Or if you have no business there and you know the time I will pay your expenses to Salt Lake and return. I must do something and I feel too weak myself. I will have to have help from you and the Almighty. You may wonder if father and mother were there. They were, and Bro Webster and all the old friends of ours.

Resp. yours, Thos. Smart

Appendix B

Selected Correspondence from William H. Smart Papers

House of Representatives U.S.
Washington, D.C.

December 16th, 1899
W. H. Smart, Esq.,
50 Concord St., Brooklyn, N.Y.

My Dear Brother:-

Someone remarked to me many years ago that when fate denied me fortune, she would give me friends; and indeed I must needs think there was substance in that remark when I take into account your most kind offer in placing at my disposal $1,000, to aid me in the present conflict. I do not think that there will be any real occasion to draw upon the account, as I am still in hopes, and very stoutly believe, that I shall finally win this fight; but in any event, it is most delightful to receive such expressions of friendship, and meantime, if occasion should arise for drawing in part upon the amount that you have so generously placed at my disposal, I shall avail myself of it in the same generous spirit that it is tendered to me; for to act otherwise would be unworthy of your generous offer. But I am of the opinion that the only contingency that would make it necessary for me to do so, would be the temporarily with-holding of my mileage, amounting to nearly $1000, and my next month's pay. My stationary appropriation is already refused me, and no action has yet been taken on the mileage. Thanking you for your kindness, and for the good wishes expressed by Elders Burton and Snow, and with kind regards to all, I am and hope ever to be,

Your friend and brother,
[Signed] B. H. Roberts

Dictated:-

House of Representatives U.S.
Washington, D.C.

December 22nd, 1899

My Dear Brother Smart,

I have about decided to come up to New York on Tuesday or Wednesday of next week for the purpose of spending a few days in the great City, with my daughter; stopping over until the Tuesday following. And, of course, shall pay a visit to you all, in Brooklyn, if agreeable? While in N.Y., in order to be centrally located and be prepared to take advantage of that situation, we will probably make our home at the Lincoln, and I suppose this daughter of mine will perhaps keep me on the go.

Now, why write you about all this? It is to tell you that these Philistines down here have sure enough held up my mileage, amounting to $1,000, until I am either sworn in, or kicked out; and consequently I find myself under the necessity of taking advantage of your very kind offer, or at least part of it, temporarily. Would you therefore kindly forward to me a check for $300., until my mileage comes to hand, about which I have no doubt, and that amount will tide me over.

Will I preach while in Brooklyn? Well, I'll attend meeting and beak bread with you, but under the circumstances I think it would not be prudent for me to speak; and then, moreover, there is no telling just what kind of a discourse I might deliver if I attempted one as there would stand back of it the white-heat of suppressed rage and indignation rolling and tumbling about in the darker recesses of my consciousness. I confess that I have not of late entertained the very kindest and most Christian spirit; the fact is there has been a heap of old Adam bubbling up to the surface of my usual secrenity (sic). Love to all at the office, and believe me

Truly your brother,
:[Signed] B. H. Roberts

Dictated
[Handwritten note]: ansd 12/23/99

House of Representatives, U.S.

[Undated, late January 1899]
[Handwritten]

Mr Dear Bro. Smart:-

Bro. Snow has doubtless told you my feelings in relation to undertaking the task of public speaking—my aversion for the present. I feel that I need a rest from the strain that has been upon me for the last 18 months. I feel sure you will see the necessity for this if not the propriety. But just the same I feel the kindness intended by yourself & your desire to aid the great cause in which both of us have so great an interest. But I must rest my Brother for a season after being trodden underfoot of the Gentiles for so long a time.

Have not been able yet to bring anything to a head relative to my salary and milage, now amounting to some $2,000. I cannot remain in Washington however more than two or three days longer. I lack about $100 to settle my bills here and reach home. And as you have extended a brotherly hand to me before, and as one good turn deserves another, I make myself bold to ask you to loan me that amount until I reach home. This will make $500 all told that you have advanced me. I shall be pleased to give you my note for that amount until either the government pays me or I can make other arrangements to raise it after getting home. Everybody here is of opinion that I will receive both my milage & per diem, but I shall be obliged to leave it in the hands of friends.

Of my defeat, I can say nothing. I had hoped for better results but hoped in vain. I take it, however, that it is nothing to a man's discredit that he has been overcome by mob law, which is nonetheless real because the mobbing took place in the House of Representatives and under the thin guise of law.

Truly your Brother,
B. H. Roberts

[Handwritten note]: Answered affirmatively

First Council of Seventies
408–0 Templeton Building, Salt Lake City
Geo. D. Pyper, Secretary and Treasurer
Leo Hunsaker, Assistant Secretary
Members of First Council: Seymour B. Young, C. D. Fjeldsted, B. H. Roberts, George Reynolds, J. Golden Kimball, Rulon S. Wells, Joseph W. McMurrin

Elder W. H. Smart Salt Lake City, July 31st, 1900
#50 Concord St., Brooklyn, N.Y.

My Dear Brother:—

For a long time I have had it in mind to write to you, but during that time have been anxiously looking for a remittance of the appropriation made to me by Congress, which, in part, would compensate me for my time and expense in Washington, as I desired to enclose with my communication a check for the full amount you were so very kind to loan me during the last weeks of my sojourn at the nation's Capitol. I did not receive that remittance, however, until last Saturday, and now I hasten to fulfill what has so long been the desire of my heart, namely: To return to you the rather large sum that you, out of brotherly kindness and good fellowship, and under the spirit of the Gospel, advanced me last winter. You will find enclosed a check on Kountze Bros., N.Y., for the amount named—five hundred dollars. I do not add interest on the amount for the reason that when I suggested that you take a note of me for the amount you said that smacked too much of the spirit of the world, and was altogether too cold-blooded, and you did not wish the act of brotherly kindness marred by such an act; and, as likely you still entertain the same view, we will not make this a cold business transaction on the part of either of us. The interest on the amount shall be paid in my appreciation of your brotherly friendship, and in my prayers to Almighty God for you and for your great consideration of me when truly I was in sore distress and great need. I hope you have not been incommoded by your generosity, and that this shall remain a bond of friendship between us for all time to come.

I trust you are still enjoying your labors in the ministry, and that your health is improved and your family well. I think I may report for myself that I have recovered from the rather severe ordeals of last winter, and am beginning to enjoy very much indeed my labors in the ministry. I had a remarkable fine time last Sunday in Huntsville with one of the Quorums of Seventy, and the Spirit of the Lord which seemed to be manifested in my labors brings me the consolation that He is my friend and supporter.

Kindly remember me to Brother Snow, whom I love, as you perhaps know, together with any of the brethren who may be about your office, with whom I am acquainted, and especially remember me to Sister Smart. Believe me to be, now and always,

Your friend and brother
[Signed] B. H. Roberts

[Handwritten note]: Drew $500. Returned it in statements after returning home. Charged no interest.

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints
Office of the First Presidency
Salt Lake City, Utah

November 19th, 1921
President Wm. H. Smart,
Roosevelt, Utah.

Dear Brother Smart:-

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 18th, and to thank you for the good intention which prompted you to send fifty shares of stock in the Salt Lake Knitting Works, to be used for the redemption of Zion. I certainly hope that your faith in this business may be realized, but am free to confess that I do not believe that stock will ever recover or have any actual value. However I know the generosity of your heart and your willingness to aid any enterprise for the upbuilding of Zion at home or abroad. I shall never forget while I live your splendid donation of five thousand dollars to save the Utah Loan and Trust Company from failure. This donation of yours and your partner, Bro. Webster was one of the important factors in helping to save that institution, and its failure would have reflected materially upon the good names of Presidents Joseph F. Smith and Francis M. Lyman.

Ever praying for your welfare, believe me to be,

Sincerely your brother,
[Signed] Heber J. Grant

[Handwritten note at top of page:] Apostle Geo. F. Richards detailed to attend quarterly conference and decide after council Stake Presidency reorganized.

Salt Lake City,
June 6th, 1922

President Heber J. Grant and Counselors,
City

Dear Brethren:

There has been a feeling growing upon my mind for some time—and therefore it is of no toad-stool growth—that the interests of the Lord in the Uintah Basin would be best subserved by a reorganization of the presidency of the Roosevelt Stake of Zion. I have thought and prayed, often, concerning it until it, finally, has become with me a settled conviction.

There are various reasons therefor, that have occurred to me, which however, I deem unnecessary to recite here, except to refer to one in bold relief in my mind. I went into the Basin quite a number of years since—even commencing from Heber as president of Wasatch Stake—as your humble representative, under very peculiar and trying circumstances surrounding the opening and partial settling of the former Uintah Indian Reservation. There came, for the more part, a non-homogenious [sic] population from various states and stakes with their respective personal ambitions and ideas, and many steeped in prejudices. I became a target as one inclined to get in the way of those ambitions and ideas; and while often upheld, I could not but incur many jealousies and even animosities, and through which, I feel assured, there are those scattered throughout the Basin—Mormons and non-Mormons—who would become more active and would also have a better feeling toward the Church were a change made. I am sure I have made mistakes through my mortality that have further given cause for such conditions. The main pioneer epoch is closing, although much is yet to be done, and in this the morning of what appears to me to be a new and more advanced one in the Basin, it would seem an opportune time for a reorganization. I feel also that the reorganization would afford opportunity for a rejuvenation and new zeal.

While the advisability of this matter has grown upon me, I must admit that the spirit of this presidency has waned until my present ministry is more or less mechanical, yet my interest in the further development of the Basin, both spiritually and temporally, has not diminished; and should the suggested reorganization be effected, as I now feel, it shall be my desire to second the efforts of those who will be chosen, in humbler ways according as they may desire, and so far as my poor ability may allow, if it be not averse to my heavenly Father's wishes for me to continue in this field of action.

As I believe it to be an economical policy to make any contemplated change, in either spiritual or temporal organizations, so soon as practicable after such has been decided upon, so as to avoid the waning of interest and consequent retarding of progress, I therefore strongly and respectfully recommend that should you decide upon making this reorganization, it be effected at the Stake

Quarterly Conference to be held the 17th and 18th inst; and that the brethren who are appointed to attend be given authority to act in any organizations that may be affected in a stake, ward bishopric, or seventy quorum capacity, as it is likely that some of them may be disturbed.

I trust I may not appear officious by expressing my conviction that this reorganization could be successfully made in the persons of local brethren whom I believe to be full of loyalty and integrety [sic], experienced, intelligent, and have a grasp and spirit of the past, present and future of the Basin's spiritual and temporal development as well as the work of the Lord in general. However should the Spirit indicate it to be the Lord's will that a brother be sent to us, I feel safe in pledging to him our support and fellowship.

I desire in conclusion to assure you that the suggestion herein is not under the spirit and letter of retirement—a word I have learned much to dislike. And now having done here what I felt my duty, as your representative, thus clearing my skirts of the responsibility of carrying in my own bosom unexpressed that which I feel vitally effects the welfare of our Father's Cause there, I will add that should you feel it to be the Lord's will for the organization to stand as now, I shall endeavor to get back so far as may be, the former spirit of the work, although it may be difficult without a special blessing, but which I should expect could I rise to my own part.

Your brother in the Gospel,
[Signed] Wm. H. Smart

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
Office of Trustee-in-Trust
Salt Lake City
Joseph F. Smith
Trustee-in-Trust

President Wm. H. Smart,
Roosevelt, Utah

My Dear brother Smart:

Your esteemed favor of Dec. 13th, in acknowledgment of the receipt of my short note, is duly received.

I feel that I cannot do less, after reading it, than to acknowledge its receipt and my appreciation of the very kind and most welcome sentiments expressed therein, and also to congratulate you on your attainment of your fiftieth year, from the summit of which you can look back over the half century that has passed with the satisfaction of knowing that your life and time has been a willing sacrifice in the great arena of human endeavor to benefit, bless and uplift mankind; and if only the Lord has preserved your life and given you strength equal to the tasks imposed upon you, and brought you to the midway of your active life in reasonable possession of mental physical strength with which to enter upon the beginning of the next half century with accumulated experience and reasonable hope for future success, you, as well as any of us, having travelled the same road, have great cause for gratitude to the giver of every good and perfect gift.

Again I thank you, brother Smart, for the confidence and love you have ever manifested toward me and my kindred; and I sincerely hope that the rich blessings that you deserve, for your integrity and unselfish devotion to the cause of truth hitherto, may continue to abide and abound with you throughout a long successful and happy future.

I desire to assure you that your brethren here have entire confidence in your integrity and look with satisfaction upon the monuments you have left behind, which testify of the excellent foundation you have laid all along your ministerial career from the early labors in the missionary field to the higher responsibility of presidency over the Wasatch, and later the Uintah Stakes of Zion, and we believe that the fruits of your future labors will again testify of your integrity and fidelity to the cause of Zion in the new stake to which you have been assigned.

I wish you and your associates every increasing prosperity and satisfaction in your labors; and that the Lord will make your paths pleasant and your journey onward and upward more and more agreeable in every way.

May you never lack for the blessings and comforts of life and may your strength never fail you.

With love to yourself and family and associates, believe me,

Your friend and brother in the cause of truth
[Signed] Joseph F. Smith

Office of Presidency
Duchesne Stake of Zion
Roosevelt, Utah

August 6, 1913

Prest. Joseph F. Smith and Counselors,
Salt Lake City, Utah.

Dear Brethren:

We respectfully submit the following for your information.

Six years ago last winter, after having the matter approved by you, the citizens of the western and eastern divisions of Wasatch county, through their representatives and committeemen, succeeded in getting a law passed by the State Legislature providing for the creation of new counties, this especially for the purpose of permitting a new county to be created out of that portion of Wasatch county lying, for the most part, within the Uintah Basin. The Attorney General holding that the State Constitution does not admit of such a law, the governor vetoed the same.

Prior to the above action joint committees, men from the two sections named, among whom were Pres. Jos R. Murdock and myself, decided upon a boundry line, running north and south on the range line between townships 9 and 10 west. This line is about three miles west of the most westerly agricultural section on the Uintah Basin side.

Four years ago last winter a bill providing for a constitutional amendment authorizing the creation of new counties became a law, but failed to carry in the following election.

Its being still the view of citizens generally of our county, and many of the prominent attorneys of the state, as well as many other prominent citizens, that no constitutional amendment is necessary, there being at least a strong implied authority given for the creation of new counties, after again obtaining your approval, we had another bill introduced in the Legislature last winter, which became a law.

This law provides for at least 25% of the electors in each division to petition the County Commissioners for an election to be held to ascertain whether a new county shall be formed. We complied with this provision, about 85% of the electors in the eastern division and about 60% of the electors in the western division signing the petitions.

The petitions were to designate the proposed boundry line dividing the two counties. Prior to the circulation of the petitions committeemen from each section were chosen by the citizens to act as a joint committee to decide upon the boundry line. This committee met in Salt Lake City during last April conference and could not agree. The two Stake Presidencies being in touch in the matter, in harmony with your suggestions in the past that we be so in matters of joint interest, we held a council and concluding that it would be impossible for the citizens to agree upon the range line between townships 9 and 10 west, formerly decided upon, and which we were still united upon, we decided to suggest a compromise

line three miles east of the above line. This line would throw all possible grazing land in the west section and yet leave the agricultural lands within the Uintah Basin in the new county, thus not compelling citizens to cross the Wasatch range to the county seat.

We were agreed that in order to admit of such convenience, and also believing that the new county would again be divided that the line could not, in justice and propriety, go farther east.

In harmony with the law the Commissioners called an election for the 3rd day of July on the basis of the above compromise as to boundry line.

Citizens on both sides who were actuated by selfishness felt to oppose this line. Many of our citizens felt that the water shed should be the division, and many in the west contending for a line much farther east. The latter class were for the most part lawyers who did not care much whether a division be made, they doing business in both sections, and certain stock men who had purchased Indian lands and desired it to be in the old county. These were practically all either non-Mormons or luke warm and they, together with what we are informed is now known as the pool element of Heber, succeeded in causing such a passionate and inconsistent consideration of the question that the election failed to carry there. President Murdock and counselers felt assured of sufficient of the cooler and more solid citizens being favorable to insure the election and sent us word to that effect but a few days prior to the election.

The trouble we encountered on both sides is the ignorance of the people generally as to the country and this left them open to persuasions of the above class of men.

In the eastern section the class of citizens who opposed it most were like the class of those in the west section. However, I am pleased to say, that after meetings were held wherein explicit explanations were made, our citizens have as a rule accepted the compromise line with a fair degree of good feeling.

I am pleased to state there has been no inharmony between the two Stake Presidencies over the matter.

Following is the result of the election by precincts:

West Division	For	Against	East Division	For	Against
Midway	151	45	Stockmore	14	20
Heber	182	458	Fruitland	6	8
Charlston	51	59	Utahn	12	5
Wallsburg	10	77	Theodore	133	12
Daniels	52	10	Boneta	72	5
Center	19	43	Alexander	49	8
Elkkhorn	5	10	Cedarview	18	0
Bench Creek	4	19	Packer	32	0
Totals	478	721	Lake Fork	33	3
			Roosevelt	171	1
			Midview	18	0
			Antelope	11	1
			Myton	62	67
			Totals	631	130

Should you now, or in the future, have any instructions to give us regarding this question we shall be pleased to receive the same

Your Brother in the Gospel,
In behalf of the Stake Presidency

Office of the President
John A. Widtsoe, President

University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah

April 16, 1921

President William H. Smart,
107 2nd Ave., City.

My dear President Smart:
I have already told you by word of mouth how much your recent letter meant to me. It was not merely that I wanted to be congratulated upon the call in the Priesthood which had come to me, but I did need the good will and good words just at that time, of men like yourself, whom I love and whose good will I earnestly desire. You have done much for me in my life. I remember with pleasure and affection the help that you gave me when you were my teacher. I remember with equal delight the many occasions when you have spoken wise and helpful words to me. I shall do my best, with God's help, to render worthy service in this new calling, and, because of my good labors, to retain the abiding friendship of you and other good men with whom it has been my privilege to associate during these years.
I am proud of your life-long service, so full of sacrifice and self-forgetfulness. I hope that after these many years of service under very difficult conditions, you may win a new ease and satisfaction throughout the many years which I believe still await you. I shall keep your letter long to comfort me. My wife and I extend to you and yours our sincere and hearty good wishes. May every good thing that you desire be yours.

Sincerely your friend and your brother,
[Signed] John A. Widtsoe

[Handwritten note:] My letter was regarding his call to apostleship

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