Deseret's Sons of Toil: A History of the Worker Movements in Territorial Utah, 1852-1896

J. Kenneth Davies

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One cannot but welcome the publication of a book on the history of Utah's labor movement. Whereas the ephemeral United
Order movement has elicited three books and countless journal articles, nothing has been printed dealing solely with the labor movement until the appearance of Professor Davies’ work. Indeed, to the present only four studies on this theme, excepting biographies of particular labor leaders, have been completed: Owen F. Beal’s “The Labor Legislation of Utah” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1922); Dee Scorup’s “A History of Organized Labor in Utah” (M. A. thesis, University of Utah, 1935); Sheelwant B. Pawan’s “An Environmental Study of the Development of the Utah Labor Movement, 1860-1935” (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1968); and J. Kenneth Davies’ “The Development of a Labor Philosophy within The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints” (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1959), the latter leading to the publication of Deseret’s Sons of Toil.

Professor Davies explains in the first chapter that his primary concern is to explain the origins of present-day Mormon attitudes towards unions, having determined in earlier studies that sympathy towards the union movement tends to be inversely proportional to level of activity and office in the Mormon church. Guilds and workingmen’s associations in early Utah, as the author points out, were often organized under Church auspices, and were, of course, comprised almost entirely of Church members, their leadership overlapping considerably with Church leadership.

This harmonious condition prevailed until the 1870s, when gentiles seeking work in the railroad and mining industries began migrating to Utah in substantial numbers. Their efforts to organize put a gentile stigma on labor activities causing Church leaders to view the worker’s movement with a jaundiced eye. At the same time devout Mormons were drawn into the Church-sponsored cooperative and United Order movements, depriving the infant unions of Mormon leadership and throwing control, by default, to gentiles. The brief flourishing of the Knights of Labor in Utah between 1884 and 1887 further alienated Mormon leaders because the organization bore some of the trappings of secret fraternal organizations and some of its members engaged in occasional acts of violence. In back of all these specific grievances was the fact that high wages were destructive of the primary aim of Mormon economic planners—to promote the self-sufficiency of their commonwealth. High wages, created by the demand for skilled workers in a developing economy, already put Utah products at a disadvantage in competition with eastern-made goods. Higher wages could only exacerbate that disadvantage. Moreover, a church
taking as its major aim the building of unity in all aspects of its member's lives and in their society, would naturally be suspicious of any movement emphasizing divisions in society and building itself on promotion of distrust and ill feelings between societal groups.

Despite the fact that both doctrinal and historical developments within Mormonism tended to cast unions in an unfavorable light, some Mormons retained positions of leadership in some labor organizations until the mid-1880s. Typographers, in particular, were under Mormon influence beginning in 1852, when the first annual printer's festival was opened with the singing of "Come All Ye Sons of Zion." From 1852 to the formation of the Deseret Typographical Union Local 115 in 1868 and thence through the mid-1880s, Mormons seldom relinquished control of typesetting in Utah to gentile organization. A major figure in the typesetters was Robert Gibson Sleater, who was official organizer for the American Federation of Labor and a leading figure in Utah Federated Trades and Labor Council and the International Typographical Union. Sleater was successful in balancing loyalties to the Mormon church and the unions he served, faltering only in 1890, when he organized the pro-Mormon Workingmen's Party to draw workers' votes from the non-Mormon Liberal Party in Salt Lake County elections losing temporarily the goodwill of gentile Utah labor leaders. Sleater's continuing prominence in the movement was exceptional however. By the end of the century the secularization of Utah's labor organizations was complete. As the Mormon church leadership abandoned its cooperative aims to throw itself fully into the race for capitalistic profits, union leadership was left fully to non-Mormons.

Professor Davies has described these events in remarkable detail, offering the reader pages of union membership lists, workers' songs, and leaders' speeches. The whole, in fact, is rather over-documented, reading at times like an indiscriminate listing of documents and data rather than a controlled carefully-analyzed distillate of such material. This lack of control is evident in a tendency towards redundancy, as the same materials, sometimes even the same quotations, appear in successive chapters.

The curious cover design—showing a worker in a hard hat—is symptomatic of other problems with the book. There is a tendency to see all early gatherings of workers or demonstrations of self-consciousness among members of crafts or trades as precursors to union movements of the twentieth century. It seems likely that a
guild of the 1850s was fundamentally different from a modern union because the attitude of the workers toward their metier and their sense of the place of that calling in society was fundamentally different. If this were the case, it makes little sense to list early gatherings and organizations except in those cases where continuity and influence can be discerned.

Finally, Professor Davies would seem to have been drawn from his most important potential insights by his concentration upon whether Mormons or non-Mormons had greater influence in the various worker’s organizations. We receive only partial answers to such questions as what were the aims of the movements, how did they go about accomplishing these aims, or how did one type of worker movement lead to others? Workers organizations in the non-Mormon mining and railroading sectors are almost entirely ignored. The typographers, in contrast, are treated at great length, however typical or atypical they may have been. Perhaps most importantly, evidence in the volume itself suggests that union activity in Utah was simply not very important during the period considered. One can hardly escape concluding that the present volume would be much more useful condensed into a single chapter and offered as an introduction to a general study of worker’s movements in Utah.