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MORMON MYTH OR MONOPOLY: A CONTEMPORARY STUDY
TO DETERMINE THE PERCEIVED INFLUENCE OF
THE MORMON CHURCH ON UTAH POLITICS

by

Douglas S. Foxley

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Political Science

Utah State University
Logan, Utah

1973

To My Parents,
G. Melvin and Beth S. Foxley

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In preparing this thesis, I am most grateful to my parents for their encouragement and support which has enabled me to complete this work.

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Douglas S. Foxley

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
ABSTRACT	ix
THE MORMON MYTH OR MONOPOLY	1
Introduction	1
General Design	3
Hypotheses	4
UTAH HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	5
The Pre-Statehood Period, 1847-1896	5
The Statehood to World War II Period, 1869-1940	11
World War II to the Present, 1940-1973	17
METHODOLOGY	21
FINDINGS	27
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	49
Involvement in Moral and Political Issues	51
Belief in a Separation of Church and State	54
Non-Existence of a Separation of Church and State	55
Perceived Influence of Mormon Church on Utah Politics	56
Conclusions	57
BIBLIOGRAPHY	59
Books	59
Articles	60
Government Documents and Publications	61
Theses and Dissertations	61
Newspapers	62
Miscellaneous	62
Interviews	62

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

	Page
APPENDIX	63
VITA	69

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Percentage comparisons of demographic data with respect to area, sex, and religion, obtained in this survey with actual data obtained by government, Church, and private sources	28
2. How Utahns feel about religious organization involvement in moral issues	30
3. How Utahns feel about religious involvement in political issues	30
4. Opinions by religion regarding religious involvement in moral issues	31
5. Opinions by religion regarding religious involvement in political issues	32
6. Opinions regarding religious involvement in moral issues by education	32
7. Opinions regarding religious involvement in political issues by education	33
8. Specific areas in which respondents felt religious organizations should become involved	33
9. How Utahns feel about the concept of a separation of church and state	34
10. Area breakdown of Utahn's opinions towards the idea of a separation of church and state	35
11. Difference between sexes towards the belief in a separation of church and state	35
12. Variations in responses by different religious groupings to the separation of church and state question	36
13. Difference in answers elicited by various educational levels to the separation of church and state question	37
14. Occupational breakdown of Utahn's opinions to the separation of church and state question	37
15. Breakdown by income to belief in the concept of a separation of church and state question	38

Table	Page
16. Statewide responses about the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah	38
17. Area breakdown of Utahn's opinions about the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah	39
18. Variation in responses given by different religious groupings to the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah	40
19. Breakdown by political party affiliation to the question about the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah	40
20. Educational grouping run-down to question about existence of a separation of church and state in Utah	41
21. Difference between occupational groupings answers towards the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah	42
22. Variations in answers given by different age groups to the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah question	42
23. Income breakdown of Utahn's opinions towards the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah	43
24. Statewide breakdown of responses given to the question about how much influence the Mormon Church has on Utah politics	44
25. Area run-down of the various responses given to the question about how much influence the predominant faith has on Utah politics	44
26. Variations in the responses given by different religious groupings about the influence of the predominant faith on Utah politics	45
27. Breakdown by age categories towards the question of how much influence the predominant faith of Utah has on its politics	46

Table	Page
28. Breakdown by party affiliation to the question of how much influence the predominant faith of Utah has on its politics	46
29. Variations in the responses given by difference educational levels to question of how much influence the predominant faith has on Utah politics	47
30. Breakdown by occupation of answers given about the influence of the predominant faith on Utah politics	48
31. Income groupings responses by percentages to the question of how much influence the Church has on Utah politics	48
32. How Utahns feel about religious organization involvement in moral issues	53
33. How Utahns feel about religious involvement in Political Issues	53
34. How Utahns feel about the concept of a separation of church and state	55
35. Statewide responses about the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah	55
36. Statewide breakdown of responses given to the question about how much influence the Mormon Church has on Utah politics	56

ABSTRACT

Mormon Myth or Monopoly: A Contemporary Study
to Determine the Perceived Influence of
the Mormon Church on Utah Politics

by

Douglas S. Foxley

Utah State University, 1973

Major Professor: Dr. Dan E. Jones
Department: Political Science

The purpose of this study was to determine the attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of Utah residents concerning what role, if any, the L.D.S. Church should play in Utah politics; if they believe in the concept of a separation of church and state; whether they feel a separation of church and state exists in Utah; and how much influence they perceive the predominant faith of the state has on its politics.

Thus, the four following hypotheses were designed:

1. Utah residents will perceive that churches should be involved in moral, but not political issues.
2. Utah residents will perceive that there should be a separation of church and state.
3. Utahns will perceive that a separation of church and state does not exist in Utah.
4. Utah residents will perceive that the predominant faith of this state has considerable influence on Utah politics.

In order that these hypotheses could be tested, an instrument was designed and pre-tested; a random-systematic sample was drawn from

x

all Utah telephone directories; interviews were conducted; responses were recorded and computerized and reported in this study.

(79 pages)

CHAPTER I
THE MORMON MYTH OR MONOPOLY

Introduction

Since the arrival of the first group of Mormon pioneers in Salt Lake Valley on July 24, 1847, there allegedly has been constant interaction between the polity and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.¹ This has created a state of constant friction between the Mormons and non-Mormons² concerning the role the Church should take in the politics of the Beehive State and in which areas Church leaders should attempt to influence³ their membership. Some critics of the Church feel that a separation of church and state does not exist in Utah. They feel that the Church has total control or a "monopoly" over the political process, whereas certain Mormons feel that the monopoly charge is purely a "myth" and that there is a separation of church and state in Utah. Furthermore, they contend that the Church has little or no political influence over its membership or the politics of Utah.

¹For the sake of brevity, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, commonly referred to as the Mormon Church will be referred to as such, L.D.S., or "the Church."

²Non-L.D.S. are often called gentiles in this state. Hence, when the word "gentiles" is used in this study, it refers to the non-L.D.S. population in the state.

³In his book, Interest Groups in Italian Politics, (Princeton University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1964), p. 16, Joseph G. LaPalombara concludes that influence is that factor which causes an individual to conform or change his course of action to comply with the wishes of another without resorting to either an overt threat or severe deprivations. Whenever this author refers to the word "influence" he will ascribe to this meaning.

The problem of church involvement in politics is, however, not unique to Utah. Ever since America's colonial beginnings, religious institutions have been tied to political institutions. In six of the colonies, the Established Church of England was the recognized religion of the area. And in three of the other colonies, the political leaders held fast to the idea of a close church-state relationship. But a small growing radical minority advocated the separation of the two institutions. In spite of these radicals, however, the practice of close association between political and ecclesiastical organizations continued to be the custom in American civilization for nearly half of its history. But the practice, so deeply imbedded in European tradition, did not fit American conditions. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the United States had established the principle of religion liberty and the separation of church and state.

When the Supreme Court interpreted the Fourteenth Amendment as applying to the protection of religious freedom in the various states.⁴ Catholics, Jews, and Protestants were all forced into adjusting to the various conditions in the various states. The period of transition was difficult, and even today, many authorities claim that the dominant religion in many of the states exert considerable influence on the politics of the respective states.

⁴Jehovah's Witness Case, Cantwell et al. vs The State of Connecticut; for more on this subject see: Anson Phelps Stokes, 1940 Church and State in the United States, Vol 1-3, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950); and Robert Lee and Martin E. Marty, ed., Religion and Social Conflict (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

General Design

Thus, it is proposed that the residents of Utah be surveyed to ascertain their opinions, attitudes, and beliefs, about the supposed "Mormon Myth or Monopoly" controversy. Also, they will be queried about what role, if any, the Church should play in politics; if they believe in the concept of a separation of church; and whether they feel a separation of church and state exists in Utah; and about other related topics.

It should be noted that this is a contemporary study which is basically exploratory in nature, and hence it should be differentiated from the traditional historical and political studies of the past.

In the first place, if a significant number of Mormons and non-Mormons feel that the Church has a great deal of influence on state politics, whether in reality it does, then astute political leaders will play upon the biases and emotions of the specific group they are attempting to sway. Not only will they take this into consideration in their campaigns, but it will also affect their eventual policy making roles and decisions. However, if this research indicates that a significantly small proportion of the Utah electorate operates under the notion that the Church has little or no influence, then this assertion which has plagued generations of both Mormons and non-Mormons can be obliterated.

Also, as a political scientist, it would be interesting to see if the attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of Mormons who adhere to a unique set of theological teachings differ markedly from those of non-Mormons or gentiles. These will be tested not only with respect to the perceived

influence of the Church on state politics, but also on other related topics which will be set forth in the following section.

Hypotheses

In approaching this study, the following hypotheses will be tested.

1. Utah residents will perceive that the church should be involved in moral, but not political issues.
2. Utah residents will perceive that there should be a separation of church and state.
3. Utah residents will perceive that a separation of church and state does not exist in Utah.
4. Utah residents will perceive that the predominant faith⁵ of this state has considerable influence on Utah politics.

It is possible that the variables religion, sex, age, income, occupation, education, area, and party affiliation may have some effect on each of the four main hypotheses. Hence, each variable will be broken down with respect to each hypothesis. It should be noted, however, that these variables are not to be considered the sole determinants in the development of attitudes, opinions, and beliefs, but in past studies there has been a correlation between these variables and the hypotheses under consideration.

⁵The words "predominant faith" are substituted for Mormon Church in both this hypothesis and in the instrument used to test this hypothesis. Predominant faith was considered to be less inflammatory than Mormon Church. Also, Utahns equate Mormon Church and predominant faith to be one and the same.

CHAPTER II

UTAH HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A vast array of literature has been written about Utah and the Mormon Church. However, after reviewing numerous books, articles, dissertations and theses, newspapers, and other publications, it becomes apparent that historians have mainly been concerned with the role of the Mormon Church in Utah politics. Also, political scientists have conducted similar studies.¹

For purposes of this study, three periods of Mormon Church influence on Utah politics will be examined. The first segment is the pre-statehood period. It stretches from 1848 to 1896. The next division is from 1896 to World War II. And the final period extends from World War II to the present. A description of the major works of each period follows.

The Pre-Statehood Period, 1847-1896

The pre-statehood period has been extensively covered by many authors. However, a few of these appertain to the topic under consideration better than others, hence these will be emphasized. As far as the general works written on Mormons, B. H. Robert's A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was extremely useful.

¹Most political scientists have written political histories. One notable exception is Bertram Cannon Willis's "Some Effects of his Religion on the Mormon Voter in Salt Lake County," (Salt Lake City, Unpublished Honors Thesis, University of Utah, 1966). This was a survey which asked Mormons why they attended their voting district convention meetings. More on this subject follows.

Even though it is written by a prominent Church leader, it maintains balance and objectivity and is an excellent study which stresses the relations between the government and the Church.

Other notable historical accounts include: H. H. Bancroft's History of Utah; Andrew Neff's History of Utah, 1847-1869; The History of Salt Lake City by Edward W. Tullidge; and Whitney's History of Utah Volumes 1-4. These authors embrace a variety of views regarding the Mormon Church, for one was an apostle, another an apostate. They were Mormons and non-Mormons. However, by weaving together their accounts and accepting the points which these writers agree upon, a relatively accurate picture of the Church's role in Utah politics is obtained.

When the first group of Mormon pioneers entered Salt Lake Valley on July 24th, 1847, they settled in what was then Mexican Territory, although the government of Mexico had no say in the governmental institutions which the Mormons established. From all historical accounts available, it is evident that the first government established by the Mormons was a theocracy, a union of church and state in which the same institutions were used for both spiritual and secular affairs. This theocratic arrangement existed for only a short time. In the early part of 1848, the United States obtained possession of all the territory which presently comprises the state of Utah. In 1850, the Territory of Utah was created and Brigham Young was appointed as the first territorial governor. He was given the responsibility of establishing the territory in accordance with the edicts of Congress. Hence, a constitution was written that provided for the establishment of the necessary governmental apparatuses.

Approximately the same time as the Territory of Utah was established, another event transpired that was to have a significant impact upon the territorial government of Utah. This was the discovery of gold in California. When word reached the eastern coast of the United States that gold had been discovered in California, thousands of fortune seekers streamed through Utah on their way to the gold fields of the Pacific. While in Utah, many of these individuals observed the Mormon culture and its institutions. Most concluded that Mormon Church President Brigham Young controlled not only the Church, but also the territorial government. As the stories of the gold seekers filtered back to Washington, their tales were strengthened and embellished by the merchants who had moved into Utah to peddle their wares. As the number of non-Mormons increased in the territory, relations between Mormons and non-Mormons continued deteriorating until finally, in 1856, President James B. Buchanan ordered federal troops into Utah to "restore the supremacy of the Constitution,"² and bring an end to "the personal despotism of Brigham Young."³

After a great deal of harassment by Mormon raiders, government troops arrived in Utah in 1858. Because of a change in President Buchanan's stance, adverse public response, shifts in Mormon posture, and the efforts of Alfred E. Cummings and Thomas L. Kane, a major confrontation was avoided and a peace commission drafted an accord with the Mormons. The provisions of this accord allowed Alfred Cummings to replace Brigham Young as Territorial Governor of Utah; U. S. Army troops could be quartered in Utah, however

² B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Vol. IV, (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), p. 261.

³ Ibid., p. 261.

not in the Salt Lake Valley; and, Mormon Church leaders would cooperate with the U.S. Government in order that hostilities would be avoided.

During the 1860 to 1865 period, relations between the Mormons and the non-Mormons received little active attention from the U.S. Government. But, during this period the Anti-bigamy Act of 1862 (Morrell Act) was passed. This set up what was for years the basis of U.S. policy toward the Mormons.

Upon completion of the Civil War, the construction of the trans-continental railroad was commenced. This brought many non-Mormons into the territory. And this in turn, increased frictions between the saints and the gentiles. There are many reasons for this. Most notable was the continued Mormon control of the government.⁴

In order to combat the position of the Church in territorial politics, two notable developments transpired. One was the establishment in 1870 of the first political party in the state--the Liberal Party. The other was the debut of The Salt Lake Tribune in 1871. For an excellent account of the events of the day and the charges which this newspaper made against the Church, see O. N. Malmquist's The First 100 Years, A History of the Salt Lake Tribune 1871-1971.

In addition to the works of Bancroft, Tullidge, Neff, and Whitney, another scholarly masterpiece which vividly describes the conflict which existed between the gentiles and the Mormons during this time frame is Leonard J. Arrington's Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900. In this informative source, Arrington describes the economic change-over of the Mormon Church from a program

⁴See Ronald C. Jack, "Political Participation in Utah before the Formation of Political Parties, 1847-1869," Unpublished MS thesis, University of Utah, 1967), pp. 113-115.

of self-sufficiency to capitalism. The second to the last chapter of this book is of particular value, for it describes in detail how Congress sought "to end Mormon 'peculiarities' with increasingly restrictive legislation."⁵

The Mormon peculiarities which concerned many Americans were polygamy, immigration of large numbers of Latter-day Saint converts to Utah from foreign lands, colonization, Church involvement in nearly all of the major economic enterprises within the territory except mining, and Mormon control of the political process. In order to rectify the Utah problem, Congress passed a series of legislative enactments aimed directly at the Mormon Church. All of the aspects of previous acts and additional provisions culminated in the writing and passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887.

This act confiscated all Church properties, dissolved the Corporation of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Perpetual Immigration Fund, a fund which was established to give financial support to Mormon converts in foreign lands who desired to immigrate to Utah. Furthermore, it had serious political repercussions.

The Edmunds-Tucker Act "abolished woman suffrage in Utah; ... prescribed a 'test oath' to eliminate polygamists from voting, holding office, and serving on juries; (and) vested all judicial, law enforcement and militia powers in Utah Commission and other federal appointees."⁶

⁵ Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), p. 352.

⁶ Ibid., p. 361.

When the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Edmunds-Tucker Act, the government had finally achieved the means of forcing the Mormon Church into the submission of direct control of the political process.

The Church expressed this when they issued the Woodruff Manifesto on September 24, 1890. In this Manifesto, President Woodruff stated that the Church would "submit to the laws forbidding plural marriage, and he would use his influence to persuade other members of the Church to do likewise."⁷ Hence, the practice of polygamy was officially abandoned by the Church.

According to Malmquist, the closed Mormon economic system which the non-Mormons had so vehemently decried had in reality never been established as Brigham Young intended.

Because economic conditions had improved in many countries of western Europe, and few areas of land were available for colonization in the western part of the U. S., immigration and colonization had almost ceased.

The Church's grip on the political process was further relinquished and expressed when the Church disbanded its own political party and arbitrarily divided its members into the two major national political parties.⁸

⁷O. N. Malmquist, The First 100 Years: A History of The Salt Lake Tribune, 1971-1971, (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1971), p. 137. See also The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1921), p. 257.

⁸Arrington, p. 352.

With the Mormons claiming membership in both of the major political parties, both Mormons and non-Mormons felt that there would be a "built in protection against Church domination."⁹

The apparent compliance of the Church, the change of events, and the political winds of 1896 found nearly everyone in the territory favoring statehood. Therefore on January 4, 1869, Utah was accepted into the Union as the forty-fifth state. By this act, individuals not only in Utah, but also in all parts of the nation hoped that once and for all the Mormon problem was eradicated. Many feared that this was purely a ploy by the Church to get the government "off of its back" and that eventually the Church would regain its dominant role in the politics of the state. However, events of the second time period will shed light upon the fears of these citizens.

The Statehood to World War II Period, 1869-1940

From the time Utah was granted statehood to 1900, the Church adhered to the "unwritten rule" that the elective offices of Utah should be evenly divided between Mormons and non-Mormons. Few, if any, claimed that the Church meddled in the politics of the state. Even the Salt Lake Tribune, a bitter foe of the Church, during this period, behaved "sensibly."¹⁰ In fact, the Tribune's objections ran "against the gentile elected to the United States Senate rather than the Mormon."¹¹

⁹ Malmquist, p. 152.

¹⁰ Ibid., 167.

¹¹ Ibid.

In 1902 the "bugaboo" about the Mormon Monopoly re-surfaced and the tempest lasted for nearly fourteen years. The reason for the resurrection of the Church control of the Utah political controversy centered around the election of Reed Smoot to the U. S. Senate. Not only was Smoot an apostle of the Church, one of the highest positions in that organization, but he was allegedly a polygamist.¹²

With the election of Smoot, non-Mormons not only in Utah but also in the entire nation, became alarmed that the Church not only controlled Utah's politics, but it retained its economic hold on the states economy, and the Mormons still practiced polygamy. Hence, "everybody seemed to agree that Reed Smoot ought to be excluded from the U. S. Senate."¹³

Thus, for over two years, Mormon Church leaders, political leaders from Utah and the west, and many others travelled to Washington to tell the Committee on Privileges and Elections what was really happening in Utah. The testimony of these witnesses is recorded in The Proceedings in the Matter of the Protest Against the Right of the Honorable Reed Smoot, A Senator from Utah to Hold His Seat.

Several excellent studies have been written about Reed Smoot and the role of the Mormon Church in Utah politics during this period. Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics by Dr. Milton R. Merrill is without a doubt the most notable work written about this controversial personality.

According to Merrill, the Church wanted a man in Washington who would represent its main economic interests.¹⁴ The main economic interests

¹²This charge was subsequently proven false.

¹³Milton R. Merrill, "Reed Smoot, Apostle in Politics," (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1956), p. 7.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 8.

of the Mormon Church at this time, according to Frank H. Jonas and Garth N. Jones, were "sugar and sugar manufacturing."¹⁵

Most Church leaders were extremely vocal in their support of both Smoot and the Republican Party. Their overwhelming endorsement of the Republicans was due to many factors, most notable was a blistering anti-Mormon plank in the 1904 National Democratic Platform. And Perry Heath, Secretary of the Republican National Committee is said to have offered the Church assurance that "there would be no constitutional amendments directed against polygamy ... if in return the Church would bring Utah into the Republican column."¹⁶

Other scholarly efforts take a slightly different stance, but in general they tend to reinforce the positions taken by Dr. Merrill that "God, the Church, the Republican Party, and Reed Smoot were all on the same side."¹⁷

This claim that the Church and the Republican Party controlled Utah politics from 1902 to 1916 is further evidenced in the 1912

¹⁵ Frank H. Jonas and Garth N. Jones "Utah Presidential Elections, 1896-1952," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXIV (October 1956), p. 291.

¹⁶ Merrill, p. 52.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 79 . See also Darwin Kay Craner, "The Influence of the L.D.S. Church in Utah Politics," (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Utah, 1966); according to Craner, Mormon President Joseph F. Smith was able to control "day by day" politics in Utah through his chief lieutenant Reed Smoot. Also, he exerted considerable influence on Mormon officials and legislators. Refer also, to Donald Bruch Gilchrist's "An Examination of the Problems of L.D.S. Church Influence in Utah Politics, 1890-1916," (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Utah, 1967). Gilchrist concludes that a separation of church and state did not exist in Utah during the 1890-1916 period.

presidential election in Utah. Utah was one of two states to cast its electoral votes for Taft. Jonas attributes the Taft vote to the "political leadership of Reed Smoot, with President Joseph F. Smith at his side."¹⁸

The 1912 election made many of Smoot's colleagues in the U. S. Senate think that "Utah was a pocket burrough belonging to Reed Smoot and the President of the Mormon Church."¹⁹ This is the position taken by nearly all of the scholars except Shipps, and she is of the opinion that Smoot was definitely aware that this was not the case.²⁰ She concludes that the election was extremely complicated in Utah and that Reed Smoot, President Smith, and their political allies used a lot of maneuvering and plain old "luck" to put Utah in the Taft column.²¹

The 1914 Utah Senatorial election made scholars such as Shipps question how great the Republican Party and the Mormon Church's control was over the Utah electorate.²² Due to a new constitutional amendment,

¹⁸ Jonas and Jones, p. 292.

¹⁹ Merrill, p. 217.

²⁰ Jan Shipps, "Utah Comes of Age Politically," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXV (Utah Historical Society: Salt Lake City, Utah, 1967), p. 188.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

Reed Smoot had to be elected directly by the people, and not by the state legislature. When the votes were tallied, Smoot had defeated his opponent James E. Moyle by a mere 3,000 votes. This election caused Dr. Merrill to say that Smoot "didn't win, he survived."²³

Two years later, Woodrow Wilson overwhelmingly carried Utah and with him a whole slate of state Democratic candidates. This action helped to dispel that notion that "God, the church, the Republican Party, and Reed Smoot were all on the same side."²⁴

The "coup de grace" was inflicted upon this notion in 1918 when Heber J. Grant, a leading Mormon democrat, was selected as President of the Church. He took the place of Joseph F. Smith who had died earlier that year.

Even though Grant announced that he would personally vote for Smoot in 1920, he did not advise the members of the Church what they should do. And it has been said that during the administration of President Grant, "politics operated in both parties with neither the advice nor the consent of the President of the Mormon Church."²⁵ Not only this but Thomas L. Kearns, owner of the Salt Lake Tribune and an avid critic of Mormon involvement in politics passed away at this same time. Thus, the politics of Utah from 1920 to 1932 remained somewhat silent, especially when compared to the happenings which transpired around the turn of the century.

²³Merrill, p. 159.

²⁴Ibid., p. 217.

²⁵Shipps, p. 188.

According to one writer "the Utah voter was independent ... (and) was usually content to leave the incumbent in office unless there was a dramatic movement for change."²⁶ He also states that only when the Church was specifically affected did it exert influence upon an election or election issue. Of interest during this time period was the formation of a secret Republican political organization called the Sevens. This entity was originally formed by non-Mormons, but later it added Mormons to its ranks. Conjecture has it that this organization controlled the Salt Lake County Republican Party from 1922-28, and that its basis purpose was to replace the Mormon Church as the driving force in the Republican Party.²⁷ But until more information becomes available, it is difficult to document this assertion.

The year 1932 saw Utah and the rest of the nation deeply immersed in the throngs of a great economic depression. Reed Smoot was once again a candidate for re-election to the Senate and was considered to be unbeatable.²⁸ Not only did Smoot have the support of Mormon Church President Heber J. Grant, but he also had an editorial endorsement from his old foe the Salt Lake Tribune.²⁹ Smoot and his followers were soon to be in for the shock of their life time, for Smoot was soundly defeated by Elbert D. Thomas.

Commenting upon this election, O. N. Malmquist has said the following:

²⁶ Dan E. Jones, "Utah Politics, 1926-1932," (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Utah, 1968), p. 224.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Frank H. Jonas, "Utah: The Different State," Politics in the American West (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1959), p. 332.

²⁹ Malmquist, p. 330.

If any of the battle-scarred veterans of the ecclesiastical-political wars of an earlier day suspected that a president of the Mormon Church could dictate the outcome of a Utah election by expressing a party or candidate preference, their suspicions should have been laid to rest by 1932.³⁰

Jonas concurs, for he aptly sums up the condition by saying "Smoot's crushing defeat marked the end of Mormon Church influence in politics."³¹

Apparently Church leaders had not arrived at the same conclusion, for they tried once again to assert their influence in the 1936 presidential election. The Church leaders wholeheartedly supported Alf Landon in that election, but Roosevelt overwhelmed the Republican candidate by garnering the greatest percentage of the total vote given to a presidential candidate in the history of the state.³² According to scholars the death bells had tolled for Mormon Church control in Utah politics. Also, the amount of influence which the Church could sway in the political arena was greatly questioned by these same writers.

World War II to the Present, 1940-1973

Fortunately for the students of politics, Frank Jonas, The Western Political Quarterly, and other scholarly efforts have appeared on the scene to record the events which have transpired in Utah politics since World War II. By referring to these works, and also newspaper accounts, one can obtain a fairly reliable view of what has transpired in Utah politics, especially as it refers to the involvement of the Mormon Church.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 329.

³¹ Jonas, Politics, p. 332.

³² The Deseret News lost one-third of its readership due to the role of the leadership of the Church. For further information on the subject see Malmquist, pp. 323-334.

In 1948 the Mormon Church announced that it had a single objective in the election of that year "to unseat Governor Herbert B. Maw."³³ Through the editorial page of the Deseret News, the Church editorially supported Maw's opponent, J. Bracken Lee. It is difficult to ascertain how much influence the Church's position had on the electorate. But Lee, a non-Mormon, succeeded in defeating Maw, a Mormon.

Two years later, the Church was pulled into the senatorial campaign between Elbert D. Thomas and Wallace F. Bennett. Through the Salt Lake County L.D.S. Law Observance and Enforcement Committee, the Deseret News, and public pronouncements by Church authorities, Church leaders made it known that they favored Bennett over the incumbent Thomas.³⁴ And after a most bitter campaign, Bennett, the Church supported candidate, outdistanced his opponent.

The Church, according to Jonas et al., savoring its apparent political successes in the elections of 1948 and 1950, decided in 1954 that they would try to encourage the voters of the state to support two proposed state constitutional amendments. One would have given back to the Church three junior colleges which they had owned previously, and the other would have given each county a member in the state legislature. However, in the balloting of that year, the Church took it on the chin.³⁵ Jonas concludes that "the losses were construed

³³Jonas, Politics, p. 334.

³⁴See Frank H. Jonas, "The 1950 Elections in Utah," The Western Political Quarterly, Vol. XI, No. 1 (Salt Lake City: Institute of Government, University of Utah, 1950), p. 41.

³⁵Frank H. Jonas, "The 1954 Election in Utah," The Western Political Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. 1 (Salt Lake City: Institute of Government, University of Utah, 1955), pp. 625-629.

quite correctly to be set backs in politics for the Church."³⁶

The Church leaders made no official pronouncements in the 1956 election, but Jonas claims that the election indicated that "Republicanism and Mormonism went hand in hand."³⁷ But 1958 saw a most interesting change of events. For the first time in the political history of the state, the leaders of the Mormon faith gave the Democratic Party "tacit or equal support."³⁸

The last major pronouncement made by a Church president with respect to a particular candidate was in the 1960 presidential election. During the campaign of that year both John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon visited Utah and the President of the Mormon faith. Kennedy received a "warm greeting" from President David O. McKay. However, a couple of weeks later when Nixon visited with McKay, he received from President McKay what some interpreted to be the endorsement of the Mormon Church.³⁹

³⁶ Jonas, Politics, p. 334

³⁷ Frank H. Jonas, "The 1956 Elections in Utah," The Western Political Quarterly, Vol. X, No. 1 (Salt Lake City: Institute of Government, University of Utah, 1957), pp. 151-160.

³⁸ Frank H. Jonas, "The 1958 Elections in Utah," The Western Political Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 1 Part 2 (Salt Lake City: Institute of Government University of Utah, 1959), pp. 345-354.

³⁹ Present at the meeting between President McKay and Vice President Nixon was O. N. Malmquist, Political Editor for the Salt Lake Tribune. Mr. Malmquist did not consider President McKay's remarks to be a Church endorsement and did not report them as such. Nor did others who were present at the time. See the Salt Lake Tribune, October 11, 1960, p. 6.

Later, President McKay issued a statement in which he said that he personally intended to vote for Vice President Nixon, but his remark should not be considered a church endorsement.

Nixon carried Utah's four electoral votes in the 1960 election, but many feel that President McKay's personal endorsement had little, if any, effect on the Mormon voter.⁴⁰

Since 1960 many have sought the Church's approval, but nearly everyone concludes that the only endorsements proffered by the Church are symbolic.⁴¹ In a statement issued by the First Presidency of the Church which appeared in the "Church News" section of the Deseret News, President David O. McKay and his counselors state that:

We believe in a two-party system, and all our members are perfectly free to support the party of their choice. We deplore the presumption of some politicians ... who undertake to align the Church or its leaders with their partisan views.⁴²

⁴⁰Dean Mann, "Mormon Attitudes Toward the Political Roles of Church Leaders," Dialogue, 2 (Summer 1967), pp. 32-48.

⁴¹In the 1968 State Democratic Primary contest between former State Democratic Chairman Milton L. Weilenmann and then State Attorney General Phil Hansen, many were under the impression that the Church supported Mr. Weilenmann because of numerous unfavorable decisions which Mr. Hansen had delivered against the Church in his position as Attorney General. According to Mr. Hansen, he knows of no written documents which the Church sent out in support of Mr. Weilenmann or against himself. But he is aware of at least eight instances in which bishops, high counselors, and stake presidents spoke against him in L.D.S. Sacrament meetings. Personal interview with Phil Hansen, July 16, 1973.

In the general election of that year, Church leaders took an active stand against the so-called "liquor by the drink" proposition which appeared on the ballot. However, Church spokesmen stated that this was a moral, not a political or partisan issue. More on this subject follows in Chapter IV.

⁴²The Deseret News, January 5, 1963, p. 2 "Church News."

Furthermore, as far as Mormons are concerned, there are reasons which have more influence on their political behavior than their membership in the Church. Among those reasons which they listed as being more important were "duty and discontent."⁴³

Jonas concludes thusly about the role of the Mormon Church in Utah politics:

What, then may one conclude about the position of the Mormon church in Utah politics? After reviewing the elections from 1932 to 1938, this writer stated in 1940 that 'although much in spirit from the period 1847 to 1896 has survived in political forms and practices, one fact is clear to the more than casual observer; the influence of the Mormon Church in the politics of Utah, from the standpoint of effective pressure, is at the moment mostly a myth.' After World War II it stepped up its interests in politics, with some successes and several setbacks. Because of reverses, in this period one may conclude that its alleged control was still a myth.⁴⁴

⁴³Willis, p. 2.

⁴⁴Jonas, Politics, p. 337.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

A preliminary campus-wide public opinion survey of the students of Utah State University was conducted to measure their attitudes, opinions, and beliefs regarding the "Mormon Monopoly," the "Mormon Myth," and other related topics. This proved to be extremely successful, and the sample and instrument were expanded to encompass the entire state of Utah.

The reasons for surveying statewide instead of just on the campus of Utah State were to obtain a broad cross-section of urban and rural areas; industrial, military, tourist, agricultural bases; and minority and religious orientations, hence the phenomena observed would be representative of the population of the entire state, not just a student population.

After a series of discussions with Dr. Dan E. Jones, Director of the Bureau of Government and Opinion Research at Utah State University, and Dr. Bruce Mayfield, a prominent Utah pollster associated with the University of Utah, it was decided that 600 interviews should be taken within the state. Not only would this provide enough respondents in the various sub-groups to be statistically significant for cross

correlation purposes, but based on a pure random sample, this would yield a 6.0% error at the 95% confidence level.¹

Using data obtained from the Bureau of Government and Opinion Research, the number of interviews required from each area of the state

¹In order to obtain the approximate $\pm 6\%$ tolerated error, a sample size of 600 was deemed necessary to ensure the desired accuracy. This number was arrived at by using a formula suggested by Dr. Dan E. Jones.

The formula recommended by Dr. Jones was developed by Professor Leslie Kish of the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan:

$$n' = \frac{PQ}{(E)^2} \quad \text{and} \quad n = \frac{n'}{1 + \frac{n'}{N}}$$

n' = uncorrected responses needed in the sample

PQ = the parameters of the proportions which are being estimated.
 P must lie in the interval between Q and 1 and $Q = 1 - P$.

E = the amount of variability to be expected from a specific sample size.

n = the corrected number of respondents needed in the sample to insure the variability desired.

N = the size of the population from which the sample is to be drawn.

For more information, see Leslie Kish, Survey Sampling (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), pp. 49-50.

was determined. After reviewing the various sampling techniques, it was determined that a random-systematic sample would be employed.² This was done by obtaining the most recent editions of all telephone directories serving each and every area within the state.³ From this the following procedure was used.

The number of interviews needed from each telephone company service area was determined from the lists obtained from the Bureau of Government and Opinion Research. The total number of listings in each directory was calculated, and the number of interviews needed in a given area was divided into the total number of listings in order to obtain a "skip factor" for each directory. From a list of random numbers, a number which did not exceed the "skip factor" was chosen. This number then served as the starting point, and each successive number needed was arrived at by merely adding the "skip factor" to the previous number.

For example, the telephone exchange serving northern Box Elder County has 2,251 listings.⁴ A total of seven interviews were needed

²Sampling error is based on a pure-random sample. By using a random-systematic sample instead of a pure-random sample, there is a possibility of incurring greater sampling error. However, in order to draw a pure-random sample, it is necessary to have a complete list of all individuals in the universe. Since this would prove to be impractical for this study, it was determined that a random-systematic sample would be utilized. Not only is this an excellent sampling technique, but also it yielded the amount of error which could be tolerated in a study of this nature.

³In 1970 there were 607,700 telephones in Utah, or slightly more than one telephone for every two people living in the state. Also, 85% of all Utah households have listed telephone numbers. Sources: Utah Facts, Bureau of Economic and Business Research Center for Economic and Community Development (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1970), p. ix-4. Also, refer to District Headquarters Office, Mountain Bell, Ogden, Utah.

⁴1973-1974 Edition Bear River Valley Exchange (Northern Box Elder County) Utah Telephone Company.

from this service area. Hence, you divide seven, the number of interviews needed, into 2,251, the total number of listings, and you get 750. The number "750" is your "skip factor." By using a "skip factor" you are assured of obtaining numbers from all sections of the telephone directory.

Then from a list of random numbers, a number which did not exceed 750 was chosen. In this particular case, the number selected was 194. Thus, the 194th listing in the directory was the starting point. There was only one exception to this procedure: if the 194th listing happened to be a commercial number, then the first non-commercial number which followed the designated listing was selected as the starting point. To obtain the second listing the number "750," the "skip factor" was added to 194. Thus, the 196th listing was the second household to be called. The sample size was inflated by 10% in order to take into account people not at home, people who refused to answer, numbers not in service, and other related problems.

The instrument designed was evaluated and critiqued by some faculty members and fellow classmates at Utah State University. After revision it was pre-tested, then administered to 200 students of U.S.U. who represented a fair cross-section of all colleges and class rankings. The results of the pre-test were extremely useful, only a few minor elements of the instrument were eliminated or modified. Furthermore, the questions elicited responses necessary in testing the hypotheses.

The final instrument contained eighteen structured questions, one open ended question, and nine demographic characteristics. The four

types of questions: fact, opinion and attitude, information, and self-perception were utilized.⁵ Also, several scaling techniques were employed. Two scales developed by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan were used to measure religious and political involvement.⁶ Other less complicated scaling techniques were developed to measure self-perceived political participation and the influence of the Mormon Church on Utah politics. It should be noted that in an exploratory study of this nature, it is difficult to employ established scaling techniques.

Several trained pollsters who had received considerable interviewing experience with the Bureau of Government and Opinion Research were recruited to conduct the telephone interviews. Each interviewer was personally briefed in a training session. During this session, the interviewers were presented with a copy of the instrument, shown how to read it, and how to properly mark each response.⁷

The ballots were coded, key-punched onto I.B.M. computer cards, and a program was then written utilizing the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (S.P.S.S.). The data were read into the Utah State University Computer Center's Burroughs Computer, Model 8-6700, where it was analyzed and the desired statistics were calculated.

⁵See Appendix A.

⁶See John P. Robinson and Phillip R. Shaver's Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes, (Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1969), pp. 583-584.

⁷The author served as the project director of the survey. He was present during the time that all of the interviews were conducted, and all problems which arose were directly dealt with by him.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The objectives of this research were to determine the attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of Utah residents concerning what role, if any, the Church should play in politics; if they believe in the concept of a separation of church and state, whether they feel a separation exists in Utah, and how much influence they perceive the dominant faith of the state has on Utah politics. Thus, one of the major concerns of this study was to draw a sample which was representative of the entire population of the state.

Using information obtained from government,¹ Church,² and private sources, certain characteristics were noted about Utah's residents. These features are compared with the characteristics observed in this study and are listed in Table 1.

The Bureau of Government and Opinion Research at Utah State University uses demographic breakdowns which are similar to those used in this survey, and after comparing statistical data with those of this study, there was little variance between the Bureau's figures and this project's. Thus having briefly described the universe and how the figures

¹Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Nineteenth Census of the United States, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1970 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), tables 12-14, Series I-8, pp. 14-20.

²Personal interview with Grant Ensign, Statistical Clerk, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The figures for the L.D.S. Church are exact, but the others are estimates based upon 1972 U.S. Census projection.

Table 1. Percentage comparisons of demographic data with respect to area, sex, and religion, obtained in this survey with actual data obtained by government, Church, and private sources

Area	Actual Percentages	Survey Percentages
	%	%
Cache-Box Elder	6.8	(7.0)
Weber	11.9	(11.3)
Davis	9.4	(9.3)
Salt Lake County	43.3	(43.8)
Utah	13.0	(13.7)
Southeast	6.9	(6.7)
Southwest	8.7	(8.2)

Sex		

Female	50.1	(51.3)
Male	49.9	(48.7)

Religion		

L.D.S.	72.4	(71.6)
Protestant	9.2	(9.2)
Catholic	7.0	(7.2)
Other	5.0	(5.8)
None	5.0	(5.5)

obtained in this survey compare with the government, church, and private sources, let us turn to the presentation of the survey results.

In the fall of 1968, leaders of the Mormon Church took an active stand against the proposed alcoholic beverage act which, if passed, would have authorized the sale of liquor by the drink in the state. Elder Gordon B. Hinkley, representing the general authorities of the Church, said that this was not "a political issue," but that it was instead "a moral issue."³

It is difficult to determine how much affect the Church's position had on this issue, but when Utah voters cast their votes in the 1968 general election they over-whelmingly turned down the liquor by the drink proposal.⁴

In May of 1973, over four and one-half years after the proposed alcoholic beverages act went down to defeat, Utahns were asked the following questions:

Do you think that religious organizations should become politically involved in moral issues, that is, issues which conflict or agree with their theological teachings?⁵

and,

Do you think that religious organizations should become involved in obvious political issues, that is, issues such as law and order, revenue sharing, and the like.

³Gordon B. Hinckley, "Liquor by the Drink," The Improvement Era, Vol. LXXI, No. 10, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1968), p. 5.

⁴The Salt Lake Tribune claims that the proposed alcoholic beverage act was "a clouded issue" and that factors such as the establishment of bars in neighborhoods, too powerful of a liquor commission, and increased club drinking costs were what brought the measure down to defeat. See page A-1, Column 1, the Salt Lake Tribune, November 7, 1968.

In the voting, 65.2% voted against the proposal, and 34.8% voted for it. Source: Office of Secretary of State, Official Abstract of Election Returns, November 6, 1968.

⁵Church authorities have never clearly defined what a moral issue is. For the purposes of this study, moral issue is defined as an issue which conflicts or agrees with a religious organizations theological teachings. However it is conjecture when something becomes a moral political issue.

When asked if they felt religious organizations should become involved in moral issues, 51.3% said "yes" and 44.0% said "no." Thus, of all the respondents queried, only 7.3% more said "yes" than "no." With respect to church involvement in political issues, only one out of every five surveyed (19.8%) stated that religious organizations should involve themselves. A breakdown of the responses follows in Tables 2 and 3. With respect to the sex, age, area, income, and

Table 2. How Utahns feel about religious organization involvement in moral issues

Responses	Percentage of Totals
	%
Yes (N = 308)	51.3
No (N = 264)	44.0
Don't know (N = 25)	4.2
Refused to answer (N = 3)	0.5
Total	100.0

Table 3. How Utahns feel about religious involvement in political issues

Responses	Percentage of Totals
	%
Yes (N = 119)	19.8
No (N = 440)	73.3
Don't know (N = 41)	6.8
Total	100.0

occupation of the respondents, there was little variance in the responses given to either of the questions under consideration. However, the religious membership and the level of education attained by the various respondents showed some very interesting differences.

Over half of the Mormons and Catholics questioned believed that religious organizations should become involved in moral issues, but over 70% of the remaining categories queried indicated that they should not become involved (Table 4).

Table 4. Opinions by religion regarding religious involvement in moral issues

Religion	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
L.D.S. (N = 427)	59.5	36.3	4.2	100.0
Protestant (N = 20.0)	23.6	70.9	5.5	100.0
Catholic (N = 43)	55.8	44.2	0.0	100.0
Other (N = 35)	22.9	71.4	5.7	100.0
None (N = 33)	24.2	72.7	3.1	100.0

A substantial majority of both L.D.S. and non-L.D.S. respondents agreed that religious organizations should not become involved in political issues. Of those who expressed a desire that they should become involved, there was a greater percentage of Mormons and Protestants than in all of the other groupings (Table 5).

Table 5. Opinions by religion regarding religious involvement in political issues

Religion	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
L.D.S. (N = 427)	20.8	72.4	6.8	100.0
Protestant (N = 55)	20.0	78.2	1.8	100.0
Catholic (N = 43)	14.0	72.0	14.0	100.0
Other (N = 35)	14.3	77.1	8.6	100.0
None (N = 35)	18.2	78.8	3.0	100.0

The more education individuals had received, the more likely they would reply that religious organizations should become politically involved in moral issues. In fact, two out of every three (68.2%) of those who had done post bachelors work said that religious organizations should become involved, yet only two out of every five with an elementary education stated they should. However, the generalizations made about religious involvement in moral issues cannot be made with respect to political issues. In fact, with respect to educational attainment levels nothing conclusive can be illustrated from the data. Tables 6 and 7 illustrate this.

Table 6. Opinions regarding religious involvement in moral issues by education

Educational level	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
Elementary (N = 35)	40.0	45.7	14.3	100.0
High School (N = 250)	42.6	52.2	5.2	100.0
Trade or Bus. (N = 18)	65.1	33.3	1.6	100.0
Some College (N = 175)	57.1	40.0	2.6	100.0
Col. Grad. (N = 98)	61.2	35.7	3.1	100.0
Post Bach. (N = 22)	68.2	31.8	0.0	100.0

Table 7. Opinions regarding religious involvement in political issues by education

Educational level	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
Elementary (N = 35)	20.0	60.0	20.0	100.0
High School (N = 250)	19.2	71.6	9.2	100.0
Trade or Bus. (N = 18)	27.8	72.2	0.0	100.0
Some College (N = 175)	21.1	74.3	4.6	100.0
Col. Grad. (N = 98)	16.3	82.7	1.0	100.0
Post. Bach. (N = 22)	22.8	72.7	4.5	100.0

Those who responded that religious organizations should become involved in moral issues were asked in which specific areas they thought churches should involve themselves. The areas which were more closely tied to distinct theological teachings drew a greater positive response than those areas which were more border-line or political type issues. For example, 94.9% answered that religious organizations should become involved in issues involving birth control, abortion, and family planning. But only 62.5% replied that churches should become involved in issues such as the Equal Rights Amendment for Women (Table 8).

Table 8. Specific areas in which respondents felt religious organizations should become involved

Areas	Percentages of Total Responding That Religious Organizations Should Become Involved in Moral Issues
	%
Liquor by the drink	85.0
Gambling and betting	79.6
Welfare	74.8
Birth control, abortion, and family planning	94.9
Capital punishment	74.8
Equal Rights Amendment for Women	62.5

The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that "Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion."⁷ The Bill of Rights not only applies to the national government, but also they are binding upon the state governments.⁸ Yet, when asked: "Do you believe there should be a separation of church and state?" a surprising 16.3% said "no." However, a vast majority, 80.8% said that there should be a separation. Table 9 gives a breakdown of all the responses given to this question.

Table 9. How Utahns feel about the concept of a separation of church and state

Responses	Percentage of Total
	%
Yes (N = 485)	80.9
No (N = 98)	16.3
Don't Know (N = 17)	2.8
Total (N = 600)	100.0

With respect to the area of the state in which the respondents lived, there was little difference in the responses given, except for the southeast and southwest portions of the state. In these areas people were less positive in their responses regarding a division of church and state.

⁷ John H. Ferguson, and Dean E. McHenry, Elements of American Government (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1958), p. 560.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 456-457.

In fact, over one out of every four surveyed in the southeastern portion said they did not believe in a separation. Table 10 reflects the breakdown by areas of the state to this question.

Table 10. Area breakdown of Utahn's opinions towards the idea of a separation of church and state

Area	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
Cache and Box Elder (N = 42)	83.3	11.9	4.8	100.0
Weber (N = 68)	82.4	13.2	4.4	100.0
Davis (N = 56)	83.9	16.1	0.0	100.0
Salt Lake City (N = 263)	82.5	15.2	2.3	100.0
Utah (N = 82)	80.5	17.1	2.4	100.0
South East (N = 40)	65.0	27.5	7.5	100.0
South West (N = 49)	77.6	20.4	2.0	100.0

As far as political groupings are concerned, there is little difference in the responses given. But a surprising 10% difference surfaced between the male and female respondents to this question. A total of 75.6% of all females responded that there should be a separation of church and state, but in comparison, 86.3% of all males surveyed responded in the affirmative. Table 11 shows the differences in the responses.

Table 11. Difference between sexes towards the belief in a separation of church and state

Sex	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
Male (N = 292)	86.3	12.0	1.7	100.0
Female (N = 308)	75.6	20.5	3.9	100.0

Four out of every five Mormons and Catholics interviewed expressed almost similar responses to this question, but Protestants and those who claimed Other or No Religious Preference overwhelmingly thought that there should be a separation of church and state (Table 12).

Table 12. Variations in responses by different religious groupings to the separation of church and state question

Religion	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
L.D.S. (N = 427)	78.5	18.7	2.8	100.0
Protestant (N = 55)	92.7	7.3	0.0	100.0
Catholic (N = 43)	79.1	18.6	2.3	100.0
Other (N = 35)	85.7	5.7	8.6	100.0
None (N = 33)	90.9	9.1	0.0	100.0

There was no appreciable difference in the responses given to this question by the various age groups. However, the closer an individual was to the 30-40 age group range, the more likely they would respond in the affirmative to the belief there should be a separation of church and state. Of those over 60 years of age, there seemed to be less positive responses to this question.

The lower the educational attainment, the less inclined an individual was to feel that there should be a separation of church and state. In fact, of those who had achieved only an elementary school education, only 57.1% agreed that there should be a separation of church and state, whereas 90.8% of all college graduates responded that there should be a separation.

With respect to occupational groupings, blue collar workers and farmers were not as positive in asserting that there should be a separation of church and state as were the other classifications. Also, the greater the amount of incomes, the more likely the respondent would state a belief in a separation of church and state. The phenomena observed are broken down with respect to education, occupation, and income are given in Tables 12, 14, and 15.

Table 13. Difference in answers elicited by various educational levels to the separation of church and state question

Education	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
Elementary (N = 35)	57.1	34.3	8.6	100.0
High School (N = 250)	74.4	20.8	4.8	100.0
Trade or Bus. (N = 18)	77.8	22.2	0.0	100.0
Some College (N = 175)	89.1	10.3	0.6	100.0
Col. Grad. (N = 98)	90.8	8.2	1.0	100.0
Post Bach. (N = 22)	86.4	13.6	0.0	100.0

Table 14. Occupational breakdown of Utahn's opinions to the separation of church and state question

Occupation	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
Prof. and Bus. (N = 210)	85.7	13.8	0.5	100.0
Clerk and Sales (N = 83)	81.9	16.9	1.2	100.0
Farmer (N = 24)	75.0	20.8	4.2	100.0
Manual and trade (N = 211)	76.3	18.5	5.2	100.0
Student (N = 35)	85.7	14.3	0.0	100.0
Other (N = 32)	84.3	6.3	9.4	100.0

Table 15. Breakdown by income to belief in the concept of a separation of church and state question

Income	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
Under \$5,000 (N = 74)	63.5	29.7	6.8	100.0
\$5,000-10,000 (N = 202)	83.1	13.9	3.0	100.0
\$10,000-20,000 (N = 249)	83.9	14.5	1.6	100.0
Over \$20,000 (N = 52)	90.4	7.7	1.9	100.0

After being asked to express their attitudes, opinions, and beliefs about a separation of church and state, the people surveyed were then asked: "Do you believe that such a separation exists in Utah?" Responses were almost evenly split between the "Yes" and "No" categories. However, because of a large number of "Don't Knows" neither the positive or negative response category received a majority statewide. For a state-wide compilation of all the figures see Table 16.

Table 16. Statewide responses about the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah

Responses	Percentage of Total
	%
Yes (N = 275)	45.8
No (N = 267)	44.5
Don't Know (N = 56)	9.3
Refuse to answer (N = 2)	0.3
Total	100.0

A vast range of responses were given by individuals in the various areas of the state. However, the responses can not be grouped into areas such as Wasatch Front, non-Wasatch Front, or the like. For instance, 51.3% of the people in Salt Lake County felt that a separation does not exist, whereas in Utah County 65.9% said that it does. And in the southeastern and southwestern sections of the state the same discrepancy exists, though not as pronounced (Table 17).

Table 17. Area breakdown of Utahn's opinions about the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah

Area	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
Cache and Box Elder (N = 42)	58.5	35.7	5.8	100.0
Weber (N = 68)	41.1	47.1	11.8	100.0
Davis (N = 56)	50.0	46.4	3.6	100.0
S. L. County (N = 263)	39.6	51.3	9.1	100.0
Utah (N = 82)	65.8	22.0	12.2	100.0
South East (N = 40)	30.0	57.5	12.5	100.0
South West (N = 49)	53.1	36.1	10.2	100.0

The responses given by L.D.S. and non-L.D.S. groupings were varied. However, gentiles were more positive in their assertion that a separation did not exist than were Mormons in their avowance that it did. In fact, a mere majority of Mormons declared that there was a separation, but an overwhelming majority of non-L.D.S. emphatically stated that there was not (Table 18).

Table 18. Variation in responses given by different religious groupings to the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah

Religion	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
L.D.S. (N = 427)	55.5	35.4	9.1	100.0
Protestant (N = 55)	21.8	63.6	14.6	100.0
Catholic (N = 43)	18.6	72.1	9.3	100.0
Other (N = 35)	25.7	65.7	8.6	100.0
None (N = 33)	18.2	75.8	6.0	100.0

There was little difference in the responses of males and females, or of the various income levels, but there was tremendous variance among the various political groups. A majority of republicans felt that a separation of church and state exists in Utah, but independents were fairly split with a large number of undecideds, but a near majority of democrats felt otherwise (Table 19).

Table 19. Breakdown by political party affiliation to the question about the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah

Party	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
Democrat (N = 189)	37.6	49.2	13.2	100.0
Republican (N = 183)	57.4	37.2	5.4	100.0
Independent (N = 201)	45.8	44.2	10.0	100.0
Other (N = 4)	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
Refuse to answer (N = 23)	30.4	56.5	13.1	100.0

As far as educational attainment is concerned, the more schooling individuals had received, the more likely they would feel that a separation of church and state does exist. This generalization is true up to the college graduate level, but then those who have engaged in post bachelors work completely throw this generalization amiss. For they express sentiments which are similar to those with an elementary education (Table 20).

Table 20. Educational grouping run-down to question about existence of a separation of church and state in Utah

Education	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
Elementary (N = 35)	40.0	45.7	14.3	100.0
High School (N = 250)	41.6	45.2	13.2	100.0
Trade or Bus. (N = 18)	44.4	50.0	5.6	100.0
Some College (N = 175)	49.7	43.7	6.6	100.0
College Grad. (N = 98)	54.1	41.8	4.1	100.0
Post Bach. (N = 22)	40.9	54.5	4.6	100.0

The various occupational groupings exhibited a wide variety of responses, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw any generalizations or conclusions about them. A majority of professional, business, clerical, sales, and farmers believed that a separation of church and state did in fact exist in Utah. The manual, trade, and student categories were almost evenly split, but the Other category, whoever they are, really felt that a separation did not exist. The following table (Table 21) depicts this.

Table 21. Difference between occupational groupings answers towards the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah

Occupation	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
Prof. and Bus. (N = 210)	52.6	42.6	4.8	100.0
Clerk and Sales (N = 83)	51.8	38.6	9.6	100.0
Farmer (N = 24)	58.3	25.0	16.7	100.0
Manual and Trade (N = 211)	43.3	46.9	10.2	100.0
Student (N = 35)	45.7	48.6	5.7	100.0
Other (N = 32)	18.8	65.6	15.6	100.0

It is difficult to describe the responses given by the various age and income groupings. The young 18-21 year old set and his over-60 counterpart were less likely to feel that a separation existed, whereas all other age groupings were almost evenly split with a large number of Undecideds. The only exception was that a majority of the 51-60 cluster said that a separation did exist (Table 22).

Table 22. Variations in answers given by different age groups to the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah question

Age	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
18-21 (N = 52)	34.6	55.8	9.6	100.0
22-29 (N = 104)	45.2	47.1	7.7	100.0
30-40 (N = 138)	45.7	47.8	6.5	100.0
41-50 (N = 118)	47.5	41.5	11.2	100.0
51-60 (N = 94)	56.4	35.1	8.5	100.0
Over 60 (N = 89)	40.4	44.9	14.7	100.0

In the various income brackets, a mere majority of the \$5,000-10,000 group expressed that a separation of church and state existed. The under \$5,000 and the \$10,000-20,000 grouping divided almost evenly, but the over \$20,000 set believed that a separation does not exist (Table 23).

Table 23. Income breakdown of Utahns' opinions towards the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah

Income	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
	%	%	%	%
Under \$5,000 (N = 74)	39.2	45.9	14.9	100.0
\$5,000-10,000 (N = 202)	51.0	39.6	9.4	100.0
\$10,000-20,000 (N = 249)	45.0	47.4	7.6	100.0
Over \$20,000 (N = 52)	40.4	53.8	5.8	100.0

When asked: "How much influence do you feel that the predominant faith of this state has on Utah politics?" A majority of Utahns indicated that they felt the Mormon Church had a great deal of influence on Utah politics. Of the remaining total, nearly a quarter of the respondents said that it had a moderate influence. The results of all responses can be noted in Table 24.

A statewide area analysis indicates that a fairly even percentage of northern Utahns feel that the Church has a great deal of influence on Utah politics; however, from Utah County south, respondents were less likely to say that the Church had a great deal of influence and more likely to say that it had moderate or little influence on Utah politics (Table 25).

Table 24. Statewide breakdown of responses given to the question about how much influence the Mormon Church has on Utah politics

Responses	Percentage of Total
	%
Complete influence (N = 24)	4.0
Great deal of influence (N = 308)	51.3
Moderate influence (N = 145)	24.2
Little influence (N = 64)	10.7
No influence (N = 15)	2.5
Don't know (N = 41)	6.8
Refuse to answer (N = 3)	0.5
Total	100.0

Table 25. Area run-down of the various responses given to the question about how much influence the predominant faith has on Utah politics

Area	Complete	Great Deal	Moderate	Little	No	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Cache & Box Elder (N = 42)	0.0	57.1	19.0	11.9	4.8	7.2
Weber (N = 68)	4.4	51.5	22.1	8.8	2.9	10.3
Davis (N = 56)	5.4	50.0	23.2	12.5	7.1	1.8
S. L. County (N = 263)	3.8	55.9	23.6	8.7	1.5	6.5
Utah (N = 82)	1.2	45.1	30.5	13.4	2.4	7.4
South East (N = 40)	10.0	35.0	32.5	2.5	2.5	17.5
South West (N = 49)	6.1	46.9	18.4	22.4	0.0	6.2

There was hardly any difference in the responses given by either of the sexes, but there was great diversity in the replies given to this question by L.D.S. and non-L.D.S. A minority of the Mormons interviewed indicated that the Church had a great deal of influence

on Utah politics, in fact, a considerable percentage of the L.D.S respondents felt that the Church had moderate, little, or no influence on Utah politics. But a majority in all of the non-Mormon categories perceived that the predominant faith had a great deal of influence on Utah politics. Table 26 illustrates the various responses elicited.

Table 26. Variations in the responses given by different religious groupings about the influence of the predominant faith on Utah politics

Religion	Complete	Great Deal	Moderate	Little	No	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%	%	%
L.D.S. (N = 427)	2.8	44.5	29.3	13.3	3.3	6.8
Protestant (N = 55)	3.6	63.6	18.2	3.6	0.0	11.0
Catholic (N = 43)	9.3	76.7	0.0	0.0	2.3	11.7
Other (N = 35)	11.4	57.1	17.1	8.6	0.0	5.8
None (N = 33)	6.1	75.8	12.1	3.0	0.0	3.0

A greater preponderance of younger voters, especially the new voter, tended to think the L.D.S. Church had a greater influence on Utah politics than did older respondents. In fact, the older were more likely to say that the Church had less influence than their youthful counterparts (Table 27).

It is very interesting to note that there appears to be no correlation between party affiliation and attitudes expressed about the influence of the Church in Utah politics. Democrats, Republicans, and Independents tended to respond in nearly the same manner to this question. Also, regardless of the level of educational attainment, nearly two-thirds of

Table 27. Breakdown by age categories towards the question of how much influence the predominant faith of Utah has on its politics

Age	Complete	Great Deal	Moderate	Little	No	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%	%	%
18-21 (N = 52)	1.9	73.1	13.5	7.7	1.9	1.9
22-29 (N = 104)	2.9	63.5	20.2	5.8	1.9	5.7
30-40 (N = 138)	5.8	47.8	26.8	7.2	4.3	8.1
41-50 (N = 118)	4.2	52.5	25.4	7.6	0.8	9.5
51-60 (N = 94)	2.1	45.7	22.5	18.1	3.2	5.4
Over 60 (N = 89)	5.6	34.8	29.2	18.0	2.2	10.2

the respondents in each educational category indicated that the Church had a great deal or moderate influence on the politics of the state. But it is interesting to note that three times as many people with an elementary school education used the "Don't Know" classification as did respondents in the other educational clusters (Tables 28 and 29).

Table 28. Breakdown by party affiliation to the question of how much influence the predominant faith of Utah has on its politics

Party	Complete	Great Deal	Moderate	Little	No	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Democrat (N = 189)	4.8	57.1	19.0	9.0	3.2	6.9
Republican (N = 183)	3.8	51.4	24.6	10.9	2.2	7.1
Independent (N = 201)	4.0	47.8	28.9	10.0	2.5	5.9
Other (N = 4)	0.0	50.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	25.0
Ref. to Ans. (N = 23)	0.0	34.8	21.7	21.7	0.0	21.8

Table 29. Variations in the responses given by difference educational levels to question of how much influence the predominant faith has on Utah politics

Education	Complete	Great Deal	Moderate	Little	No	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Elementary (N = 35)	5.7	45.7	20.0	0.0	2.9	25.7
High School (N = 250)	3.2	45.6	26.0	12.4	3.2	9.6
Trade or Bus. (N = 18)	11.1	50.0	11.1	16.7	5.6	5.5
Some College (N = 175)	2.9	60.6	23.4	8.6	1.1	3.4
Col. Grad. (N = 98)	7.1	53.1	21.4	13.3	2.0	3.1
Post Bach. (N = 22)	0.0	50.0	40.9	4.5	4.5	0.1

With the exception of farmers and students who represent a definite exception from the apparent norm, approximately the same percentage of people engaged in the other occupational categories tended to feel that the Church had a great deal or moderate influence on state politics. The farmers, who were all Mormons and came from the rural areas of Utah, were generally of the opinion that the Church had a moderate or little influence on Utah politics. Whereas the students overwhelmingly replied that the Church had a great deal of influence (Table 30).

There is little difference in the responses given by individuals in the various income groups as to the amount of influence the predominant faith of this state has on its politics. However, it should be noted that in this study, the more individuals made, the more likely they thought that the Church had a great deal of influence on Utah

Table 30. Breakdown by occupation of answers given about the influence of the predominant faith on Utah politics

Occupation	Complete	Great Deal	Moderate	Little	No	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Prof. & Bus. (N = 210)	3.8	50.5	28.1	9.5	3.8	4.3
Clerk & Sales (N = 83)	4.8	56.6	19.3	8.4	4.8	6.1
Farmer (N = 24)	0.0	16.7	37.5	29.2	0.0	16.6
Manual & Trade (N = 211)	4.3	51.2	23.7	11.4	0.9	8.5
Student (N = 35)	2.9	71.4	14.3	5.7	0.0	5.7
Other (N = 32)	6.3	53.1	18.8	3.1	3.1	15.6

politics than their lower income counterparts. The breakdowns of the percentages are given in the next table (Table 31).

Table 31. Income groupings responses by percentages to the question of how much influence the Church has on Utah politics

Income	Complete	Great Deal	Moderate	Little	No	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Under \$5,00 (N = 74)	1.4	44.6	28.4	12.2	0.0	13.4
\$5,000-10,000 (N = 202)	4.0	50.0	24.3	10.9	3.0	7.8
\$10,000-20,000 (N = 249)	4.4	55.4	22.9	10.8	2.4	4.1
Over \$20,000 (N = 52)	7.7	57.7	23.1	5.8	3.8	1.9

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

From a historical perspective there are three discernible periods of Mormon Church influence on Utah politics. The first segment is the pre-statehood period. It was during this time that the Church was actively involved in the political affairs of the territory, much to the ire of the Gentiles. Through the use of national legislative enactments and the appointment of a non-L.D.S. territorial judiciary and executive, Congress and the President were finally able to force the Church out of playing a direct role in Utah politics. Statehood was granted, and both Mormons and non-Mormons hoped that the Utah problem was once and for all settled.

During the second time period, however, the contention that the Church had control of the political process again flared up. Upon the election of Senatorial candidate Reed Smoot, an apostle in the Mormon Church, foes of the Church claimed that Church President Joseph F. Smith controlled Utah politics. Initially, the U.S. Senate refused to seat Reed Smoot, but after a series of long and extensive hearings, Smoot was allowed the privilege of sitting as a member of the Senate. In order for Smoot to be seated, the Mormon Church had to again renounce the former practice of polygamy and give up many of its economic and political activities.

One author claimed that during the 1902-1916 period; "God, the Church, the Republican Party, and Reed Smoot were all on the same side."¹ The 1916 election put an end to this notion, however. In the balloting of that year, Woodrow Wilson and a host of Democrats carried the state. Finally in 1920 the "coup de grace" was inflicted when Heber J. Grant, a leading Mormon Democrat was selected as President of the Church. Grant personally set about de-politicizing the Church. During the 1920's the Church played a somewhat passive role, but towards the end of the decade it stepped up its political activities.

The 1932 electoral defeat of Church-backed candidates Reed Smoot and Herbert Hoover put to an end the allegation that the Mormon Church could dictate the outcome of a Utah election. The ax fell even harder upon this assertion in the 1936 general election. In that election Alf Landon, who had the whole-hearted support of the Church, was overwhelmingly defeated by Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The final historical period extends from World War II to the present. Throughout this time segment, the Church has often attempted to exert influence over the political process, but has met with nearly as many failures as it has successes. Apparent triumphs were the elections of J. Bracken Lee, a non-Mormon, and Wallace F. Bennett over Herbert Maw and Elbert D. Thomas in the 1950 and 1952 elections, respectively. Also, the 1968 defeat of the liquor by the drink proposal is considered to be an apparent success for the Church. Notable defeats have also been

¹Merrill, p. 217.

inflicted upon the Church. Most prominent is the defeat of a proposed state constitutional amendment in 1954 which would have transferred ownership of three state owned junior colleges to the Church.

The purpose of this study, however, is not to add further historical evidences to the role which the Mormon Church has taken in Utah politics. It is instead a contemporary study dealing with the attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of Utah residents concerning what role, if any, the Church should play in politics; if they believe in the concept of a separation of church and state; whether they feel a separation exists in Utah; and how much influence they perceive the predominant faith of the state has on Utah politics.

Involvement in Moral and Political Issues

It was hypothesized that:

Utah residents will perceive that religious organizations should become involved in moral, but not political issues.

This hypothesis was based on the position taken by the Mormon Church in the 1968 general election. During the campaign of that year, Church leaders stated that they felt that the Church and its membership

had an obligation to become involved in the liquor by the drink proposal, for they considered it to be a moral issue.² They also inferred that the Church should not become involved in political issues.³

Since this hypothesis has two major facets, two questions were developed: One dealing with moral issues,⁴ and the other with political issues. The questions were:

Do you think that religious organizations should become involved in moral issues, that is issues which conflict or agree with their theological teachings?

and,

Do you think that religious organizations should become involved in obvious political issues, that is, issues such as law and order, revenue sharing, and the like?

When the six hundred were asked if they thought religious organizations should become involved in moral issues, 51.3% said "yes" and 44.0% said "no." Surprisingly enough, only 7.3% more said "yes" than "no." Thus, the first element of this hypothesis is accepted. But in order to further verify this assertion, it is suggested that additional investigations should be conducted.

²Hinckley, p. 5. Also it should be remembered that this initiative was soundly defeated.

³Ibid.

⁴Moral issues were earlier defined as those issues which conflict or agree with religious organizations theological teachings. As was stated earlier, it is conjecture when some thing becomes a moral or political issue.

Table 32. How Utahns feel about religious organization involvement in moral issues⁵

Responses	Percentage of Total
	%
Yes (N = 308)	51.3
No (N = 264)	44.0
Don't know (N = 25)	4.2
Refuse to answer (N = 3)	<u>0.5</u>
Total	100.0

With respect to church involvement in political issues, seven out of every ten surveyed thought that religious organizations should not involve themselves. Thus, the final element of this hypothesis is accepted.

Table 33. How Utahns feel about religious involvement in political issues

Responses	Percentage of Total
	%
Yes (N = 119)	19.8
No (N = 440)	73.4
Don't Know (N = 41)	<u>6.8</u>
Total	100.0

⁵Table 32 is an exact replica of Table 2 which was presented in an earlier section of this work.

Belief in a Separation of Church and State

The First Amendment to the United States Constitution states that "Congress shall make no laws respecting the establishment of a religion."⁶ Since the concept of a separation of church and state is an integral element of this study, it was decided that Utahns should be queried about this notion. It was thus hypothesized that:

Utah residents will perceive that there should be a separation of church and state.

Testing this hypothesis in the same manner as the first, six hundred Utahns representing a broad cross section of area, religion, sex, age, political party, education, occupation, and income groupings were asked:

Do you feel that there should be a separation of church and state?

This hypothesis was substantiated when almost 81% of all respondents queried said that they believed in the concept of a separation of church and state.

The exact breakdown of all responses is given in the following table.⁷

⁶Ferguson, p. 560.

⁷Table 34 is the same as Table 9.

Table 34. How Utahns feel about the concept of a separation of church and state

Responses	Percentage of Total
	%
Yes (N = 485)	80.9
No (N = 498)	16.3
Don't Know (N = 17)	<u>2.8</u>
Total (N = 600)	100.0

Non-Existence of a Separation of Church and State

In the third hypothesis, it was assumed that:

Utah residents will perceive that a separation of church and state does not exist in Utah.

This hypothesis was tested by asking the respondents "Do you believe that such a separation exists in Utah?" Table 35 shows the percentage breakdown of the respondents answers.⁸

Table 35. Statewide responses about the existence of a separation of church and state in Utah

Responses	Percentage of Total
	%
Yes (N = 275)	45.8
No (N = 267)	44.5
Don't Know (N = 56)	9.3
Refuse to answer (N = 2)	<u>0.3</u>
Total (N = 600)	100.0

⁸Table 35 is the same as Table 16.

Based upon the evidence compiled in the table above, this hypothesis is rejected. The data acquired and presented is indecisive and does not clearly bear out the contention that Utahns would perceive that a separation of church and state does not exist.

Perceived Influence of Mormon Church on Utah Politics

Many historians and political scientists have noted that ever since 1847 the Mormon Church has exerted or attempted to exert influence on the political process of Utah.

It was thus hypothesized that "Utah residents will perceive that the predominant faith of this state has considerable influence on Utah politics."

This hypothesis was tested by asking:

How much influence do you feel that the predominant faith of this has on Utah politics.

Table 36. Statewide breakdown of responses given to the question about how much influence the Mormon Church has on Utah politics.⁹

Responses	Percentage of Total
	%
Complete influence (N = 24)	4.0
Great deal of influence (N = 308)	51.3
Moderate influence (N = 145)	24.2
Little influence (N = 64)	10.7
No influence (N = 15)	2.5
Don't Know (N = 41)	6.8
Refuse to Answer (N = 3)	0.5
Total (N = 600)	100.0%

Based on the fact that over 55% of the respondents believed that the predominant faith had a great deal or complete influence on Utah politics, this hypothesis is accepted. Further credence is added when it is noted that 24.2% perceived that the Mormon Church had moderate influence.

Conclusions

Obviously, some things can and can not be concluded from this study. Certainly, it has been noted that the attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of Mormons differ markedly from those of non-Mormons or gentiles when they are asked questions about the role of the Mormon Church on Utah politics. Even more important, it has been concluded that most Utahns believe that there should be a separation of church and state, but many perceive that such a separation does not exist in Utah. It should be noted, however, that this is not a phenomenon which is unique to Utah, but one that exists in many parts of the world. In fact, where organized religions are allowed to exist, it is almost impossible to have a total separation of church and state. Thus, the age old questions, where does one build the wall of separation between church and state? And how solid should the walls be?

Also, Utahns perceived that churches should become involved in moral issues, but not obvious political issues. But where is the line between moral and political issues, and can a moral issue ever become a political issue?

Furthermore, some historians and political scientists have asked if the Mormon Church controls Utah politics, the Mormon Monopoly assertion. However, it is impossible to use the data obtained in this study to either substantiate or repudiate this claim. But it can be shown that in the minds of the people, both Mormons and non-Mormons, that there is a strong belief in the notion that the L.D.S. Church has a great deal of influence on Utah politics.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire # _____

Pollster's Initials _____

AREA

Cache-Box Elder	1 (42)	7.0%
Weber	2 (68)	11.3
Davis	3 (56)	9.3
Salt Lake City	4	
Salt Lake County	5 (263)	43.8
Utah	6 (82)	13.7
South East	7 (40)	6.7
South West	8 (49)	8.2

Hello, I am a student in the Bureau of Government and Opinion Research at Utah State University. We are conducting a public opinion survey of persons in this area and would like to obtain your opinions about some aspects of Utah politics.

- | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|---------|-------|
| 1. Approximately how long have you lived in this state? | Less than one year | 1 (11) | 1.8% |
| | 1-5 years | 2 (54) | 9.0 |
| | 5-10 years | 3 (45) | 7.5 |
| | 10-20 years | 4 (84) | 14.0 |
| | Over 20 years | 5 (406) | 67.7 |
| 2. How well informed do you consider yourself to be about state and local politics in Utah? | Well informed | 1 (38) | 6.3% |
| | Informed | 2 (83) | 13.8 |
| | About average | 3 (294) | 49.0 |
| | Uninformed | 4 (141) | 23.5 |
| | Very uninformed | 5 (39) | 6.5 |
| | Disinterested | 6 (5) | .8 |
| | Don't Know | 7 | |
| 3. How often, if ever, have you given money bought tickets, or done anything else to help someone who was trying to win a state or local election? | Every campaign | 1 (44) | 7.3% |
| | Nearly every campaign | 2 (43) | 7.2 |
| | Occasionally | 3 (116) | 19.3 |
| | Once or twice | 4 (108) | 18.0 |
| | Never | 5 (287) | 47.8 |
| | Don't know | 6 (1) | .2 |
| | Refuse to answer | 7 (1) | .2 |
| 4. What is your religious affiliation? | L.D.S. | 1 (427) | 71.2% |
| | Protestant | 2 (55) | 9.2 |
| | Catholic | 3 (43) | 7.2 |
| (If answer is no religion or refuse to answer, go to question #9) | Other | 4 (55) | 5.8 |
| | None | 5 (33) | 5.5 |
| | Refuse to answer | 6 (7) | 1.2 |

5. How often, if ever, have you attended religious services or taken part in any of the activities or organizations of your church in the last year?
- | | | |
|--------------------------|----------|-------|
| Once a week or more | 1 (347) | 57.8% |
| Two or three times/mnth | 2 (49) | 8.2 |
| Once a month | 3 (35) | 5.8 |
| Few times a year or less | 4 (75) | 12.5 |
| Never | 5 (63) | 10.5 |
| Refuse to answer | 6 (2) | .3 |
| Does not apply | 7 (29) | 4.8 |
6. Have you ever asked a pastor, priest, rabbi, bishop or other religious leader how you should vote or how he was voting?
- | | | |
|------------------|---------|------|
| Yes | 1 (19) | 3.2% |
| No | 2 (551) | 91.8 |
| Don't remember | 3 | |
| Refuse to answer | 4 | |
| Does not apply | 5 (30) | 5.0 |
7. At a religious service or at a social gathering that is basically religious in nature, have you ever heard a political candidate discussed? (If no, skip to #9)
- | | | |
|------------------|---------|-------|
| Yes | 1 (129) | 21.5% |
| No | 2 (440) | 73.3 |
| Does not apply | 3 (30) | 5.0 |
| Refuse to answer | 4 (1) | 0.2 |
8. What effect, if any, did the discussion have on your final decision?
- | | | |
|--------------------|---------|------|
| Positive influence | 1 (27) | 4.5% |
| Negative influence | 2 (7) | 1.2 |
| No influence | 3 (94) | 15.6 |
| Does not apply | 4 (471) | 78.7 |
| Refuse to answer | 5 | |
9. Do you feel that religious leaders or official church publications should take a public stand on candidates running for office?
- | | | |
|------------------|---------|-------|
| Yes | 1 (135) | 22.5% |
| No | 2 (441) | 73.5 |
| Don't know | 3 (22) | 3.7 |
| Refuse to answer | 4 (2) | 0.3 |
10. Have you ever voted for or against a candidate because he was a member of a particular religious group?
- | | | |
|------------------|---------|------|
| Yes | 1 (38) | 6.3% |
| No | 2 (560) | 93.3 |
| Can not remember | 3 (1) | 0.2 |
| Refuse to answer | 4 (1) | 0.2 |
11. Do you think that religious organizations should become politically involved in moral issues, that is issues which conflict or agree with their theological teachings?
- | | | |
|------------------|---------|-------|
| Yes | 1 (308) | 51.3% |
| No | 2 (264) | 44.0 |
| Don't know | 3 (25) | 4.2 |
| Refuse to answer | 4 (3) | 0.5 |

12. If yes, which of the following areas, if any, would this apply to?
(One or more)
- | | | |
|--|---------|-------|
| Liquor by the drink | 1 (155) | 85.0% |
| Gambling and betting | 2 (137) | 71.6 |
| Welfare | 3 (121) | 74.8 |
| Birth control, abortion, family planning, etc. | 4 (188) | 94.9 |
| Capital punishment | 5 (121) | 74.8 |
| Equal Rights Amendment for women | 6 (80) | 62.5 |
| All of them | 7 (128) | 36.6 |
| None of them | 8 (12) | 2.1 |
| Does not apply | 9 (311) | |
13. Do you think that religious organizations should become involved in obvious political issues, that is, issues such as law and order, revenue sharing and the like?
- | | | |
|------------------|---------|-------|
| Yes | 1 (119) | 19.8% |
| No | 2 (440) | 73.3 |
| Don't know | 3 (41) | 6.8 |
| Refuse to answer | 4 () | |
14. Do you feel that there should be a separation of church and state?
- | | | |
|------------|---------|-------|
| Yes | 1 (485) | 80.8% |
| No | 2 (98) | 16.3 |
| Don't know | 3 (17) | 2.8 |
15. Do you believe that such a separation exists in Utah?
- | | | |
|------------------|---------|-------|
| Yes | 1 (275) | 45.8% |
| No | 2 (267) | 44.5 |
| Don't know | 3 (56) | 9.3 |
| Refuse to answer | 4 (2) | 0.3 |
16. Do you think that a separation of church is good or bad?
- | | | |
|------------|---------|-------|
| Good | 1 (455) | 75.8% |
| Bad | 2 (75) | 12.5 |
| Don't know | 3 (69) | 11.5 |

IF GOOD WHY? 1) Two sep. things (141) 23.5% 2) Shouldn't control (74) 12.3% 3) L.D.S. can't play role (86) 14.3% 4) Const. (22) 3.7% 5) Different goals (42) 7.0% 6) Other (66) 11.0% 7) Don't know (28) 4.7% 8) Does not apply (141) 23.5%

IF BAD WHY? 1) Can't separate (13) 2.2% 2) Better (26) 4.3% 3) Unity (4) 0.7% 4) Mutual support (20) 3.3% 5) Need both (7) 1.2% 6) Don't know (7) 1.2% 7) Does not apply (523)

17. How much influence do you feel that the predominant faith of this state has on Utah politics?	Complete influence_____	1 (24)	4.0%
	Great deal of influence_____	2 (308)	51.3
	Moderate_____	3 (145)	24.2
	Little_____	4 (64)	10.7
	No influence_____	5 (15)	2.5
	Don't know_____	6 (41)	6.8
	Refuse to answer_____	7 (3)	0.5

This ends our formal questioning, now I'd like you to answer a few questions about yourself.

18. Sex:	Male_____	1 (292)	48.7%
	Female_____	2 (308)	51.3
19. Age:	18-21_____	1 (52)	8.7%
	22-29_____	2 (104)	7.3
	30-40_____	3 (138)	23.0
	41-50_____	4 (118)	19.7
	51-60_____	5 (94)	15.7
	Over 60_____	6 (89)	14.8
	Refuse to answer_____	7 (5)	0.8
20. Your usual political party affiliation is:	Democrat_____	1 (189)	31.5%
	Republican_____	2 (183)	30.5
	Independent_____	3 (201)	33.5
	American independent_____	4 --	--
	Other_____	5 (4)	0.7
	Refuse to answer_____	6 (23)	3.8
21. What was the last grade in school that you completed?	Elementary_____	1 (35)	5.8%
	High school_____	2 (250)	41.7
	Trade or Business_____	3 (18)	3.0
	Some college_____	4 (175)	29.2
	College graduate_____	5 (98)	16.3
	Post bachelors_____	6 (22)	3.7
	Refuse to answer_____	7 (2)	0.3
22. (If the respondent is a male ask the following: What is your occupation?) If the respondent is a female and is married ask what her husband's occupation is. If not married, ask what her occupation is. If unemployed, write in	Prof. & Bus. _____	1 (210)	35.0%
	Clerical & Sales_____	2 (83)	13.8
	Farmer_____	3 (24)	4.0
	Manual & Trade_____	4 (211)	35.2
	Student_____	5 (35)	5.8
	Other_____	6 (32)	5.3
	Refuse to answer_____	7 (5)	0.8

22. (Continued)

what they would be doing
if they were employed.
If retired ascertain what
they did before they
retired)

23. Could you tell me which	Under \$5,000	1 (74)	12.3%
broad general category	\$5,000 to \$10,000	2 (202)	33.7
your family income	\$10,000 to \$20,000	3 (249)	41.5
fits into?	Over \$20,000	4 (52)	8.7
	Refuse to answer	5 (23)	3.8

*****THANK YOU*****

VITA

Douglas S. Foxley

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Master of Science

Thesis: Mormon Monopoly or Myth: A Contemporary Study to Determine the Perceived Influence of the Mormon Church on Utah Politics.

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