Brigham Young University

STUDIES

Brigham Young University Studies

A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars

CONTENTS

SUBSCRIBER NOTICE

Zane Grey in Zion: An Examination of His Supposed Anti-Mormonism

Gary Topping

Zane Grey has been singularly unfortunate in his treatment by the literary critics. From the time his books began to hit the best seller lists, critics have persistently attacked his purple prose, his overly romanticized views of the West, his one-dimensional characters, and his formulaic plots.[1] Consequently, Grey's novels survive in academic and literary circles as epitomes of subliterary fantasy unworthy of serious attention. Unhappy with that stereotype of a supposed creator of stereotypes, literary historians have recently reopened the case of Zane Grey vs. the critics. Their findings have not been uncritical, but they generally show that a serious reading of Grey's novels simply will not support the older hostile views.[2]

Not all scholars have accepted this new evaluation of Grey. Among those who have not are Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt, who dissect the "Manichean world" of Grey's *Riders of the Purple Sage* in an attempt to demonstrate a basic hostility on Grey's part to the Mormons.[3] What they carelessly identify as "Manichean" in the novel is an alleged moral dualism between the Mormon community, which is thoroughly evil, and the individualistic gunman Lassiter, who is thoroughly good. Grey thus presents the reader, in their view, with only two extreme alternatives: the totalitarian community, composed of "thousands of dupes and dudes and their handful of unscrupulous leaders," or the individ-

[1] Documentation for that unhappy relationship is abundant. Perusal of *Book Review Digest* since the appearance of *Riders of the Purple Sage* in 1912 can provide a multitude of hostile reviews, especially among the elite literary journals. A summary of unfair criticisms is given in T. K. Whipple, *Study Out the Land* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), pp. 19-29. Grey's own frustrations are best seen in an unpublished essay, "My Answer to the Critics," at Zane Grey, Inc., Pasadena, California, and in a few brief conversations with Hamlin Garland in *Hamlin Garland's Diaries,* ed. Donald Pizer (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1968), pp. 139-41.

[2] Grey still needs a literary critic who will read his novels objectively, as Whipple did. Among those who have been champions of a new deal for Grey, the following merit attention: Carlton Jackson, *Zane Grey* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973); Richard Etulain, "A Dedication to the Memory of Zane Grey 1872-1939," *Arizona and the West* 12 (Autumn 1970):217-20; Danney Goble, "'The Days That Were No More': A Look at Zane Grey's West," *Journal of Arizona History* 14 (Spring 1973):63-75; Gary Topping, "Zane Grey's West," *Journal of Popular Culture* 7 (Winter 1973):681-89, and "Zane Grey's West: Essays in Intellectual History and Criticism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1977); and Joseph L. Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact on American Life and Letters: A Study in the Popular Novel" (Ph.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers, 1975).

[3] Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt, "Community and Isolation: Some Aspects of 'Mormon Westerns,'" *Western American Literature* 8 (Spring and Summer 1973):15-31.

ualism of Lassiter, whose only law is his guns and who refuses even to be married, because a man and wife form a little community.[4]

Arrington and Haupt make three points about Grey's treatment of the Mormons. The first is explicit: *Riders of the Purple Sage* is literarily simplistic. The other two seem to be strongly implied: Grey's view of the Mormons and Mormon-gentile relations is historically inaccurate, and Grey himself was hostile to the Mormons.[5] Although historical veracity is not in itself a valid criterion for literary criticism except where the work also claims to be accurate history,[6] it does seem to be worth noting, since Arrington and Haupt raise the point, that Grey's views of the Mormons are not nearly so simplistic, hostile, or historically inaccurate as they maintain. The point of this essay is that a careful rereading of *Riders of the Purple Sage* and an examination of other evidence on Grey's treatment of the Mormons calls for considerable revision of those conclusions.[7]

Of course *Riders of the Purple Sage,* as Arrington and Haupt point out at some length, fairly drips with anti-Mormon rhetoric, and one could search for some time in Western literature before finding more despicable villains than the Mormon leaders Tull and Dyer. But reasoning from that to the conclusion that Grey was basically hostile to Mormons or even that the basic idea of *Riders of the Purple Sage* is the conflict between community-oriented Mormons and the individualistic gunman presents some serious problems.

The first problem is that Grey is on record in several instances as being an ardent admirer of Mormons. Among the first Westerners Grey met were Mormon cowboys who worked for Col. C. J. "Buffalo" Jones. Praises of their capabilities are scattered

---

[4]Ibid., p. 20.

[5]These ideas are popular stereotypes of Zane Grey. Although it seems obvious that Arrington and Haupt have based their mistaken explication of *Riders of the Purple Sage* on these stereotypes, the validity of my assumption of that does not affect the validity of my argument. My goal is not the refutation of their article, but of the more general stereotypes they seem to accept.

[6]See Don D. Walker, "The Rise and Fall of Barney Tullus," *Western American Literature* 3 (Summer 1968):93-102; "Can the Western Tell What Happens?" *Rendezvous* 7 (Winter 1972):33-47; "Notes toward a Literary Criticism of the Western," *Journal of Popular Culture* 7 (Winter 1973):728-41; and Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (1957; reprint ed., New York: Atheneum, 1965), all of the second essay, especially pp. 73-82.

[7]I still believe Grey's Mormon novels are literarily somewhat unsatisfying, but not for the reasons Arrington and Haupt propose. Mormonism, as other historical topics, presents peculiar literary problems that perhaps make it an unwise choice for an aspiring writer. For examinations of those problems, see Don D. Walker, "The Mountain Man as Literary Hero," *Western American Literature* 1 (Spring 1966):15-25; and especially Neal Lambert, "Saints, Sinners and Scribes: A Look at the Mormons in Fiction," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Winter 1968):63-76.

through the books he wrote about his expeditions with Jones, and one of the Mormons, Jim Emmett, impressed him so much that he later wrote an article about Emmett entitled "The Man Who Influenced Me Most" (see Graham St. John Stott, "Zane Grey and James Simpson Emmett," this issue). Romer Grey, Grey's eldest son, who accompanied his father on many trips through Mormon country, scoffed at the idea that his father intended any ill will toward Mormons; Grey's supposedly anti-Mormon novels merely illustrate, he said, that Grey "knew a good story when he saw it."[8]

In his correspondence, Grey was enthusiastic in his admiration of the Mormons. Preparing for his 1911 trip to Utah during which he did the research for *Riders of the Purple Sage*, he told Mormon guide David Dexter Rust that "I shall not write anything about the Mormons that would hurt anybody's feelings. I simply want to tell of the wonder and beauty of their desert struggle as I see it.... I see them as a wonderful people, and so I shall write of them." Grey was careful to dissociate himself from the anti-Mormon writers of whom he was aware: "If you could read what is being written now in three magazines about the Mormons you would be pleased with my point of view." Ironically, since *Riders of the Purple Sage* was to make him a rich man, Grey argued that his insistence on writing favorably about the Mormons was keeping him poor: "As I will not make any contract with a magazine to roast the Mormons, I'll have to pay my expenses [for the 1911 trip] out of my own pocket. If I wanted to make any such contract I should get $2500 tomorrow for a trip."[9]

The second problem is that Grey wrote pro-Mormon novels as well as anti-Mormon ones, and each of his novels that deals with

[8]On Grey's experiences with Buffalo Jones, see Frank Gruber, *Zane Grey: A Biography* (1970; reprint ed., New York: Signet Books, 1971), pp. 68-77. The books Grey wrote about that trip include *The Last of the Plainsmen* (New York: Outing Publishing Co., 1908) and *Roping Lions in the Grand Canyon* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922). Also relevant is the article "Nonnezoshe," in *Tales of Lonely Trails* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), pp. 3-17. The article on Emmett is in *American Magazine*, August 1926, pp. 52-55. My discussion with the late Romer Grey about the issue of Grey's anti-Mormonism occurred in Pasadena, California, 3 February 1975.

[9]Zane Grey to David Dexter Rust, 4 December 1910; 2 and 15 January and 15 February 1911, Box 4, Folder 7, David Dexter Rust Collection, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Also interesting, but less important, is a letter in which he tells of a Utah trip in 1929: "I saw Blue Valley, a deserted Mormon settlement, remarkable in its isolation, and most inspiring." Grey to "Henry and Bill" (his editors), 5 November 1929, Zane Grey Collection, Brigham Young University Library.

Mormon life at all contains "good" Mormons.[10] *The Heritage of the Desert,* Grey's first actual Western novel, is largely the story of the patriarchal Mormon August Naab, who was inspired by the real-life Mormon Jim Emmett. Naab is the hero, and the Mormon community he dominates is an island of civilization and security in a sea of anarchy created by gunfighters and rustlers. One of the villains in that story is Naab's own son Snap, who is a rebel against the civilized ideals of the Mormon community. *The Man of the Forest* uses four Mormon brothers as secondary characters who help the hero defeat a kidnap attempt.

Even in the seemingly most harshly anti-Mormon novels, Grey uses "good" Mormon characters. In *Riders of the Purple Sage,* it is Jane Withersteen. She remains, in her own eyes at least, a true Mormon to the end, even though she acquires a higher conscience that forces her to resist the Mormon hierarchy. In the sequel, *The Rainbow Trail,* the cowboy Joe Lake (based on the real-life cowboy Joe Lee of "Nonnezoshe") represents a younger generation of Mormons who reject polygamy and the harsh authoritarianism of the older generation. Lake is one who helps rescue the non-Mormon girl Fay Larkin from the Mormon village of plural wives.

Finally, the community vs. isolation formula seems to do scant justice to the complexity of the Lassiter character. Lassiter in fact is the first in a series of Grey's gunfighters who, by the moral complexity of their situation, can provide little support for the idea of Manichean moral dualism in Grey's fiction. Lassiter is a basically good man whom society has driven to a rampage of revenge. He thus exhibits both good and evil qualities: his social relations are normal with everyone but the lustful Mormons who kidnapped and ruined his sister. Lassiter's paradoxical moral composition puzzles Jane Withersteen:

> Good and evil began to seem incomprehensibly blended in her judgment. It was her belief that evil could not come forth from good; yet here was a murderer who dwarfed in gentleness, patience, and love any man she had ever known.[11]

Furthermore, it is difficult to see Lassiter as a nemesis of the idea of community in general. He is merely the enemy of commu-

---

[10]Grey's main "Mormon novels" include *The Heritage of the Desert* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1910); *Riders of the Purple Sage* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1912; reprint ed., New York: Walter J. Black, n.d.); *The Rainbow Trail* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1915; paperback reprint ed., New York: Pocket Books, 1961). Of less importance is *The Man of the Forest* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920). Several other Grey novels contain Mormon characters in inconspicuous roles.

[11]Grey, *Riders of the Purple Sage,* p. 138.

nity constructed according to wrong principles. In fact, Lassiter appears much more strongly in the novel as a harbinger of community than as a destroyer. Lassiter tells Withersteen at one point that he conceives his role to be that of a destroyer of those who hinder the development of civilization in the West, prophesying that "some day the border'll be better, cleaner, for the ways of men like Lassiter."[12] Lassiter may be a bit melodramatic, but he is neither incorruptible nor isolated.

No one, least of all Zane Grey himself, ever claimed that his portrayal of southern Utah in the 1870s was sociologically accurate, any more than one would claim that Melville's white whale is zoologically accurate. The purpose of literature, after all, is to heighten, to generalize, and to intensify in order to achieve truth at another level than mere sociology or zoology.[13] The truth Grey achieves in his Mormon novels is to be found in his dramatization of the kind of psychology that existed in many small, nearly all-Mormon communities when faced with gentile incursions. To the gentile, it was all too easy to see in every zealous bishop an incipient Tull or Dyer; to the Mormon, it was all too easy to see in every scoffing gentile a threat to a divinely ordained social order. Having written *The Heritage of the Desert* to explore the literary possibilities of the theme of brotherly love cutting across creedal boundaries,[14] Grey turned, in *Riders of the Purple Sage,* to the inverse possibility—the bloody consequences of intolerance on both sides. If Grey's "pristine world," then, "is black and white, a world of absolutes,"[15] a view that I have shown must be partly qualified, it is because southern Utah in the 1870s *was,* in the minds of many Mormons and gentiles alike, a world of absolutes.

The notable fact about *Riders of the Purple Sage* is not that Grey emphasizes the intolerant social attitudes of the region but that he points out that moderate partisans on both sides have reasonable complaints and that he shows little sympathy for extremists on either side. The Mormon moderate, Jane Withersteen, is just as exasperated by the simplistic gentile solution represented by

---

[12] Ibid., p. 272.

[13] Critics like Arrington and Haupt seem to have forgotten Aristotle's description of the relationship of literature to reality as expressed in his classic distinction between poetry (literature) and history: "The poet's function is to describe, not the thing that has happened, but a kind of thing that might happen, i.e. what is possible as being probable or necessary. The distinction between historian and poet is ... that the one describes the thing that has been, and the other a kind of thing that might be" (*Poetics,* 9).

[14] That possibility was also rooted in sociological reality. In fact, as I have shown, it was based on Grey's own experience with Mormons.

[15] Arrington and Haupt, "Community and Isolation," p. 20.

Lassiter's guns as she is by the simplistic Mormon response represented by Elder Tull's whip. If the gentiles Lassiter and Venters are driven to become gunfighters by Mormon violence and intolerance, Withersteen points out that Mormons were first driven to it by gentile incursions and threats to the Mormon way of life:

> The men of my creed are unnaturally cruel. To my everlasting sorrow I confess it. They have been driven, hated, scourged till their hearts have hardened. But we women hope and pray for the time when our men will soften.[16]

How then are we to understand Grey's conception of Mormonism? First, I think it is important to note that he had no profound knowledge of Mormon history, theology, or social life, and did not intend to write the ultimate "Mormon novel." Mormons were only one group among many denizens of the West that interested Grey, and the ideas of polygamy and authoritarian government seemed to present good material for a raging Western story.[17] Grey's own copy of the Book of Mormon shows none of his characteristic marginalia found in books that impressed him greatly.[18]

Finally, the only attempt at a concise account of Mormon history and theology in his novels, evidently put forth in all seriousness, is extremely simplistic and inaccurate:

> The first Mormon said God spoke to him and told him to go to a certain place and dig. He went there and found the Book of Mormon. It said follow me, marry many wives, go into the desert and multiply, send your sons out into the world and bring us young women, many young women. And when the first Mormon became strong with many followers he said again: Give to me part of your labor—of your cattle and sheep—of your silver—that I may build me great cathedrals for you to worship in. And I will commune with God and make it right and good that you have more wives.... That is Mormonism.[19]

Secondly, Grey's views of Mormonism were largely determined by his own religion, which, Joseph L. Wheeler points out, "was a

---

[16]Grey, *Riders of the Purple Sage,* p. 13. See also p. 3, where Grey traces the Mormon-gentile conflict back to "the invasion of Gentile settlers and the forays of rustlers."

[17]Grey wrote to his literary agent near the beginning of the series of Mormon novels that "I am feeling fresh and full, and want to write. But I haven't any great desire to write another lion story.... I'd much rather write a big novel, and fill it with the desert, the Mormons, and their relations" (as cited in Kenneth W. Scott, in "*The Heritage of the Desert*: Zane Grey Discovers the West," *Markham Review* 2[February 1970]:11).

[18]It is in the possession of Zane Grey, Inc., Pasadena, California.

[19]Grey, *The Rainbow Trail,* pp. 115–16.

strange combination of Christianity, pantheism, Deism, Oriental religions, and evolutionism." Eventually, Wheeler adds, Grey included other elements as well: "Indian, especially Navajo, nature worship; spiritualism, [Emile] Coue and his self-help, raise-yourself-by-your-own-bootstraps philosophy; psychology; Christian Science; and various other assorted mystical and practical 'isms' or 'ologies.'" Wheeler also quotes a diary entry in which Grey sets forth the general nature of his creed: "The Religion which I would like to follow is embodied in the rule, 'do unto others as you would have others do unto you.' Be unselfish, give as you receive, let others live."[20]

In such a religion, creeds and ecclesiastical organizations are irrelevant or obstructive. Mormonism, with its elaborate theology and ecclesiastical hierarchy, seemed to Grey to be more of a hindrance than a help toward a vital religious life. In *Riders of the Purple Sage,* the only promising alternative to the vicious intolerance between Mormons and gentiles is found in the friendship between little Fay Larkin's mother and Jane Withersteen. It is the only real meeting of the minds across the ecclesiastical barrier, and occurs because of the lack in both participants of a zealous sectarianism. When Withersteen agrees to take Fay and raise her in a Mormon home but without instruction in Mormon doctrine, Fay's mother indicates that a genuine Mormon-gentile reconciliation has taken place: "Because you're a Mormon I never felt close to you till now. I don't know much about religion as religion, but your God and my God are the same."[21] When Lassiter, Withersteen, and Fay Larkin are isolated in the new Eden of Surprise Valley at the end of the novel, the family thus created—a gentile father, a Mormon mother, and a creedless child—symbolize Grey's hope of reconciliation.[22] In *The Rainbow Trail,* Fay's life develops the symbolism even more. Nicknamed "The Sago Lily," she flits about among the crags and crevasses as wild and surefooted as a deer—a truly transcendental child of nature.

---

[20]Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact on American Life and Letters," p. 321. The diary entry is dated 9 September 1906.

[21]Grey, *Riders of the Purple Sage,* p. 79.

[22]My improvised terminology here is an attempt to approximate Grey's thought rather than accepted Mormon usage, according to which both Lassiter and Larkin, as non-Mormons, would be called "gentiles." I call Lassiter a "gentile" because, although Grey does not say so, his anti-Mormonism could have been partly rooted in a creed of his own, besides what the Mormons did to his sister. I call Fay Larkin a "non-Mormon" to emphasize her creedlessness, of which Grey makes a strong point.

Grey's creedless transcendentalism provides a key for explaining other things as well. His Mormon characters generally fit one of two types: the urban Mormons, who are generally dogmatic, authoritarian, polygamous, and unscrupulous; and the rural, transcendental Mormons, who live close to nature and are thus less interested in Mormon or any other theology and live apart from the Church hierarchy. Tull and Dyer of *Riders of the Purple Sage* fit the first group; August Naab of *The Heritage of the Desert* (in spite of his zealous polygamy) and the Beeman brothers of *The Man of the Forest* fit the second. To a certain degree, then, the community vs. isolation dichotomy does help to explain Grey's Mormon novels, but the division is among the Mormons themselves rather than between Mormon and gentile.

There is a temptation when criticizing popular literature to let melodrama obscure complexity. We tend to allow our experience with dime novels and other extremely formulaic literature to blind us to the possibilities of variation, intellectual subtlety, and literary complexity in all popular novels. Zane Grey's novels are no exception. Lassiter, as the prototype of more recent literary gunfighters, and Tull and Dyer, as obvious extensions of older gentile conceptions of Mormons, tempt us to see in them no more than manifestations of those stereotypes. But Grey, for all the shallowness of his understanding of Mormons and Mormonism, was no mindless dualist who saw community or isolation as the only possible alternatives. Instead, he was an imaginative writer who saw, even if he did not fully develop, a potentially great theme in the Mormon-gentile encounter. In his novels about the Mormons, he tried to explore, as thoroughly as his limited skill allowed, the literary possibilities in that theme. Thus it seems unfair, merely because he used a few Mormon villains, to try to force him into the nineteenth century tradition of anti-Mormon polemical writers.[23] Grey is perhaps better understood as standing, however ambiguously, at the beginning of a new tradition of objective, even sympathetic, writing about the Mormons that has culminated in the works of writers like Thomas F. O'Dea and Wallace Stegner.[24]

---

[23]That tradition is set forth in an earlier Arrington and Haupt article, "Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth Century American Literature," *Western Humanities Review* 22 (Summer 1968):243–60.

[24]See Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); and Wallace Stegner, *Mormon Country* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1942), and *The Gathering of Zion* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

Zane Grey and James Simpson Emmett

Graham St. John Stott

The Zane Grey who came West in 1907 was, as he later remembered, "singularly young and boyish in impressionable receptiveness."[1] Because of this, his trip was to shape his career. During his several months in the canyonlands of the Utah-Arizona border, he learned on the one hand to love the awesome beauty of the wilderness, and on the other to love James Simpson Emmett; his responses to both were to provide matter for all the novels about Utah that were to follow.

The significance of the one has been generally allowed since Grey's undisputed love for the Western desert resulted in some beautiful descriptions of Utah and Arizona scenes. But the significance of the other has been missed, even though Grey made several references to Emmett in his books, and, in a 1926 article for the *American Magazine,* referred to the Mormon cowboy as "The Man Who Influenced Me Most."[2] To miss this is to miss a lot about Grey and his fiction, for Emmett was much more to the novelist than the valuable guide and able trail companion who is mentioned in *The Last of the Plainsmen* (1908), *Roping Lions in the Grand Canyon* (1922), and *Tales of Lonely Trails* (also 1922). (Indeed, Grey found his friend to be insufficiently intellectual and flattering to be used on most of his hunting trips in Utah.)[3] Emmett was also more than just the model for August Naab in *The Heritage of the Desert* (1910)—though it is well known that he was that. He was rather, as the principal shaper of Grey's views on the Latter-day Saints, the principal inspiration for all of Grey's novels about life in Mormon Utah. As the first of these (*The Heritage of the Desert*) has been seen as the archetype for *all* of Grey's subsequent novels,[4] and the second—*Riders of the Purple Sage* (1912)—has proved to be one of the most popular Westerns of all time, the Mormon Emmett must indeed be seen as one of the most important influences on Grey's career.

Born 28 July 1850 in a covered wagon on the Mormon Trail,[5] Emmett lived a more than usually active life as a Utah pioneer. When sixteen he left the family home in St. George, and went north to build Fort Hamblin at Mountain Meadows.[6] On 2 April 1872, he married Emma Jane Lay in Santa Clara and (after a trip to the Salt Lake Endowment House) took her to Hamblin.[7] The following year they helped lay out the town. At twenty-eight, Emmett was hired to be Superintendent of the Canaan Cooperative Stock Company;[8] he moved his family to Kanab, purchased fifteen acres of land there,[9] and became involved in church and community affairs. (In 1888 he was on the Board of Trade; in 1889 he was Marshal.)[10] His residency in Kanab was interrupted for six months in 1881, when he served an LDS mission to the "Southern States."[11] It ended in 1891, when he moved to Orderville (about twenty-five miles to the north).[12] Five years later, Emmett moved again, this time to manage Lee's Ferry on the Colorado River for the Mormon Church.[13] The work there was varied. Emmett operated the ferry, of course, and recommended improvements;[14] but he also worked hard to generate a tourist trade in the area,[15] enjoyed the good land of John D. Lee's old farm,[16] and

[5]Grey, "The Man Who Influenced Me Most," p. 52; Hinckley Ward Record of Members, 1913-33, Membership No. 84, Church Archives; Dale L. Morgan, "The Reminiscences of James Holt: A Narrative of the Emmett Company," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 19 (April 1951):163.

[6]St. George [Third] Ward Record of Members, Early to 1905, p. 2, Church Archives; Hazel Bradshaw, ed., *Under Dixie Sun: A History of Washington County* (St. George, Utah: Washington County Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1950), p. 120; *Salt Lake Tribune,* 28 September 1938, p. 13.

[7]Santa Clara Ward Records of Members, Marriages, 2 April 1872; *Salt Lake Tribune,* 28 September 1938, p. 13.

[8]Andrew Karl Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie: The Virgin River Basin; Unique Experience in Mormon Pioneering* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961), p. 243.

[9]Kane County Assessment Roll 1878-80, film copy, Genealogical Society of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[10]Kanab Stake Manuscript History for 9 September and 9 December 1888, and 8 September 1889, Church Archives; diary of James L. Bunting, 1 September 1881, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Elsie Chamberlain Carroll, comp., *History of Kane County* (Salt Lake City: Kane County Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1960), p. 84.

[11]Emmett was set apart 10 October 1887, and returned 25 July 1888, according to the Missionary Record Book B, p. 97, Church Archives; however, he could not have left before 3 December 1887, when he was ordained a seventy (Hinckley Ward Record of Members, 1913-33, Ordination No. 204, Church Archives).

[12]Orderville Ward Record of Members, Early to 1906, p. 31, Church Archives.

[13]Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 5 February 1896, Church Archives; W. L. Rush and C. Gregory Crampton, *Desert River Crossing: Historic Lee's Ferry on the Colorado River* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1975), pp. 54-59.

[14]Journal History for 31 January 1898, p. 2; Rush and Crampton, *Desert River Crossing,* pp. 56-57.

[15]Carroll, *History of Kane County,* pp. 170-71.

[16]There is a description of Lee's Ferry produce in 1889 in Robert Brewster Stanton, *Down the Colorado,* ed. Dwight L. Smith (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 109.

ranged widely as a cattleman and guide. Indeed, he sometimes ranged too far. He was returning (acquitted) from a trial in Flagstaff at which he had been accused of rustling, when he met Grey in 1907.[17]

It was of course no wonder that such a seasoned pioneer of the Mormon frontier should impress Zane Grey. Grey himself listed four ways in which he was affected by Emmett: the Mormon, he told his readers in the *American Magazine,* taught him about bravery, about love for the desert, about kindness to animals, and about endurance—and Emmett could no doubt be discussed under such headings. A more fruitful approach, however, is to see Emmett as a specific inspiration for Grey's Mormon characters: both the heroes and (as an antitype) the villains.

SONS OF THE DESERT

The grounds of Emmett's heroic status were, to Grey, obvious. The Mormon was a "son of the desert"; he had lived his life on the desert and "had conquered it and in his falcon eyes shone all its fire and freedom."[18]

Though such an achievement might seem small enough to us, Grey had never before realized that a man *could* be a son of the desert, or that the desert itself could be an experience as well as a place. Overwhelmed by the idea, he at first just celebrated such men in his letters. "I met some real men," he wrote to Edwin Markham concerning his trip to Utah, "men who live lonely, terrible lives as a matter of course...."[19] (He was thinking of Emmett—the Emmett who, he reported in 1926, had endured "loneliness, hunger, thirst, cold, heat, the fierce sandstorm, the desert blizzard, poverty, labor without help, illness without medicine, tasks without remuneration, no comfort, but little sleep, so few of the joys commonly yearned for by men, and pain, pain, always some kind of pain.")[20] But then Grey realized that he had struck literary gold, and he decided to immortalize Emmett and his kind in fiction.

In 1910 Harpers published his *The Heritage of the Desert*; "a big novel," Grey delightedly called it, one filled with "the desert,

[17]Grey, "The Man Who Influenced Me Most," p. 52; Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah and its National Parks," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (July-October 1944):192-93; Rush and Crampton, *Desert River Crossing*, p. 57.

[18]Grey, *Tales of Lonely Trails* (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1922), p. 57.

[19]Letter of 7 June [1907?] cited in Kenneth W. Scott, *"The Heritage of the Desert*: Zane Grey Discovers the West," *Markham Review* 2 (February 1970):11.

[20]Grey, "The Man Who Influenced Me Most," p. 136.

the Mormons, and their relations."[21] He was thrilled by his achievement. "I have given to the world the Mormons in a *new and better* light," he proudly wrote to a friend;[22] and anyone familiar with contemporary fiction about Utah and the Saints could not help but agree.[23] At the heart of this tribute to the Mormons was Emmett, thinly disguised as the patriarchal August Naab; in a sense it was his novel. He was to have others.

When *The Heritage of the Desert* proved to be enough of a commercial success for Grey to consider a new work, he again thought of Emmett. He published a juvenile-fiction account of his trip to Utah which was partially told from Emmett's point of view[24]—and then he set about writing *Riders of the Purple Sage.* "I think of [the Mormons] as a wonderful people," he wrote of this project to Dave Rust of Kanab, "and so I shall write of them."[25] Before writing the novel he made a trip to Utah, and visited Emmett.[26] And (as we shall see) Emmett influenced the resulting fiction.

When *Riders of the Purple Sage* also proved to be successful (it was publishd in 1912) Grey, knowing that his friendship with Emmett had supplied him with a formula for writing best-selling fiction, proceeded to write novel after novel describing how men came to be sons of the desert. In those which contain Mormon characters (those that concern us here) the debt to Emmett was unmistakable.

Emmett did not look heroic. "He stood well over six feet," Gray remembered, "and his leonine build, ponderous shoulders, and great shaggy head and white beard gave an impression of tremendous virility and dignity."[27] Those are impressive looks, but they are not those of a typical Western hero; Emmett was, after all, fifty-seven years old when Grey met him. Only in *The Heritage of the Desert,* therefore, did Emmett appear as himself—"a gray-

---

[21]Zane Grey to Daniel Murphy, 7 May 1908, in Scott, *The Heritage of the Desert,* p. 11.

[22]Zane Grey to E. D. Woolley, 18 October 1908, Church Archives.

[23]For contemporary virulently anti-Mormon fiction, see Winifred Graham, *Ezra the Mormon* (London: Everett & Company, 1908), and Charles Felton Pidgin, *The House of Shame* (New York: The Cosmopolitan Press, 1912).

[24]Zane Grey, *The Young Lion Hunter* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1911), in which the narrator, Dick Leslie, is part Grey and part Emmett. Emmett also shaped the character of the old plainsman, Hiram Bent.

[25]Grey to Rust, 2 January 1911, Church Archives.

[26]Grey to Rust, 4 December 1910, Church Archives.

[27]Grey, "The Man Who Influenced Me Most," p. 52.

bearded giant."[28] In Grey's other Mormon novels characters are shaped according to Emmett's moral image, not his physique.

That image *was* heroic. Emmett was good, Grey noted, and "he typified all that was rugged, splendid, enduring."[29] He had a "ruling passion forever to minister to the needs of horses, men, and things."[30] His mercy and protection

> extended to the outcast and starved Indians, to wanderers of the wasteland who wandered by the ferry, to cowboys and sheep-herders out of jobs. His gate was ever open. Rustlers and horse thieves, outlaws from the noted Hole in the Wall, . . . hunted fugitives—all were welcomed by Jim Emett. [The spelling of the name varies.] He had no fear of any man. He feared only his God.[31]

These qualities, Grey believed, were the fruits of desert life.

Those Mormons who inhabit the desert world of Grey's novels are, therefore, expected to share those qualities. Usually they do. Trasker, for example (a Mormon farmer in the 1932 *Robbers' Roost*), is kind and hospitable. Quiet, prayerful, he is accustomed "to loneliness and loving men" (p. 278). Joe Lake, "a noble Mormon" and a cowboy in *The Rainbow Trail* (1915), is brave, loyal and "deeply religious" (pp. 372, 94). He puts the welfare of others before his own. The Beeman boys in *The Man of the Forest* (1920) are "the best and most sober, faithful workers on the ranges" (p. 222); reluctant to speak ill of their enemies, they are resolute in defending both their own rights and those of the heroine. And August Naab, the Christlike Mormon of *The Heritage of the Desert* (p. 256), "prays and hopes and sees good and mercy in his worst enemies" (p. 126). Trusting God and man he is ever the Good Samaritan and never fails to succor "the sick and unfortunate" (pp. 134, 2). "Anything hurt or helpless had in August Naab a friend. Hare [the protagonist] found himself looking up to a great and luminous figure, and he loved this man" (p. 59).

For thirty years Grey consistently attributed such qualities to Mormons. Not surprisingly, therefore, this attitude towards the Saints was also sustained in the supposedly anti-Mormon *Riders of the Purple Sage*. In that novel the heroine, Jane Withersteen, is "the incarnation of selflessness" (p. 260), generously charitable to

---

[28]Zane Grey, *The Heritage of the Desert* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1910), p. 1. All quotations from Grey's novels are identified parenthetically within the text by an obvious abbreviation of the title, and the page number (thus, *HD*, p. 1); references are to the Harper and Brothers first editions.

[29]Grey, "The Man Who Influenced Me Most," p. 53.

[30]Grey, *Tales of Lonely Trails*, p. 100.

[31]Grey, "The Man Who Influenced Me Most," p. 54.

gentile and Saint alike (p. 75). She has a "peaceful and loving spirit" (p. 61), she trusts easily, prays readily—and yet will fight for her heritage when stirred. She is, in short, Grey's ideal woman.

Her character, however, is obviously taken from the same mold as the other heroic Mormons in Grey's fiction. In Jane Withersteen, as in the others, Grey recreated Emmett, his tough, compassionate and spiritual Mormon friend.

The toughness should be emphasized. It was something Grey noticed in Emmett as soon as they met. At first he thought that the Mormon and his sons looked tough just because they all packed guns.[32] Soon, however, Grey realized that Emmett's toughness was the result of his life in the wilderness. It was a fierce refusal to yield, which, when linked with a good nature, was the most desirable moral quality of all.[33] It was a wilderness-born responsiveness to the primal urge for life.[34]

Such toughness as seen in Emmett is, not surprisingly, to be found in Grey's fictional good Mormons (we will come to his Mormon villains shortly). Jane Withersteen *discovers* the "hot, primitive instinct to live" (*RPS*, p. 178); it is already found and approved in Mormon cowboys like the Beemans in *The Man of the Forest*, or Mormon wild-horse wranglers, such as Utah in *Wild Horse Mesa* (1924). Somehow, these Mormons resemble the desert (*WHM*, p. 50), and the offer of their companionship forces a man to evaluate his fitness and worthiness for a wilderness life (*HD*, pp. 193, 128).

Grey was not making here a simple identification of Mormonism with the spirit of the desert. When Jane Withersteen responds to that spirit she has to break with her Mormon community; Naab has to risk violating his religion when the heritage of the desert moves him to avenge his murdered sons. Mormonism, however, was what made the response to the wilderness possible for these characters (and for Emmett): it had brought them to Utah, and though it had molded them in its own ways, it had also molded them "in the flaming furnace of [the desert's] fiery life" (*HD*, p. 253). It consequently deserved respect. Grey was not, therefore, just interested in Mormon history as a source of "wild adventures"[35] (though they certainly did appeal to him). He saw in the Mormon story "the wonder and beauty of a desert

[32]Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 12 April 1907, in Gruber, *Zane Grey*, p. 69.
[33]Grey, "The Man Who Influenced Me Most," p. 136.
[34]Grey, "What the Desert Means to Me," *American Magazine* 98 (November 1924):6.
[35]Grey to Rust, 2 January 1911, Church Archives.

struggle"[36] and, without being an advocate for LDS theology, he could sympathize with and admire the Saints as they struggled to live on the ranges of southern Utah. It was of course in Emmett, whom he saw as a modern Ulysses, that Grey found the grounds of his belief that this struggle was worthwhile.[37]

MORMON-GENTILE CONFLICT

The degree to which Emmett helped Grey see the Mormons as at least potential heroes can be seen in the novelist's handling of Mormon-gentile conflict. He is (because of Emmett) consistently on the Mormon side, consistently prepared to see the Saints as long-suffering and much abused.

In the historical conflict between the two groups there had been violence. As early as 1881 Mormon springs along the Little Colorado had been jumped as a "reign of terror throughout the mountains" worked itself out.[38] Then, in 1883, in both Utah and Arizona, gentile cattle companies started to move in on Mormon land. At Verdure, for example, riders gave the settlers ten days to move out.[39] At Monticello the cattlemen diverted the North Fork irrigation water away from the town, and sent out trigger men to ride the ditch.[40] And south of Kanab B. F. Saunders and his Grand Canyon Cattle Company started to put pressure on Jim Emmett. In 1880 Saunders had bought land in Paroshant Valley: within three years his riders were trying to jump Emmett's springs at Cane Beds (on the east of Little Buckskin Mountain),[41] and before long the conflict was perennial. In 1907, for example (the year of Grey's trip to Utah), there were attempts to muscle Emmett out of grazing rights in House Rock Valley, and it was a matter of public speculation as to whether Charlie Dimmick, Saunders' foreman, would kill Emmett—or Emmett him.[42]

No doubt because Emmett could be so informative, Grey reproduced this violent atmosphere in his fiction. Cheney, in *Stranger from Tonto* (published posthumously in 1956), undersells the

[36]Grey to Rust, 4 December 1910, Church Archives.

[37]Grey, "The Man Who Influenced Me Most," p. 136.

[38]Jesse N. Smith to John W. Young, 2 May 1881, Church Archives.

[39]C. A. Perkins, comp., *Saga of San Juan* (Salt Lake City: San Juan County Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1950), pp. 93-94.

[40]Perkins, *Saga of San Juan*, p. 99; cf. Charles S. Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing along the Little Colorado River, 1870-1900* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973), p. 170.

[41]Andrew Karl Larson, *Erastus Snow: The Life of a Missionary and Pioneer of the Early Mormon Church* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1975), pp. 521-23.

[42]Rush and Crampton, *Desert River Crossing*, p. 57; Grey, "The Man Who Influenced Me Most," pp. 52, 136.

Mormon ranchers and drives his herds through their land (p. 184). Herrick, in *Robbers' Roost,* buys out the Mormon settlers for a pittance, and then brings in gunmen to ride the range (pp. 16, 57, 66-7). And, in *The Heritage of the Desert,* Holderness has his riders move cattle into Mormon territory by blocking some springs and jumping others; they dispute at gunpoint August Naab's land east of Cococino Mountain.

In *Riders of the Purple Sage* the storm cloud of Mormon-gentile conflict is just about to burst. A change had gradually been coming, Grey writes, "in the peace-loving lives of the Mormons of the border. Glaze–Stone Bridge–Sterling, villages to the north, had risen against the invasion of gentile settlers and the forays of rustlers. There had been opposition to the one and fighting with the other" (3). The situation was grim. "Universal gun-packing and fights every day" were approaching the southernmost Mormon village of Cottonwoods (usually identified as Kanab).[43] Saloons, outcasts, and gunmen were beginning to threaten the Mormons' "pastoral" way of life (pp. 127, 4). Almost inevitably, the village "had begun to awake and bestir itself and grow hard" (p. 3).

In all of these novels, it will be noted, Grey sympathized with the Saints as they struggled to keep the desert their own. Emmett's living out of his desert heritage had justified his fictional coreligionists' lives, and given them an opportunity to defend their rights as heroes. His influence on a novelist who was being invited to write anti-Mormon fiction[44] was obviously considerable; sufficient, certainly, to justify Grey's 1926 accolade.

MORMON VILLAINS

As we might expect, not all of Grey's fictional Mormons act well when faced with this gentile challenge. Grey never naively supposed that all men would be purified by the desert; some, he knew, would emerge from the wilderness just as bad as men like Emmett were good. When tested–by the influx of gentiles, say– some were found to fail.

The failure was not their resorting to violence: the hero can respond violently to his challenge, and still have Grey's approval; he is merely being true to the desert. Rather, the failure is shown

---

[43]*Utah: A Guide to the State* (New York: Hastings House, 1941), p. 344; Jay Ellis Ransom, "Mormon Colony on the Paria," *Westways* 45 (December 1953):5.

[44]Grey to Rust, 15 February 1911, Church Archives.

in any action motivated by inadequacy, greed, or lust. Inadequacy, the inability to cope with the demands of Western life, is what makes Belden such a nasty piece of work in *The Young Lion Hunter*. Fired from his job as forest ranger because he was "worthless," he turns to plotting against the gentile who replaced him (p. 109). Greed is what makes merchants, like Jed and Seth Bozeman in *Shadow on the Trail* or Josh Sneed in *Robbers' Roost,* try to "skin the pants off" gentiles who move into town (*RR,* 30); it is also the cause of Harrobin's downfall (also in *Robbers' Roost*). Harrobin, "wholly governed by passion," concerned about the arrival of large numbers of gentiles in the Mormon community of Pine Valley, moves from punitive raids on gentile cattle to large scale rustling for profit—and a summary execution at the gentile hero's hand (p. 148). Lust, finally, is what motivates Grey's most infamous Mormon villains: Bishop Dyer and Elder Tull of *Riders of the Purple Sage.* Dyer proselytes and then kidnaps Millie Erne to bring her back to Utah to be a plural bride (p. 239). Tull, in his desire for Jane Withersteen, becomes "a binder of women, a callous beast who hid behind a mock mantle of righteousness—an' the last an' lowest coward on the face of the earth" (pp. 177-78).

In making such villains out of inadequate, greedy or lustful men, Grey was not attempting to supply his readers with an anatomy of human evil. He had two other purposes in mind. First, he wanted to show that these men had not gone to the bad because of their religion. All of them are clearly condemned for their moral flaws—and not because they are Latter-day Saints. More than that, however, Grey wanted to show that such men were aberrations from the Mormon ideal (thus Dyer and Tull are specifically condemned for betraying "the power and the glory of a wonderful creed" [*RPS,* p. 134]) and, as such, are antitypes of Emmett. Emmett would not have been worthless as a ranger. "It [has] been my good fortune to see many able men on the trail and round the camp fire," Grey recollected in 1922, "but not one of them even approached Emmett's class."[45] Emmett was not greedy: he did not exploit his fellows (rather, Grey reported, he was himself exploited by them);[46] when, some years before, the Emmett brothers had been at the heart of "a nest of cattle thieves" in Kanab,

---

[45]Grey, *Tales of Lonely Trails,* p. 87.
[46]Grey, "The Man Who Influenced Me Most," p. 136.

James Simpson had not been one of them.[47] Nor was Emmett lustful—if his monogamy was anything to go by (and for Grey it probably was).

Because the average reader would not recognize that Grey was finding his Mormon villains wanting by measuring them against a very specific ideal, examples of Emmett-like Mormon virtue are provided in the novels to balance every instance of Mormon vice. Thus, in *The Young Lion Hunter,* as well as the worthless Mormon ranger there are the thoroughly competent Mormon wild-horse hunters (of whom Grey approved).[48] Jane Withersteen[49] and Blake are exemplary Mormons set alongside Dyer and Tull in *Riders of the Purple Sage,* and in that novel's sequel—*The Rainbow Trail*—Joe Luke is a "noble Mormon" (p. 372) who is contrasted with his less scrupulous peers.[50] Trasker's gentle kindness in *Robber's Roost* more than compensates for Josh Sneed's corruption. And if, in *Shadow on the Trail,* the Mormons of Pine Mound are corrupt, those of the White Valley Ranch are not. For a final example— August Naab's love, in *The Heritage of the Desert,* covers a multitude of sins. In short, Grey's respect for the Saints (or at least for Emmett) was such that even when the demands of a good story called for Mormon villainy, good LDS characters were introduced to set the record straight. Admittedly they are often merely token characters; but that Grey should make the gesture of including them may well be another sign of Emmett's tremendous influence upon him.

There is yet one more sign: the way Grey wrote about Mormon polygamy. Privately he condemned it as a system which abused and mistreated women[51]—and Milt Dale reflects Grey's point of view when he remarks "I never could stomach what I did hear pertainin' to more than one wife for a man" (*MOF,* p. 99). And yet Grey goes out of his way to avoid an anti-Mormon

---

[47]Diary of Allen J. Frost, 21 and 23 August and 2 September 1882, and 30 January 1887; Diary of James L. Bunting, 3 and 8 September 1882, Lee Library; Kanab Ward Record of Members, Early, p. 38, Church Archives.

[48]Grey met with two in 1907: *The Last of the Plainsmen* (New York: Outland Publishing Company, 1908), p. 103; cf. *Wild Horse Mesa,* p. 35.

[49]Frank Gruber noted that she is a representative of the good in Mormonism (see *Zane Grey,* p. 89).

[50]Emmett cannot be given all the credit for Luke; one of the cowboys in Grey's party to Rainbow Bridge was the Mormon Joe Lee (see *Tales of Lonely Trails,* p. 11). Lee's identity is uncertain, though I suspect he was Joseph D. Lee (1889-1940) a grandson of John D. Lee. See Manriett Henrie, *Descendents of John Doyle Lee* (Provo, Utah: M. Henrie, 1960), p. 559, for scanty details of his life (and the information that a nephew was named Zane).

[51]Zane Grey to Daniel Murphy, 2 June (no year), quoted in Carlton Jackson, *Zane Grey* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973), p. 51.

tone in novels which contain polygamous characters, as when he deflects criticism of the institution of plural marriage in *The Man of the Forest*. First he allows a joke on the subject. "Wal, my friend," the polygamous Roy Beeman remarks to the single Milt Dale, "you go an' get yourself *one* [wife]. An' then see if you wouldn't like to have two" (p. 99). The joke is feeble, but it is also slightly *risqué*—and by being so it prevents any protests about Mormon lusts from being taken seriously. Grey follows up on this by having Roy perform the marriage when Milt does get himself a wife—a sure sign in this novel's romantic world that polygamy is not to be taken very seriously as a crime.

Even in *Riders of the Purple Sage*, where polygamy *is* a crime (or at least where the Mormon attitude towards women leads to criminal acts), Grey refuses to condemn Mormonism out of hand, and is extremely temperate in his invention of villainy. Gentiles *were* driven out of Mormon communities: Grey could not have escaped hearing that. Tull's threat to horsewhip Venters out of town (the morning after a gunfight) was not, therefore, an extreme reaction to the move of gentile violence south.[52] Mormons sometimes *were* rustlers, as we have seen; a Mormon elder's involvement in cattle stealing, though melodramatic as part of a strong-arm courtship, was hardly without precedent in the real world. Similarly, Dyer's warning that Venters might be hanged or shot—"or treated worse, as that Gentile boy was treated in Glaze for fooling round a Mormon woman" (p. 74), was not a dark fantasy on the author's part. Grey knew that the Mormons were jealous; probably he also knew J. H. Beadle's story of a bishop seizing a rival suitor, having him castrated, and then marrying the distraught girl.[53] Even Millie Erne's tragedy was not entirely improbable. Although there is no reason to believe that the Mormons *kidnapped* their plural wives, in the story of Eleanor McLean marrying Mormon Apostle Parley P. Pratt without troubling to divorce her first husband there is ample evidence that they treated gentile marriage vows in a rather cavalier fashion. "The sectarian priests have no power from God to marry," Eleanor told the New York *World*; "and as a so-called marriage ceremony performed by

---

[52]Grey must have heard of the Mountain Meadows Massacre since Emmett had ranched at Mountain Meadows and Lee's Ferry. For an account of the incident, see Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1950).

[53]J. H. Beadle, *Western Wilds and the Men who Redeem Them* (Cincinnati: Jones Brothers, 1878), pp. 351-53, 360-61.

them is no marriage at all, no divorce was needed."[54] Everything that happened in the novel (excepting the fast riding and fast shooting) was at least nominally credible.

Such moderation in the story line is interesting. Although *Riders of the Purple Sage* does not contain a hint of approval of Mormon polygamy, its criticism could have been much, much worse. Perhaps Grey moderated his bile because he was beginning to think of himself as a historian of the West (in later years he took that role very seriously);[55] certainly he did so because of his respect for Emmett. In Grey's tribute to his Mormon friend (*The Heritage of the Desert*), polygamy could have been condemned, but it was not. Though John Hare declines to convert to Mormonism because of his scruples about plural marriage ("I feel differently from you Mormons—about women," he explains to August Naab), he goes on to say to his polygamous host: "No one could pray to be a better man than you" (p. 294). Such praise trivializes the objection to polygamy—and helps us understand what happens in Grey's subsequent treatments of the theme. Time and again Grey responds to Emmett's spell.

CONCLUSION

Out of respect for Emmett, then, Grey moderated or apologized for Mormon villainy, balanced Mormon evil with good, justified the Saints in their conflict with the gentiles, and created a breed of Western heroes who were sons of the desert like Emmett himself. "I had to love [Emmett]," Grey wrote[56]—and apparently he had to write about him and his way of life over and over again.

As it happened Grey was celebrating a way of life that was past. Even before the first novel had been published Emmett had left his desert home. In 1909, having lost his long fight with Saunders (the LDS Church had sold Lee's Ferry to the Grand Canyon Cattle Company),[57] he took his family to Annabella, purchased land there, and helped to incorporate the town.[58] It was

[54]New York *World,* 23 November 1869. See also Steven Pratt, "Eleanor McLean and the Murder of Parley P. Pratt," *BYU Studies* 15 (Winter 1975):225–56.

[55]T. K. Whipple, *Study Out the Land* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), p. 20.

[56]Grey, "The Man Who Influenced Me Most," p. 136.

[57]Rush and Crampton, *Desert River Crossing,* p. 58.

[58]*Utah Gazetteer and Business Directory* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk, 1914–15); Ruby E. M. Hooker, "Annabella," in *Thru the Years: Sevier County Centennial History* (Richfield, Utah: Sevier County Centennial Committee, 1947), p. 99; James S. Emmett to E. D. Woolley, 14 October 1910, Church Archives.

enough for Grey, however, that such a life had once existed. By the time Emmett died (in Hinckley, in 1923),[59] Grey had published several tributes—direct and indirect—to the man he had loved. Their number, their range, and their typicality amongst Grey's fiction are evidence that Emmett was indeed the man who influenced him most.

---

[59]Hinckley Ward General Record 1923, p. 969.

Mischievous Puck and the Mormons, 1904–1907

Davis Bitton and Gary L. Bunker

From the inception of Mormonism to well into the twentieth century, Mormons and their beliefs were cartooned and caricatured unmercifully. In the twentieth century Reed Smoot's successful senatorial candidacy revived the cartoonists' interest in Mormonism. Did the ensuing cartoons defuse some of the animosity, intensify antipathy, or leave mixed effects? How did the cartoon portrayal of Mormonism during this period compare with the pre-Manifesto representations? An analysis of cartoons from *Puck,* one of the most popular and humorous of the illustrated weeklies in America, which overlapped the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, throws some light on these questions.

By the opening years of the twentieth century Mormonism was no longer the inflammatory public issue it had been in the 1870s and 1880s. The issuance of the Manifesto by President Wilford Woodruff pacified the public ire, at least for a while. To be sure, the local gentile press viewed the Manifesto with skepticism, and Mormon-gentile tension continued in Utah. Still, the Manifesto ushered in a period of relative peace sufficient to secure Utah's statehood in 1896 and to quiet, to some extent, the staccato attacks of the national media that had persisted over the previous half-century. There were exceptions to this mood, of course: the flurry of excitement over the B. H. Roberts case in 1898–1900,[1] the revival of anti-Mormon propaganda around 1910, and, between those dates, the Senate hearings over the seating of Reed Smoot, which extended from 1904 to 1907. All of these and other events in Utah provoked news articles, editorials, and illustrations. Though the popular press was negative enough, it did not generally carry the bitterness of the pre-Manifesto era. It seemed that some of the old venom was spent. Both Roberts and

---

[1]B. H. Roberts was elected in 1898 as a representative from Utah to serve in the United States House of Representatives. However, Roberts' polygamous relations led to his being denied a seat in Congress by a vote of 268 to 50 (see Davis Bitton, "The B. H. Roberts' Case, 1898–1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 [January 1957]:27–46).

Illustration 1

505

Smoot often appeared as clowns rather than as representatives of a sinister, threatening organization. And there was a willingness to indulge some mild spoofing of the Mormons, quite different in tone from the most virulent anti-Mormonism of the preceding century.[2]

One of the most valuable examples of the new strain of pictorial representations of Mormons is found in *Puck,* published in New York since 1877.[3] It had started as a German publication but within a year was appearing in English. Henry Cuyler Bunner produced most of the written commentary, and Joseph Keppler, the founder, did many of the lithographs for the weekly until his death in 1894. "What Fools these Mortals be!" was the motto, and sharp satire the magazine's trademark. It was without peer among the humorous illustrated weeklies of its time, although the *San Francisco Wasp, The Judge,* and *Life* all had their moments.

Puck's earlier representations of Mormonism were not always gentle, although it must be said that other religions were also targets. In 1877 *Puck* published one of its most popular cartoons, irreverently poking fun at Brigham Young's death. Other cartoons invidiously symbolized Mormons as snakes or black crows in Uncle Sam's eagle's nest, and dressed Mormons in Turkish costumes. Such satirical cartoons coupled with slashing political and literary criticism combined to make the magazine popular; its circulation was nearly 90,000 during the nineties, not counting the monthly and quarterly versions that republished the best from *Puck.* As it entered the twentieth century, the magazine was well established, and with a different cast of editors and artists, it was ready to take on the foolish mortals of the new century.

After the turn of the century and within the four year period of the Smoot Senate hearings, fifteen cartoons about Mormons appeared in *Puck.* Ironically, although they were doubtless stimulated by the Smoot publicity, only one of them dealt directly with Smoot. This cartoon, the sole exception to the more tolerant, if condescending, mood of twentieth century *Puck* towards the Mormons, appeared on 27 April 1904 with Joseph Keppler, Jr., as the

---

[2]On the basis of a content analysis of magazine articles Jan Shipps has calculated that the image of Mormonism was still negative during the generation following the Manifesto (see "From Satyr to Saint: American Attitudes Toward the Mormons, 1860-1960," paper presented at the 1973 meeting of the Organization of American Historians). She did not, however, attempt to measure fluctuations within the period with any precision, and her categories did not allow her to recognize treatments that, as we have found, though still negative, were but mild ridicule rather than biting criticism.

[3]See Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885,* 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), 3:520-32.

"What fools these Mortals be"

Puck

OUT IN SALT LAKE CITY.

ELDER HEAPERHOLMES.—He has been tried by the church and found guilty of bigamy.
ELDER HOLIKUPS.—Guilty of bigamy?
ELDER HEAPERHOLMES.—That's the judgment. He's been married only twice.

Illustration 2

cartoonist (see Illustration 1). Keppler's cartoon was closer in spirit to some of the more hostile cartoons of nineteenth century *Puck.* Entitled "The Real Objection to Smoot," it showed the Senator being wound up with a key by the larger, bearded Mormon hierarchy lurking behind the scenes and draped with Polygamy, Mountain Meadows Massacre, Resistance to Federal Authority, Murder of Apostates, Mormon Rebellion, and Blood Atonement. This was not too gentle.

More typical of the period, however, was the spoofing of a polygamy now seen as more amusing than threatening. Even though the cartoonist S. Ehrhart, a prolific contributor to *Puck,* was best known for his caricatures of the apish-faced Irish immigrant and the "light-fingered Negro,"[4] he was just as comfortable with the theme of the much-married Mormon. His approach was the same for all of these minorities. Whether Irish, Negro, or Mormon, the unpopular were deftly reduced to unattractive stereotypes. His first of four Mormon cartoons during the new century was a full-page, color feature on *Puck*'s cover for 20 April 1904 (see Illustration 2). Ehrhart's lighter touch was characteristic of the cartoons about the Mormons which followed in *Puck.*

Cartoons about Mormonism in *Puck* capitalized on the inevitable complexities introduced by polygamy. Two main humorous devices were used: (1) special technological inventions for Mormons and (2) a tongue-in-cheek analysis of human relations within the social structure of polygamy. Let us first look at the inventions.

Inventing special devices for Mormons was not really a new idea. Artists of the previous generation had pictured huge, multiple baby buggies, an automatic bathing and dressing machine for the seemingly countless Mormon children, oversized containers of paregoric for ailing Mormon families, and even decorative porcelain and bric-a-brac in the large, economy, Utah size. On 21 June 1905 *Puck*'s first twentieth century invention for Mormonism appeared—a very fat "Mormoncase Watch for the Utah Jewelry Trade" (see Illustration 3). In its closed position it was like other watches except for its unusual thickness. In its open position out came the portraits of several wives, the last, of course, being the youngest and most attractive.

---

[4]William Murrell, *A History of American Graphic Humor: 1865–1938,* 2 vols. (New York: Cooper Square Publications, 1967), 2:90.

MORMONCASE WATCH FOR THE UTAH JEWELRY TRADE.

Illustration 3

THE AUTOMORMON.
EXPRESSLY DESIGNED FOR FAMILY USE IN UTAH.

Illustration 4

509

The following year saw the conception of three more inventions. The new age of motor cars led the comic artist Louis M. Glackens to create for publication "The Automormon Expressly Designed for Family Use in Utah" (see Illustration 4). A venerable patriarch was at the wheel, while behind in seven rows of seats were enough wives and children to make up a veritable congregation. On the automobile's front was the model name, a most fitting appellation: "The Smoot."

Even cupid could not be content with the old-fashioned bow and arrow in Mormondom. Instead, he now needed a machine gun (see Illustration 5). The poor defenseless man is shown being hit by a whole volley of arrows with a dozen or more women standing behind the rapid-fire weapon. What makes this cartoon interesting is the substitution of the image of anxious Mormon females in pursuit, for the more usual stereotype of the amorous Mormon male. This clever creation appeared 28 March 1906.

The attempt to provide Mormons with new devices continued in the cartoon "Holding Hands in Utah," 22 August 1906, in which the bearded husband manipulates a multiple hand apparatus that reaches out to his various wives (see Illustration 6). Note the proximity of the younger wives to the contented old gentleman and the baleful looks of the older, more remotely positioned spouses. The allegedly favored status of younger wives was a favorite cartoon theme.

The second major strategy of the *Puck* humorists was to concentrate on polygamous human relations. The entire sequence of courting, wedding, and honeymoon and the subsequent problems of marriage were satirically treated. Pestering mothers-in-law, forgetting anniversaries, forgetting family members' names, caring for sick children during the night—these situations which had long been exploited in the comic portrayal of marriage and family life were magnified and given new life by polygamy.

Two cartoons with courtship themes were published in 1906. The first, a full-page color cartoon entitled "Midsummer Night Dreams," which appeared on 25 July, showed various styles of courtship in different cities (see Illustration 7). In proper Boston the couples held hands at a proper distance. In Philadelphia it was a more tender and closer situation, the young man's arm around his sweetheart. In Chicago, where women were thought to be brazen, she was attacking the delighted youth. At the divorce colony in Dakota (the Reno or Las Vegas of 1906), two couples were seated side by side, with an ingenious switching of spouses. Salt
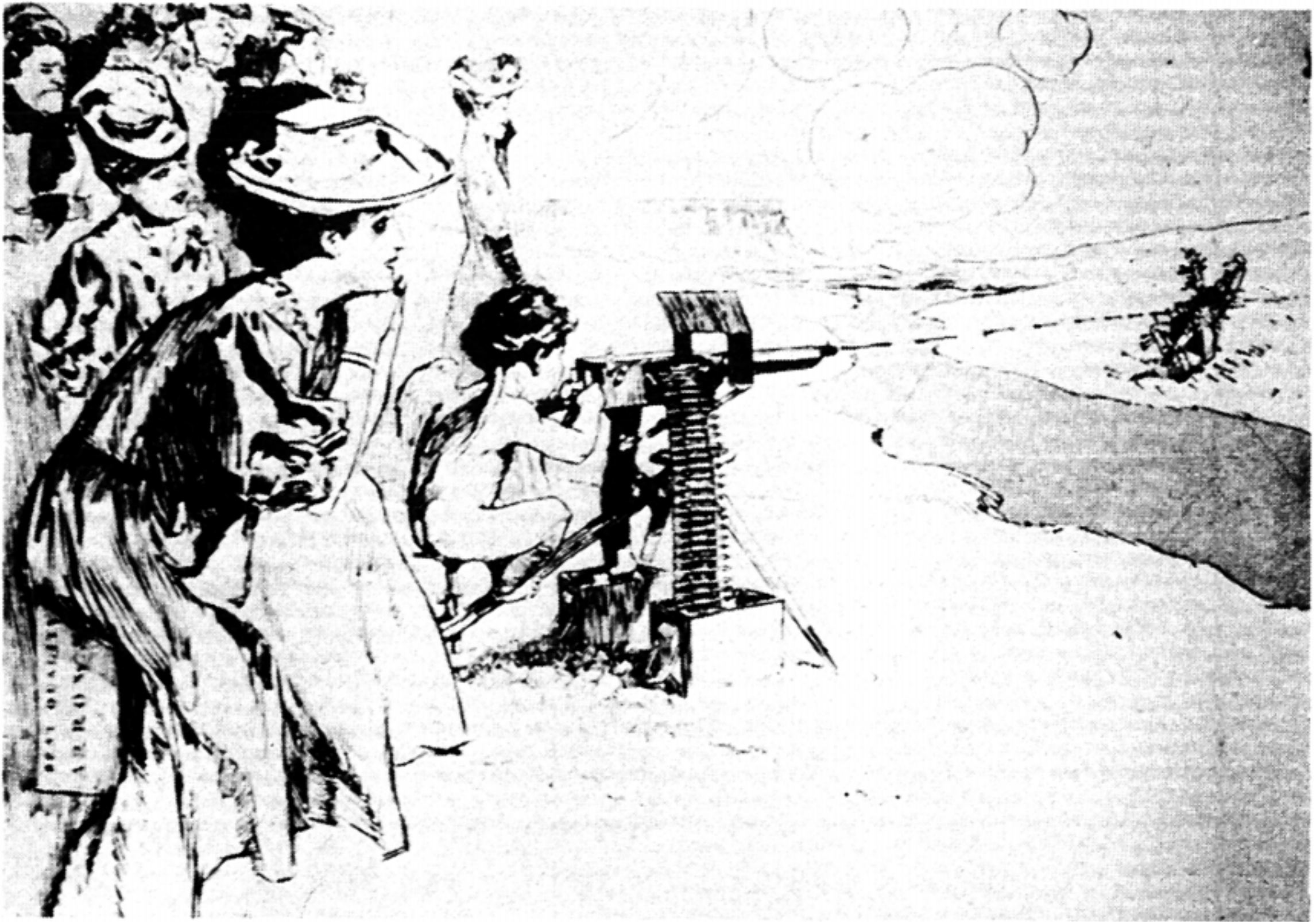
Illustration 5

HOLDING HANDS IN UTAH.

Illustration 6

511

Lake City, not surprisingly, completed the varied picture of "love, American style" by showing the young man being kissed and nuzzled from three sides. A few months later another cartoonist, Albert Levering, chose a proposal scene, portraying a bearded Mormon suitor on his knees assuring his prospective bride, "My dear, there isn't the slightest doubt—twelve can live as cheaply as one."

Courtship, of course, eventually led to the wedding altar. L. M. Glackens (18 April 1906) used this setting to contrive one of the wittiest images in the history of cartooning Mormons (see Illustration 8). There was striking incongruity between the caption—"A Quiet Wedding In Utah: There were present only the immediate families of the bride and groom"—and the drawing, depicting a capacity crowd filling not only the main floor of a large hall, but the two balconies as well. Juxtaposing two incompatible thoughts, verbal and visual, Glackens created what Arthur Koestler has called "bisociative shock," the essence of humor.[5]

If Mormon courtship was sometimes idealized by imaginative illustrators, the images of marriage among the Mormons redressed the imbalance. Even the honeymoon was beset with problems. On 16 May 1906 Fred E. Lewis drew a chagrined, newly-married Mormon couple at the train unexpectedly joined by the husband's other wives, who said, "This makes your fifth wedding trip, Pa; and as we've only had one apiece, we thought we'd come along with you and Tootsie-Wootsie."

The mother-in-law theme was not very original either in general or for Mormons in particular. However, it was then, as now, effective material for the humorist. Ehrhart drew a polygamist husband seated on the porch surrounded by eight attractive, happy wives. Coming up the walk toward the house are several militant, crotchety older women befitting the mother-in-law stereotype. Dropping the newspaper (*The Daily Bigamist*) in amazement, the husband says, "Shades of Joseph Smith! What the ***!!" In "gentle chorus" his wives reply: "Only a surprise for you, dearie. Our mothers have come to spend a month with us" (see Illustration 9).

Another old theme was refurbished and returned to action. Brigham Young had often been the subject of earlier cartoons poking fun at his supposed inability to recognize one of his wives or children.[6] Alexander Graham Bell's telephone, by now a stan-

[5]Arthur Koestler, *The Act of Creation* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 91–92.
[6]For an early version of this theme see *Harper's Weekly*, 21 February 1857: "I am told by an eyewitness of the scene, that Brigham, walking down the street, a few days since, met a little boy re-

MIDSUMMER NIGHT DREAMS.

Illustration 7

513

dard part of American life, supplied a new social context for an old idea. The office boy announced, "Your wife wants you on the phone, sir." The proverbial Mormon, seated at his desk and surrounded by pictures of wives numbers one through eight, answers: "Boy, how many times must I tell you to get the name and number of the person who calls up?" (see Illustration 10). Clutter on the desk and the office floor adds to the negative image.

Thirty years of illustrating Mormons off and on in *Puck* ended with the seating of Senator Reed Smoot in 1907. Three cartoons during the last year of the Smoot hearings put their final touches on the Mormon image. The first, published on 9 January 1907, parodied polygamy by having "Elder Studdorse" invite a friend to his silver, tin, and wooden wedding anniversaries within a two week period (see Illustration 11). The surname Studdorse, borrowed by Ehrhart from one of Albert Levering's earlier cartoons, served as an obvious collective symbol for lust (studhorse), to characterize the stereotyped Mormon behavior pattern. Other Mormon names in the cartoons—Elder Muchmore, Elder Heaperholmes, Elder Holikuss, Mr. Mormondub, Obadiah, Tootsie-Wootsie, and Elder Saltlake—did not carry the same connotation of lust but did help to turn their subjects into figures of ridicule. Similar motives were responsible for the labeling of other minority groups (e.g., Rastus, Aunt Jemima, and Sambo).[7]

On 13 March 1907 J. S. Pughe presented a heavy-set, cane-in-hand, apologetic Mormon male at the door of wife No. 5 at 11:30 p.m. Only in Utah would "Obadiah's" explanation for coming home so late be plausible: ". . . whooping cough, measles, teething, mumps and twins." The final cartoon, inspired by the forthcoming Halloween celebration, appeared on 23 October 1907. With the help of Halloween folklore, Gordon Grant, the artist, saw another chance to make light of polygamy. "On the Halloween night, if one holds up a candle and looks in a mirror, the face of one's future husband or wife will be seen."[8] Sure enough, an eager

---

turning from the mountainside with a few cows, which he had been herding. Struck with something in his appearance, the Prophet stopped and called out, 'Here, sonny! Tell me, now, whose son you are.' The little curly-headed urchin answered, 'Ma tells me I'm Brother Young's son, but you ought to know who I am.' The seer knew not his own child!"

[7] See E. B. Palmore, "Ethnophaulisms and Ethnocentrism," *American Journal of Sociology* 67 (January 1962):442–45; and Wilmoth A. Carter, "Nicknames and Minority Groups," *Phylon* 5 (Third Quarter, 1944):241–45.

[8] Several other variations of this theme were part of the folklore of the day. For example, "If you stand in front of a mirror at twelve o'clock on Halloween, the man you are to marry will look over your left shoulder" (Wayland Hand, ed., *North Carolina Folklore,* 7 vols. [Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1961], 6:599).

A QUIET WEDDING, IN UTAH.

"THERE WERE PRESENT ONLY THE IMMEDIATE FAMILIES OF THE BRIDE AND GROOM."— *Salt Lake Society News.*

Illustration 8

515

Mormon male with candle in hand stood in front of a mirror full of attractive, youthful, female faces. The cartooning of Mormons in *Puck* ended on a familiar theme.

What were the overall effects of mischievous *Puck*? Were Mormon-gentile tensions increased or was there evidence of accommodation? Based in part on a comparative analysis of cartoons in nineteenth century *Puck,* we believe that the effects of *Puck* were mixed. On the one hand, there is evidence of a reduction in tension and a guarded accommodation. On the other hand, there are also elements of apprehension, even hostility, as popularly held stereotypes were distilled in picture form by cartoonists of national stature. Let us first look at the evidence in favor of accommodation.

Twentieth century *Puck* cartoons of Mormons were on the whole less polemical, less serious, and less personal than those of the preceding generation. With the one exception already noted, there was little advocacy of political or social action against the Mormons. Rather than treating the specifics of the Smoot case, these cartoonists were content to deal with the generalized, though mythical, Mormon. This was a significant departure from the explicit support found in many earlier *Puck* illustrations for legislative, executive, and judicial sanctions against the Mormons. If the more light-hearted spirit of the twentieth century cartoons was not necessarily a manifestation of outright goodwill, neither was it as heavy as the humor of the past, which had emphasized some of the more destructive elements of the image of Mormons—the subversive, hostile, autocratic, and lascivious Mormon. Other components of these older stereotypes were perpetuated, though, as a rule, not nearly so blatantly. Mormons were more laughable, more harmless. The Mormon as buffoon was at least to some degree more socially assimilable than the Mormon as Destroying Angel or Danite. Only one personalized, pictorial attack appeared in the pages of the *Puck* of the new century (see Illustration 1), as opposed to several instances in the previous century. A reduction in the number of polemical, serious, and personalized cartoons in twentieth century *Puck* combined with the disappearance in *Puck* of cartoons with Mormon themes after the seating of Smoot, provide some evidence for accommodative concessions by the national press.[9]

---

[9]There is also some possibility that relatively nonhostile cartoons may have inhibited some aggression against the Mormons. Some contemporary empirical evidence supports the general idea (see Robert A. Baron and Rodney L. Ball, "The Aggression-Inhibiting Influence of Nonhostile Humor,"

Illustration 9

IN UTAH.

NEW OFFICE BOY.—Your wife wants you at the 'phone, sir.
MR. MORMONDUR.—Boy, how many times must I tell you to
get the *name* and *number* of the person who calls up.

Illustration 10

517

BLISS IN UTAH.

ELDER SALTLAKE. — Well, brother, this is indeed a ha
onth for you.

ELDER STUDDORSE. — True, brother ; I celebrate my si
edding on Thursday, my tin wedding next Saturday, and
ooden wedding a week from Wednesday.   Drop around.

Illustration 11

But it would be a mistake to consider the new century's caricature of the Mormons in *Puck* as innocuous. Koestler has reminded us that among the indispensable characteristics of most humor is "...an impulse, however faint, of aggression or apprehension," which "may be manifested in the guise of malice, derision, the veiled cruelty of condescension, or merely as an absence of sympathy with the victim of the joke."[10] Inherent in the comic treatment of Mormons was a mood of condescension. Humor continued to set Mormons apart as a distinct cultural (some even suggested racial) species. Such a difference has been the major pretext for prejudice from the beginning of time. To be sure, humor dressed the hostility in culturally acceptable clothing, protecting the creator and the consumer from charges of malicious intent. But what was thought by many to be benign humor, as in the case of the Sambo and minstrel images portraying blacks,[11] was actually profound tragedy. If the cost exacted from Mormons for being so pictured was not so great as for blacks, the dynamics were the same.

Even when the motives of the illustrator were essentially benevolent, the reader would normally extract meaning from the cartoon consistent with his values and experience. Now most people's direct experience with Mormons had been slight, but for several decades they had been bombarded by anti-Mormon images, conditioning them in a tradition of stereotypic thinking. For most people complex categories of thought about Mormons or Mormonism simply were not available. And the cartoon emphasis on cultural peculiarity did not require complex thinking or subtle differentiation; they could be, and doubtless were, read according to the existing simplistic and distorted images of Mormons.

Puck's twentieth century influence was thus a curious mixture of gradual accommodation and the perpetuation of some "time-honored" stereotypes of Mormons. *Puck* amused and entertained thousands in its time. Although some of the humor was first-rate and brought pleasure even to some Mormons, it also brought disgust and pain. Mischievous *Puck* was just that—mischievous.

Journal of Experimental Social Psychology 10 [January 1974]:23-33). Of course, there were significant exceptions to a more accommodative humor, especially at the local level. The Salt Lake *Tribune* was as polemical, serious, and personalized as ever. It was easier then, as now, to be benevolent at a distance. One must also remember the other side of the coin: "A chosen people is probably inspiring for the chosen to live *among*; it is not so comfortable for outsiders to live *with*" (Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971], p. 24).

[10] Koestler, *The Act of Creation*, p. 52.

[11] Cf. Joseph Boskin, "Sambo: The National Jester in the Popular Culture," in Gary B. Nash and Richard Weiss, ed., *The Great Fear: Race in the Mind of America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), pp. 165-85.

"What Crime Have I Been Guilty of?": Edward Partridge's Letter to an Estranged Sister

Edited by Warren A. Jennings

On 4 February 1831, Edward Partridge, hatter, was called to serve as the first Mormon bishop. Revelation said of him that "his heart is pure before me, for he is like unto Nathanael of old, in whom there is no guile" (D&C 41:11). Partridge had been in the Church less than two months, having been baptized by Joseph Smith in the Seneca River at Fayette, New York, on 11 December 1830. Though Partridge could not know this at the time, his expression of conversion (as the following letter proves) drove a wedge between him and many of his relatives.

Partridge was born in Pittsfield, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, on 27 August 1793, the son of William and Jemima Partridge. Apparently he had a number of brothers and sisters; the federal census of 1830 shows that William Partridge, then in his seventies, had residing in his household four males in their twenties and two females in their thirties. At sixteen Edward was apprenticed to a hatter. At twenty he became disgusted with the religious world and for the next fifteen years he was a seeker. Sometime during this period he moved to Painesville, Ohio, where he became a restorationist and a follower of Sidney Rigdon, who baptized him into the Campbellite Church in 1828.

He was prospering at his trade when the first Mormon missionaries stopped in the Western Reserve in the fall of 1830 on their way to Missouri. Partridge was captivated by what he heard and set out with Rigdon for New York to investigate the new religion and its Prophet. He was converted; his religious search was over. He would be an observer and participant in many of the exciting and painful events the Mormons would endure during the next decade: he was tarred and feathered and forced to flee from Jackson County; he saw some of his closest friends and associates expelled or voluntarily withdraw from the Church; he suffered the warfare in Missouri and the ensuing expulsion; and he saw the tragic and tentative beginnings of settlement at Nauvoo before he

---

Warren Jennings is professor of history at Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri.

died from pleurisy on 27 May 1840. But his conviction that he had found the *true* Church never wavered. His obituary in the June 1840 issue of the *Times and Seasons* noted: "His life was one continual exhibition of the sincerity of his religious beliefs, and perpetual evidence of his confidence in a future state of rewards and punishments: in view of which he always acted."

The following letter contains evidence of this faith; it also discloses other aspects of Partridge's life and thought. He was obviously better educated than most of his contemporaries: the grammar and spelling are generally correct (we have left them as they appear in the original); the expression is forceful (much more so when discussing religion than when commenting on mundane matters); and, on one occasion at least, he employs a literary quotation. This letter also illustrates a common proselyting practice of that period (one which was developed perhaps more highly by the Mormons, since they tended to be pleaders, than other denominations which tended toward revivalism) of reasoning from scriptural authority in the fashion of canonical lawyers, "line upon line, precept upon precept."

This lengthy letter was written upon one side of a single sheet of paper which was then folded to make its own envelope. It was composed over a period of days. Begun on October 12, it was not postmarked at Far West until October 30. Though it was addressed to James Partridge, it was intended for Emily Dow, a widowed sister after whom Edward had named one of his daughters. This copy was made from a photostat in the Manuscript Collection, the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

Far West Caldwell Co. Mo. Oct.ᵗ 12th 1837

Dear brother James:

I have directed this letter to you, for fear Sister Emily would not take it out of the office, you will please to see that she has the reading of it. I have no objection to anyones seeing it. I still live where I did when I wrote to you last fall or winter. I expect to move into the village this fall, our town or City is called Far West, it contains about 100 buildings–6 stores, a post office &c. &c. Br. Wᵐ W. Phelps is post master.[1] The town platt has been consecrated in part, and I have the care of it for the benefit of the church. I have reserved a lot or two for you if you want them. I hope that you will come up here, as soon as convenient, and see us, if you cannot make it convenient to tarry here.

Orders have come to this upper country, to raise 1000 Indians, and also 150 or 200 volunteers among the whites, all to go to Florida to fight the Semi-

---

[1]William Wines Phelps (1792–1872), former editor of the *Evening and Morning Star*, was one of the leaders in the move into Caldwell County.

noles, also, of old volunteers one regiment is called to go.[2] The officers of our [county] both civil and military are mostly [brethren]. We are measureably enabled to organize according to the laws of men, thus fulfilling one revelation. If you study law we want you here as a counsellor—we have no lawyer here, by coming here to study, you could be admitted at the bar, much sooner than you can there. The name of our county is "Caldwell". We have not had a frost as yet hard enough to kill pumpkin vines, much of our corn was planted late, and might have been cut down by early frosts; but a kind providence has ordered it otherwise. Corn is from 50 to 50 cts. pr. bush. and flour $4.25 pr hund. here. Wheat is for $1.00 in the settlements. Wages are high. Prospects before us are as good as could be reasonably expected. We are enjoying comfortable health, it is general time of health. I may say that it has been a healthy season. Remember us to our friends. I subscribe myself as usual

<div align="center">your brother</div>

<div align="right">Edward Partridge</div>

<div align="center">Far West, Caldwell Co. Mo. Oct.⁻ 12th 1837</div>

Sister Emily:

Many times I have been impressed upon to write you a letter since I last called upon you, to visit you; but, then, I would think upon the coldness and indifference, yea the insulting manner with which you treated me at that time, and it would so dampen my feelings that I would neglect writing.

But notwithstanding, the neglect shown to me by you, and other of my near relations, I am resolved to write, for this hatred proves the Saviors words true, that, "A man's foes *shall be* they of his own household" or kinfolks [Matt. 10:36]. I here refer you to Matthew 10th Chap. 34th verse, and to the end of the Chap. "He that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward" [Matt. 10:41]. I ask what crime have I been guilty of that I could not be received at all, neither as a Christian, a righteous man, or a natural brother?—I professed to be a disciple of Jesus Christ,—a Christian; and this you was not ignorant of, and yet you could tell me, when I called upon you, to make a friendly visit, that you had sent me word that you did not wish to see me, which, by the by, never got to my ears, or I should not have troubled you.—And further, notwithstanding you profess to be a follower of the meek and lowly Jesus, yet you actually did forbid me talking upon the subject of his Holy religion in your house. Now I ask, what have I done that makes you hate me? I want you to remember that he that hateth his brother is a murderer, and that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him. 1st Epist. of John 3ᵈ—15ᵗʰ.

At the time you forbade me talking upon the subject of Christianity, in your house, I had just quoted, or was quoting, the Saviors words to Nicodemus, where he said "Except a man be born of water, and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" [John 3:5].

As I was not permitted at that time to say any thing upon the subject, I now feel to write upon it. And first, It appears evident that Nicodemus had faith in Jesus; for he testified saying "We know that thou art a teacher come

---

[2] These recruits were under the command of Colonel Richard Gentry and suffered severe losses, including the death of their commanding officer, at the Battle of Okeechobee on Christmas Day, 1837.

<div align="center">522</div>

from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him" [John 3:2]. Notwithstanding this expression of faith, "Jesus answered and said unto him. Verily, verily I say unto thee, Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God" [John 3:3]. Here we discover that it is necessary to be born again to *see* the kingdom of God, and that too when a person has faith in Jesus. The birth spoken of here is evidently the enlightening influences of the Spirit of God, which all are enlightened with sooner or later, who arrive at the years of accountability. The natural birth is coming from darkness to light, so with the spiritual, the person comes from darkness to light.

The natural birth brings, those born, when they can see things as they are, so also with the Spiritual birth; it brings persons into the light of the Spirit, which if followed will guide into all truth. Persons born of the Spirit see things in their true colors; they can now see the kingdom of God, and if they will follow the light of that Spirit they can enter in, and be partakers of the blessings of the kingdom, even an inheritance there. It certainly is one thing to see a kingdom; and an other thing to be a subject of that kingdom. Persons might go in sight of Newyork, or any other place; they also might be much elated, and rejoice much, at what they saw, and yet never enter in, and receive an inheritance there.

The Savior proceeded and showed Nicodemus how a man could enter the kingdom, after he had got in sight of it. "He said Except a man be born of water, and the Spirit; he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" [John 3:5]. The Savior here makes use of a figure that is so plain that none need mistake it. He did not say except a man be baptized by water, and the Spirit; he cannot enter into the kingdom of God, had he said baptized instead of born, there might have been room for cavil; and also mistake.

This was a point of great importance, if the Savior is to be credited, for here was a certain something to be attended to, which if neglected would debar a person from the kingdom of God hence the Savior uses a figure to represent baptism which cannot be denied amounts to emersion. The figure is except a man is born of water: Now to be born naturally is to come forth from a woman, so also to be born of water is to come forth from the water, that is, they must be buried in the liquid grave, even the water. And this agrees with what Paul wrote to his Roman brethren, namely, We are buried with him (Christ) by baptism into death [Rom. 6:4].

Again, We have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall also be resurrected. Rome 6th Chap. [v. 5]. The only conclusion that I can honestly put upon the figures used by the Savior and Paul in the foregoing quotations, is that those who come to years of accountability, must be emersed in and come forth from water, or they cannot enter into the kingdom of God. You probably will now say to me as others have said before you: Then you believe baptism to be a saving ordinance do you? I answer that I believe what Jesus said to Nicodemos was true: And as he said that no man could enter into the kingdom of God without being born of water, and the Spirit, so it must stand; and if you do not like the doctrine, you must blame the Savior and not me; for it is him that hath declared it. I will assure you that if you are filled with the Spirit of Christ, you will not object to what he has laid down as way marks to heaven. I know that there are many, at the present day, who profess to believe, that there are things attached to the religion of Christ,

such as baptism, that are nonessential, or, not essential to salvation. Now, I do not believe that Jesus ever commanded his disciples to do things that were nonessential; and we certainly know, that he commanded them to be baptized all such as believed; and also said that men or adults must be born of water as well as spirit to gain admittance into the kingdom of God. The Savior taught, that men should not live by bread alone, but by every word which proceedeth forth out of the mouth of God [Matt. 4:4].

Now if we ought to live by every word of God, how careful should we be, and see, if we have attended to every word spoken by him who never spoke in vain. I will now tell you, what I believe to be nonessential, and it is that which causes many an honest soul to mourn before God, on accunt of the divisions amongst the professors of religion at the present day, not knowing what the difficulty is, or where it lies; and this is the thing, the teaching of the commandments of men for the doctrines of Christ: the traditions and superstitions of men that clash with the word of God, are the things which are nonessential, and ought to be thrown aside. The Savior cautioned the people to enter into the strait gate. Because, said he, strait is the gate, and narrow the way which leadeth to life, and few there be that find it [Matt. 7:14]. This being the case, how carefull should we be, and search the written word, to see that we miss not the gate, nor any of the way marks? and, surely, there are many pointed out in the New Testament. It is said in the book of Mormon "That repentance and baptism, is the gate by which ye should enter" [2 Nephi 13:20]. The Savior said, "Not every one who saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven" [Matt. 7:21]. So that it is by doing the very things which the Lord requires, that will gain us an admission into the kingdom of heaven. Again, he said to some in his day, These things ye ought to have done, and not leave or have left the other undone [Matt. 24:23]. There are those that do many good works, but leave others which are equally necessary undone.

On the day of penticost, the Apostle Peter preached to the multitude, who had assembled to see, and hear the strange things which had taken place; and while he was preaching, they were pricked to the heart.

What pricked them to the heart? I answer truth. Why did truth prick them to the heart more at that time, than it had done before? (for truth was just as much truth before, as it was at that time:) because God poured out his spirit upon them; and his Spirit convinced them of the truth, and that is one of its offices, to guide into truth; they now believed that Jesus, whom they had crucified, was truly the Christ, the Savior of the world; they were born again, they began to see that Christ was about to set up his kingdom, yea they saw the kingdom of God, and they cried out to the Apostles, men and brethren *what* shall *we* do? [Acts 2:37] Peter who had had the keys of the kingdom of God confered upon him, immediately answered them saying "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost" [Acts 2:38]. We find that those who gladly received his word were baptized, and had the promise of the gift of the Holy Ghost, notwithstanding they had been previously born again, or so enlightened by the Spirit and word of God, as to be enabled to see the kingdom of God.

I have shown the way into the kingdom of God by the Saviors own words, and now, it may be profitable to compare some of his sayings respecting the

kingdom itself. And first: We frequently find, in the testimony concerning Jesus and his sayings, expressions like these, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. The kingdom of God is nigh unto you, &c. &c. The Savior confered the keys of the kingdom of heaven upon Peter. Matt. 16th Chap. 18 & 19 verses. Keys signifies something to lock and unlock with, again, to explain things. When the Savior was about to leave his disciples, it was his will to appoint Peter, to take the lead; and also to confer upon him power to open the door into the kingdom which he was about to set up, or establish, among the children of men; And also power to bring forth the word of the Lord, unto the people; yea to unfold the hidden mysteries of the kingdom of heaven to the inhabitants of that age. There are certain things necessary to establish a kingdom: There must of necessity be a king, and many officers commissioned by the king, to see to the affairs of the kingdom; and there must also be subjects, as well as officers, to form a kingdom. Now we will look at the order of the kingdom of God. Jesus after his resurrection spoke to his disciples, saying "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them &c. Matt. 28th Chap. [vs. 18-19]. Here we have the testimony of the Savior, of the world, that all power both in heaven, and on the earth was given to him; consequently he had power to confer authority on whom he would; and according to the above quotation from Matt.; and also what is recorded in the 16th Chap. of Mark, 15th verse, and to the end of the Chap., he did empower his Apostles to build up the kingdom of God.

In the kingdom of God, there is perfect order to be observed, as we may learn from the 49th verse of the 24th of Luke: For notwithstanding the Apostles were commissioned by the Savior, to go into all the world, and build up the kingdom of God, yet they were commanded to tarry at Jerusalem; till a certain something took place, and that was, they were to be endowed with power from on high, even to be baptized with the Holy Ghost: And then they were to begin their work at Jerusalem, by preaching repentance and remission of sins: And from that starting point in all the world; Luke 24th Chap. 27th verse.[3] Also Acts 1st Chap. 9 first verse.

The Apostles had power to confer authority upon others, for we find that many were set apart for the ministry, and that Timothy in particular, had a certain gift, or gifts bestowed upon him, by the laying on of the Apostles hands. How far this authority was continued in the church, down the stream of time, I am not able precisely to determine; but I have no hesitancy in saying that the authority was lost, by the time the bishop of Rome declared himself universal bishop or pope: And I think almost all protestants will agree with me on this point. And if the church of Rome has lost the authority of God, I ask what authority have the protestants? Surely, they have received what authority they have from the church of Rome. Now if we admit, that the authority of the church of Rome is good, even then the authority of the protestants is not good, for they have been excommunicated from and by the church of Rome, and if it was done by good authority then of course they have no authority to act; so that let the authority of the church of Rome, be either good or bad it leaves the protestants in the same dilemma, having no authority from God, to build up his kingdom. I know that the baptists claim that they are an exception, saying that they have come round, and not through, the church of Rome; but this they cannot substantiate.

---

[3]This is an error. Partridge was referring to the 47th verse.

525

According to scripture the church was to apostatize and go into the wilderness.—And that in the due time of the Lord, he was to set his hand the second time to recover his people.

Now in showing the situation of the world at this time, I do not say that there are not many, who honestly think that they have authority to build up the kingdom of God; and are striving with their might to do it; but their honesty and faithfulness will not give them the power, until they can obtain it in a legal way. To illustrate my idea let us bring up a case in our own government; for instance, a couple wish to get married, they go to a man who is not authorized by law, to solemnize marriage, yet he is equally capable with those who are; they stand up before him, and he repeats the very words that are necessary for a magistrate or clergyman to say to them, yet if they cohabit together they live in adultery according to our law. To confer authority seems to be a very small thing, yet small as it is, it is necessary to the preservation of order, in all good governments. There is two ways to obtain authority to build up the kingdom of God, and they are these, either direct from God, or by the laying on of the hands of those who have authority. The authority from God, I say, has been lost for ages, consequently the religious world have divided, and subdivided untill the sects have become almost innumerable; scarce two individuals among the whole who see, precisely, eye to eye. The prayer of the Savior was, that his disciples might be one. I ask can so many sects ever be one, under so many heads or leaders? I say they surely cannot. Such a diversity of opinions and sects looks very much like a Babylon, and there is a command, in the revelations of John, to come out of her my people, that you be not partakers of her sins, and of her plagues [Rev. 18:4].

Now I say, that God has set his hand the second time to recover his people;—that he has sent forth Angels, and commissioned men, once more, to build up his kingdom. And the Saviors words will be fulfilled, in these last days, where he said "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations and then shall the end come." Matt. 24th Chap. 14th verse. I have now briefly gone through the subject. (I might have enlarged but being confined to a letter, I have necessarily been very short.) I have shown that, in all the religious world, God has not had a kingdom on the earth for ages, untill of late he has commissioned, from on high, men to build up his kingdom again on the earth; and that too for the last time. Lest you may think that I am uncharitable, and would fain damn all who have lived for ages, I will tell you what I believe about it. I believe that all who deal justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God; yea all who live to the light they have, it will be well with them, whether professor or nonprofessor. I also believe that all who wilfully deny the truth, pervert the word of God, love the world more than they love God, or the principles of righteousness, that hate their brethren, and in short all who do not live to the light they have, and continue so to the end of their days, will be damned, whether professor or nonprofessor.

I feel for one resolved to gain heaven, even the third heaven, in the end, if it is at the loss of all things here below; and I would gladly meet you, and all my earthly connexions there; but I cannot even hope to meet *you* there, unless you have a greater regard for me hereafter than you had when I saw you last. We must love God with all our hearts, and our neighbors as ourselves, if we expect to be saved in the kingdom of God. It is a truth that God has one, and

not many ways to save people in his kingdom, and that way is as different from other ways, as the National road differs from other roads;[4] and the way to the kingdom of heaven may be as clearly pointed out, understood, and the difference from others, known as well, by those who are willing to walk therein, as that road is from other roads; and surely that is so plain that a wayfaring man, though a simpleton, can not mistake the way, when once he has gotten into it.

Your testament to me has been such that I cannot fellowship you. Still I regard you as a sister; your unchristian conduct towards me, I hate; and unless you repent, and I learn the fact, I should be under the necessity of passing by, however painful it might be to me, and not call upon you, if I were to pass through the town where you live. I really wish that you had regard enough for me to write me a letter. Although my brothers, and sisters, and blood relations are numerous, yet for near seven years past, I have not received a letter from any of them, save my brother James H.: by this neglect, I learn in some degree the regard they have for me; for did they love me, and believe as they profess to, that I was deluded, led away, and had embraced a false religion, they certainly would try to reclaim me, by showing me my error or at least trying. If you or any of them, will show me that I am in error, that is, have embraced a false religion, I certainly will forsake it, for truth I am resolved to stick to, for I know that that is what I shall need in a coming day; it is that which will remain; the same though the earth should pass away; yea notwithstanding the "wreck of matter and the crush of worlds"[5] take place, the soul that sticks to truth will, like it, remain steadfast and immovable.

I would rejoice if my brothers and sisters would carry on a friendly correspondence with me, and if we not see eye to eye, in the things of religion, let us try to enlighten each other, that perhaps we may hereafter. Let us follow the spirit of truth; and it will guide us into all truth. Let us examine ourselves carefully and prayerfully, and see if we have hitherto lived by every word of God; and if we find that we have not, let us double our diligence, and be resolved like Joshua of old, "As for me and my house we will serve the Lord" [Joshua 24:15]. Let us remember that it costs just as much to build an house upon the sand, as it does upon a rock; and if we are so unfortunate as to build upon a sandy foundation, surely when the rain descends, and the floods come, and the winds blow and beat upon our house, it must fall, and great will be our loss; yea, it will be an irreparable loss.

I now must draw my letter to a close. What I have written, I have written; and I hope that it may be profitable unto you; I surely have written out of the purest of motives; and with the best of feelings. I will not say by you as you did by me, that you did not wish me to call and see you; but I say this, if you can ever make it convenient to call upon me, I will endeavor to treat you as well as I know how to, and make you as comfortable as my circumstances will permit. If you have ought against me, be good enough to make it known to me, and I will endeavor to make you satisfaction. I now propose the following questions to you, for you to reflect upon, and answer if you feel willing. First, Are you sure, that you are not building your hopes of heaven upon a

---

[4]Begun in 1806 and known as the Cumberland Road, this was the first federally-financed highway. It ran westward from Cumberland, Maryland, to Illinois.

[5]Joseph Addison, *Cato,* Act 5, sc. 1, line 28. "Crush" should read "crash."

sandy foundation? Secondly, Have you no desire to make me some satisfaction, for the way and manner you have treated me? or, (thirdly) are you willing to meet me at the bar of God, with a heart not willing to receive a friendly visit, from me, your natural brother, in this world, on account of my religion? Fourthly, Are you willing to die without being born of water, by being emersed, and that too by one who has authority from God to do it? Fifthly, Do you candidly believe, that I have embraced a false religion? If so, (Sixthly) will you be good enough to show me the true religion of Jesus Christ?

I now feel that I have discharged my duty to you, and whether you heed or not what I have written, I believe that I can go down to my grave in peace, that you will not be able, in the day of judgement, to rise up and condemn me, for not having done my duty to you, while I continue to pray for you: So I bid you farewell

Edward Partridge

Does Family Size Affect Academic Achievement?

Phillip R. Kunz
Evan T. Peterson
Gail W. Peterson

Though increasing modifications of thought and behavior regarding the importance of the family abound in the United States, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has stressed the importance of family life since its inception. In a time when marriage and family solidarity are being questioned as important values by many groups in the social spectrum, numerous Mormon couples have expressed increasing pressures to modify their traditional beliefs and decrease their family size as part of their own personal solution to growing world problems. Not only has government pressure been applied in various parts of the world against larger families, but public magazines and professional journals alike have generally reported the need for small families in contemporary society as an answer to the "population explosion," especially where this concern for space and resources relates to matters of education.

One of the more popular arguments for that stance suggests that children in small families perform better academically because of the intensity of their interaction with their parents. This position argues that intensity of interaction is demonstrated by parental involvement in the child's study, leading directly to higher achievement on the part of the child. It further suggests that with the increase in the number of children comes a diminution of adult-child interaction and subsequently a lower achievement level for the children of larger families.

In a recent article, in which the relationship of family size and the well-being of its members were discussed, James Lieberman indicated that:

> In 1964, the Presidential Task Force on Manpower Conservation found that about 70 percent of Selective Service rejects [came] from families of four children or more, though only 33 percent of the nation's children came from such families. A further breakdown

Phillip R. Kunz and Evan T. Peterson are both professors of sociology at Brigham Young University. Gail W. Peterson, formerly director of the editorial department at BYU Press, now teaches at American Fork High School, American Fork, Utah.

showed that 47 percent of the rejects came from the 11 percent of the children who were members of families with six or more offspring. Interpretation of these results is difficult because large family size and poverty were associated and could not be separated for analysis.[1]

Though Lieberman did point out the inadequacy of the data because proper statistical control of socioeconomic status was not possible, his inclusion of the example above as one demonstrating how family size affects children is not warranted; without such a control the data have little meaning.

Furthermore, we can find conflict even among family researchers who study the effects of family size and intelligence. Joe Wray states that the effects of family size on intelligence, which he reports as an inverse relationship, cannot be justified in terms of social class differerences.[2] But Darwin Thomas in reexamining the same data, concludes that social class does account for the difference.[3] Robert Zajonc suggests that in order to have "brainier children" couples should keep them few and far between.[4] His research has recently been reported widely in the scientific as well as the popular media. He argues that the average intellectual environment decreases as infants join a family. Thus, if the father and mother each have an IQ of 100 and a child is born, the average family IQ would decrease markedly, assuming the child would have only an IQ of 20 or 30 or so. By the time the second child was born, the first child would raise his IQ a bit, but the second child would be born and as a consequence, the average would decrease with each additional child. While his data comes from a large group the additional IQ differences of 100 and 100.5, which he cites as an example, would not be significant.

Other researchers have pointed out that academic achievement is not a function of family size.[5]

---

[1]E. James Lieberman, "A Case for the Small Family," PRB Selection No. 32, The Population Reference Bureau, Inc., Washington, D.C., April 1970.

[2]Joe D. Wray, M.D., "Population Pressure on Families: Family Size and Child Spacing," *Reports on Population/Family Planning,* a publication of the Population Council, August 1971.

[3]Darwin L. Thomas, "Family Size and Personal Welfare: An Analysis of Conformity, Religiosity and Self Esteem," preliminary draft, Washington State University, February 1972.

[4]Robert B. Zajonc, "Dumber by the Dozen," *Psychology Today* 8 (January 1975):37-43.

[5]J. B. Higgins, E. W. Reed, and S. C. Reed, "Intelligence and Family Size: A Paradox Resolved," *Eugenics Quarterly* 9 (June 1962):84; K.F. Kennett and A. J. Cropley, "Intelligence, Family Size and Socio-Economic Status," *Journal of Biosocial Science* 2 (July 1970):227-36; R. B. Cattell, "The Fate of National Intelligence: Test of a Thirteen-Year Prediction," *Eugenics Review* 42 (1950):136; P. R. Kunz and E. T. Peterson, "Family Size and Academic Achievement of Persons Enrolled in High School and the University," *Social Biology* 20 (December 1973):454-59.

Considering the difficulties of arriving at any solid conclusions when faced with such a variety of ideas and interpretations of data, we undertook the following study in an attempt to provide more information regarding this problem. We will examine the relationship of family size and school achievement and, in addition to family size, we will hold constant the effects of socioeconomic status, sex, and church membership.

It may be argued that parents who have few children would not only be able to provide more resources of an economic nature, but would also be in a position to offer more adult-to-child contact, assuming that such adult contact should promote better grades. On the other hand, one may argue that a child who has more sibs will have more interaction with them, including some assistance with school problems, which should then yield higher grades. The truth is that a student with a math problem today may receive little or no help from a parent educated some years ago without the "new math."

We expect that when we examine achievement in terms of grades most of the variance can be explained in terms of social class; that is, larger families are generally from the lower classes and their class position would negatively affect the grades the children receive. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that high schools appear to be oriented toward the middle class (e.g., typically teachers and administrators are recruited from the middle class, or by definition, they are upwardly mobile members of the working class); consequently there seem to be organizational factors inherent in the system that reduce the chances for the lower-class students to obtain good grades.

Sex is reported to be an important factor in explaining differential high school grades. Female students have higher grade point averages than male students; however, males do better than the females in the composite American College Testing Program (ACT) scores.[6] The effect of sex on academic achievement was therefore controlled in this study.

Religion was also controlled in the current study because of the reported religious differences in the areas of motivation and achievement. Donald Light and Suzanne Keller (1975) report differences in the dropout rates by religion and in involvement in higher education, but conclude that the religious differences are not well understood.[7]

---

[6]American College Testing Program, *Technical Report for the ACT Assessment Program* (Iowa City, Iowa: ACT Publications, 1973).

[7]Donald Light, Jr., and Suzanne Keller, *Sociology* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975).

531

We have reported the responses from 2,926 male adolescents and 3,127 female adolescents (N = 6,053) from forty-six different high schools. The sample approximates a cluster sample. (A cluster sample represents data obtained from the boundaries of a series of randomly selected geographic areas from which, subsequently, the researcher might draw his respondents randomly or systematically.) The operating plan in this instance was to obtain respondents from high schools in all major regions of the United States; however, the sample turned out to be slightly biased in favor of the Intermountain West. The northeastern portion of the country is underrepresented. Because of the interest of high school administrators in this research, the refusal rate was lower than originally anticipated. Only seven school districts declined the invitation to participate in the research; three of those districts were in the Northeast.

In some cases all of the students who were invited to participate went into the school auditorium or gymnasium. In other cases the questionnaires were administered in the classrooms. All students were instructed how to complete the questionnaire. Within each of the individual high schools the sample consisted of either the total population in school that day or a cluster sample selected from required classes such as English, mathematics, or health.

Students reported their grades, family size and information which allowed analysis of social class—father's education, occupation, and source of income.

Social class was found to be important as a determinant of grades, as may be observed in the table which follows. As the table indicates, the grade-point average is related positively to social class, with an upper class average of 2.90, middle class of 2.61, and lower class of 2.44, where a 4.00 grade-point average equals an "A." These differences are as we would expect.

A comparison of male-female differences indicates that the female students in the upper and middle class do better than the male students in those classes; however, this reverses for the lower class. Generally all studies indicate better achievement for the female student in high school.

While the differences are not statistically significant, in general the LDS students have an equal or higher GPA, with the exception of the lower class males; there Mormons fare badly. Protes-

THE RELATIONSHIP OF FAMILY AND SCHOOL GRADE POINT AVERAGE BY SOCIAL CLASS, SEX, AND RELIGION

Upper Class
2.90

Male
2.85

	No Religion	*Catholic*	*LDS*	*Protestant*
	2.81	2.70	2.90	2.86
Small	2.83	2.76	2.94	2.86
Large	2.72	2.62	2.86	2.88

Female
2.96

	No Religion	*Catholic*	*LDS*	*Protestant*
	2.93	2.83	3.05	2.96
Small	3.06	2.90	3.04	2.96
Large	2.55*	2.71	3.06	2.94

Middle Class
2.61

Male
2.51

	No Religion	*Catholic*	*LDS*	*Protestant*
	2.50	2.43	2.61	2.50
Small	2.48	2.44	2.63	2.52
Large	2.56	2.42	2.59	2.47

Female
2.70

	No Religion	*Catholic*	*LDS*	*Protestant*
	2.55	2.66	2.86	2.68
Small	2.59	2.72	2.88	2.70
Large	2.46	2.58	2.84	2.64

	Lower Class 2.44			
	Male 2.48			
	No Religion 2.54	*Catholic* 2.39	*LDS* 2.27	*Protestant* 2.57
Small	2.49	2.39	2.09	2.48
Large	2.59	2.39	2.38	2.61
	Female 2.70			
	No Religion 2.40	*Catholic* 2.32	*LDS* 2.43	*Protestant* 2.43
Small	2.80	2.31	2.59	2.43
Large	1.60*	2.33	2.32	2.43

*Indicates a significant difference.

tants rate higher than Catholics and all groups designated as religious are higher than those in the "no religion" category. Jews were excluded from this phase of the study because the number in our sample was too small to use.

Having noted the effects of class, sex, and religion—controlled variables—we can now examine the effects of family size. Small families were designated as those with five or fewer children, and large with six or more children. In fifteen of the cells, the small family is associated with a higher GPA. In two cells the GPA is equal, and in seven cells the larger families have the higher GPAs.

When these differences for family size were statistically tested, however, there were only two cells of family size which were different (using a difference of means test) the upper class females with no religion and the lower class females with no religion.

CONCLUSION

We may conclude, therefore, that family size is not an important determinant of grades achieved by high school students. If a couple should make a decision to limit the size of their family, it ought to involve reasons other than the academic achievement of their children.

We suggest that much of the literature dealing with family size, as it may influence the sibs, needs to be more carefully examined. While the data here examine family size only as it relates to the achievement of grades, the finding of no relationship between grades and family size appears to be significant. Other variables should also be examined to test the accuracy of statements made by some proponents of the superior position of the small family. Other preliminary findings from our data suggest that other variables will not be unlike that of achieved grades.

Different religions may respond in different manners but Mormon parents who are dedicated to the self-actualizing of their children could increase interpersonal contact and not set the family aside or limit it for personal or economic gain. President David O. McKay once said:

> Having children is a physical process by the experience, but the experience is a spiritual one as well. It involves continuous self-sacrifices of many kinds (possibly even the sacrifice of immediate financial security). It is through the choice of spiritual values, where they conflict with material values, that true security is to be found.[8]

Most Mormon activities form a nucleus around the family and perhaps such programs as the Family Home Evening program and others would allow a Mormon couple to have more interpersonal contact, at least collective contact, with family members, even though they have more children then the average couple.

---

[8]David O. McKay, *Church News*, 19 February 1952, p. 4.

An Economic Analysis of the United Order

L. Dwight Israelsen

The physical scientist, working in his laboratory, conducts carefully planned experiments under strictly controlled conditions. The data thus generated can be measured with remarkable precision. The economist-scientist, on the other hand, neither conducts controlled experiments nor finds economic data readily available or precisely measured. The data problem is particularly acute in the study of economic history, where records are usually incomplete, inaccurate, or nonexistent. In light of these problems, the "discovery" of an experiment in alternative economic systems, conducted under (semi-) controlled conditions and accompanied by a body of high-quality data, is certainly rare, if not unique.

The Mormon United Order was such an experiment. Functioning briefly in the Great Basin during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the experiment stands as one of mankind's most ambitious attempts to establish a utopian socioeconomic system.[1] This paper deals with some economic aspects of that system. Following a brief historical review, the theory of producer cooperatives is employed to generate some hypotheses about the functioning and eventual failure of the Order. Statements by Brigham Young and other Church leaders give us a second set of hypotheses, some following directly from stated goals of the United Order, and others dealing with factors contributing to the failure of the system. The two groups of hypotheses are compared and contrasted, and in the final section of the paper some preliminary results of an empirical study are presented.

---

[1]The 1874 "United Order," also called the "United Order of Enoch," or "Second United Order," should not be confused with the communitarian system which functioned briefly in Ohio in 1831, in Jackson County, Missouri, 1831–1833, and in modified form at Far West, Missouri in 1838. This earlier experiment is referred to as the "Law of Consecration and Stewardship," the "Order of Enoch," or "First United Order."

An explication of the complex strand of events which led to the establishment of the United Order of Enoch is beyond the scope of this paper.[2] Two causal threads, however, are so prominently woven through the length of the strand that they deserve mention here. The first is the effort to achieve a "oneness," an ideal Christian community in which selfishness and greed would be replaced with brotherly love, and individualistic, competitive capitalism with order and unity. In February 1831, less than a year after the organization of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Joseph Smith announced the Law of Consecration and Stewardship, a blueprint for the ideal community.[3] The communitarian system operated briefly in 1831 at Thompson, Ohio, and again during 1831-1833 in Jackson County, Missouri. A modified form of the Law of Consecration was instituted at Far West, Missouri in 1838. These attempts to establish a utopian community were thwarted by legal problems, lack of support from the Church membership, and mob violence, which culminated in the death of Joseph Smith in 1844 and the expulsion of the Mormons from the Midwest in 1846.

Within a decade of their arrival in the Great Basin, Church members were once again asked to live the Law of Consecration. The consecration movement of the 1850s, under the direction of Brigham Young, suffered a fate similar to that of the earlier movement. Problems with legality of land ownership, the threat of a federal army marching on Utah, and unenthusiastic public response to consecration combined to halt the experiment before it had fairly begun.[4]

In the 1860s economic cooperation received new emphasis with the establishment of cooperative mercantile and manufacturing enterprises. Not as radical an innovation as the stewardship system, the cooperatives were generally successful, sometimes spec-

---

[2]The most comprehensive and thorough study of the history of the cooperative movement in the Mormon Church is Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976). Another excellent and thorough study is Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

[3]See Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God,* Chapter 2; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* Chapter 1; Leonard J. Arrington, "Early Mormon Communitarianism: The Law of Consecration and Stewardship," *Western Humanities Review* 7 (April 1953):341-369; and Hamilton Gardner, "Communism Among the Mormons," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 37 (November 1922):134-74.

[4]See Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God,* Chapter 4; and Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* Chapter 5.

tacularly so. Model cooperatives were established at Brigham City in 1864, at Spanish Fork in 1867, and at Lehi in 1868. Zions Cooperative Mercantile Institution, incorporated in 1868, quickly emerged as the territory's most important wholesale store. More than 150 retail cooperatives and cooperative manufacturing enterprises were established during the late 1860s and early 1870s.[5]

The second main thread leading to the establishment of the United Order is the idea of group economic self-sufficiency. Although not explicitly stressed during the pre-Utah period, the appearance, if not the fact, of self-sufficiency was a natural outcome of the operation of the Law of Consecration and Stewardship, and probably fueled the fires of discrimination already sparked among non-Mormons by the apparent clannishness of the Mormon community. In turn, the general antagonism of their neighbors likely led Mormons to seek a greater degree of group self-sufficiency.

If economic self-sufficiency was desirable prior to 1847, it was essential in the years following the arrival of the Mormons in the Great Basin. With practically no access to outside markets, survival itself dictated a high degree of economic cooperation and direction. The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, though ending the economic isolation which had earlier threatened their existence, was not viewed by Mormon leaders as an unmixed blessing. The large numbers of "gentiles" flooding into the territory would bring with them all the attitudes and institutions of nineteenth-century American capitalism. The pursuit of profits, concentration of wealth, and competitive individualism which would inevitably follow the linkup threatened to seriously erode the bond of selflessness and brotherly love which held the Mormon social fabric together.

The establishment of the United Order, then, can be seen as an effort to maintain group self-sufficiency and to preserve group identity in the face of increased pressures toward assimilation. At the same time, the Order was widely viewed by Church leaders and members as the means of realizing that "oneness" so long awaited.

The first United Order was organized 9 February 1874 at St. George, Utah. The last known Church-authorized branch of the

---

[5]For a general discussion of the organization of cooperative and manufacturing enterprises, see Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, Chapter 5; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, Chapter 10; and Hamilton Gardner, "Cooperation Among the Mormons," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 31 (May 1917):461–99. A list of cooperative mercantile establishments can be found in Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, Appendix 4.

United Order was established 9 January 1893 at Cave Valley, Chihuahua, Mexico. In the intervening years more than 200 other branches of the Order are known to have been organized in Mormon communities in Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, and Arizona, a large majority of these being established in 1874 and 1875.[6] Most of the United Orders had failed by 1877, the year of Brigham Young's death. Many either failed to operate at all or dissolved within a year. Some, like the Orders in Brigham City and Orderville, functioned successfully for a decade. A very few continued in some form into the 1890s. At least one, a joint enterprise of the Logan Second and Third Wards, survived into the twentieth century, selling out to private interests in 1909.[7]

In spite of a few notable successes, the usual United Order experience was one of mounting frustration followed by dissolution and abandonment. The questions left unanswered in the wake of the United Order experiment are myriad. In the following sections we examine some of these questions in light of the theory of producer cooperatives and with the aid of empirical evidence.

THE THEORY

Beginning with Benjamin Ward's 1958 essay, interest in the theory of producer cooperatives has increased, particularly among economists interested in the comparison of economic systems. Although there have been several theoretical papers dealing with producer cooperatives, empirical testing of the issues has been prac-

---

[6]See Appendix. For a discussion of the general United Order movement, see Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God,* Chapters 6-14; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* Chapter 11; Edward J. Allen, *The Second United Order Among the Mormons* (New York: AMS Press, 1967); and Gardner, "Communism Among the Mormons." Studies of particular United Orders can be found in Joseph Carl Felix, *Development of Cooperative Enterprises in Cache Valley, 1865-1900* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1956); Arrington, "Cooperative Community in the North: Brigham City, Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (Summer 1965):199-216; Leonard J. Arrington in Joel E. Ricks and Everett L. Cooley, eds., *The History of a Valley: Cache Valley, Utah-Idaho* (Logan, Utah: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956), Chapter 8; Leonard J. Arrington, *Orderville, Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment in Economic Organization* (Logan, Utah: USAC Monograph Series, Vol. 2, No. 2, March 1954); Feramorz Y. Fox, "Experiment in Utopia: The United Order of Richfield, 1874-1877," ed. Leonard J. Arrington, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32 (Fall 1964):355-80; Andrew Jenson, "Orderville," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 7 (July 1916):128-41; Charles S. Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing Along the Little Colorado River, 1870-1900* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1973), Chapter 5.

[7]Arrington, in Ricks and Cooley, *The History of a Valley,* pp. 198-99. The longest-lived United Orders were generally of the "Brigham City" type. These were established in northern Utah and southern Idaho, and, in modified form, in Salt Lake City, Ogden, Provo, and Logan. Communal type orders survived in Arizona and Nevada into the 1880s (see Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God,* Chapter 10).

tically nonexistent.[8] Our purpose here is to pose some testable hypotheses which may be used to help answer the following four questions: (1) Were the distinctive operating characteristics predicted by economic theory evidenced in the workings of the various United Order organizations? (2) To what extent did the United Order succeed in its purposes as stated by Brigham Young and other Church leaders? (3) Are there factors peculiar to the economic organization of producer cooperatives which contributed to the eventual failure of the United Order? (4) Does empirical evidence corroborate factors suggested by contemporary observers as having contributed to the failure of the United Order?

The basic difference between the organization of a producer cooperative and of a capitalist firm is in the nature of the compensation of the worker. Whereas in a capitalist organization a worker receives a fixed wage rate, in the producer cooperative all workers, as members of the cooperative, share in net income. This leads to an important difference in labor hiring. The capitalist, in an attempt to maximize profits, will hire workers up to the point where the value of the marginal product of labor equals the going wage. The producer cooperative, on the other hand, is interested in maximizing net income per worker, and will recruit members to the point where average net income is at a maximum (value of the marginal product of labor equals net value of the average product of labor). This basic difference in objectives leads to the following characteristics of a producer cooperative as compared to a capitalist firm:[9]

1. A capital-labor ratio which may be too high.
2. Inefficient allocation of labor among cooperatives.

Another possible problem of internally-financed producer cooperatives is a long-run tendency to underinvest, relative to the investment which would be undertaken by a capitalist firm. This is

---

[8]Papers on the theory of producer cooperatives include Benjamin Ward, "The Firm in Illyria: Market Syndicalism," *American Economic Review* 48 (September 1958):566-89; Peter G. Helmberger, "Cooperative Enterprise as a Structural Dimension of Farm Markets," *Journal of Farm Economics* 46 (August 1964):603-17; Evsey D. Domar, "The Soviet Collective Farm as a Producer Cooperative," *American Economic Review* 56 (September 1966):734-57; Amartya K. Sen, "Labor Allocation in a Cooperative Enterprise," *Review of Economic Studies* 33 (October 1966):361-71; James G. Youde and Peter G. Helmberger, "Marketing Cooperatives in the U.S.: Membership Policies, Market Power, and Antitrust Policy," *Journal of Farm Economics* 46 (August 1966):23-36; Michael E. Bradley, "Incentives and Labor Supply in Co-operative Enterprises," *Canadian Journal of Economics* 4 (August 1971):342-52; Norman Cameron, "Incentives and Labor Supply on Soviet Collective Farms," *Canadian Journal of Economics* 6 (February 1973):16-22; L. Dwight Israelsen, "Collectives, Communes and Incentives," working paper, Brigham Young University, Department of Economics, 1975; and L. Dwight Israelsen, "Economics of the United Order," working paper, Brigham Young University, Department of Economics, 1975.

[9]See Israelsen, "Economics of the United Order," Mathematical Appendix 1.

suggested as a reason why producer cooperatives might be unable to compete in the long run in a hostile (capitalist) environment. This tendency is based on the following argument: Suppose we have a producer cooperative which is internally financed. Since no individual member of the cooperative has claim over the capital owned by the cooperative, but only over a portion of the output from that capital, decisions relating to consumption vs. investment will be made based on the value of consumption now as compared to the present discounted value of the marginal product of the capital created if income is invested. The capitalist, on the other hand, compares the value of present consumption with the sum of the present discounted value of the marginal product of the capital and the present discounted value of the last-period capital itself. In particular, if the subjective discount rate is 10 percent, the capitalist will invest rather than consume if the marginal product of capital is greater than or equal to 10 percent. In a two-period model, the marginal product of capital necessary to induce a member of the cooperative to invest rather than consume is 110 percent. As the number of periods (time horizon) increases, the minimum marginal product of capital necessary to induce cooperative investment decreases, but for reasonable time horizons it will still be significantly larger (2 to 4 times) than the subjective rate of time preference (discount rate).[10] Thus, we would expect:

3. Significant underinvestment in a producer cooperative relative to a capitalist firm.

A third set of characteristics of producer cooperatives has to do with incentives and labor-leisure choice. Here the particular type of producer cooperative becomes important. For purposes of analysis, let us classify cooperatives into two groups: collectives and communes. We define a collective as a cooperative where a worker's share of net income depends on the number of hours of labor he contributes as a proportion of total labor contribution. A commune is a cooperative in which a member's share of income depends on anything other than the amount of work he contributes; for example, equal shares or shares according to need. Given this distinction, it can easily be shown that, other things being equal:[11]

4. a. Work incentives and, therefore, hours worked will be greater in a collective than in a commune.

---

[10] Ibid., Mathematical Appendix 2.
[11] See Israelsen, "Collectives, Communes and Incentives."

b. Incentives and hours worked will be greater in a
   ist organization than in a commune.
c. Incentives and hours worked will likely be greater in a
   collective than in a capitalist organization.
5. If the size of a collective increases, incentives and average
   hours worked increase. In a commune, if the size increases,
   incentives decrease.
6. Concern about the number of work hours contributed by
   others will likely arise in both collectives and communes.
   This may result in pressures to set maximum allowable
   hours in collectives and minimum hours in communes.

In order to use this theory in our study, we must identify in-
dividual branches of the United Order by type: collective, capital-
ist, commune. Although the actual organizational type varied con-
siderably from community to community, most United Orders fell
roughly into one of three categories. First, the St. George type, in
which members contributed their economic property to the Order
and received differential wages and dividends depending upon the
amount of labor and capital contributed. This type corresponds to
our collective.[12] The second main category was the Brigham City
plan, intended to strengthen and reinforce existing cooperative ar-
rangements. Such communities did not require consecration of all
one's property or labor, but operated much like a profit-sharing
capitalist enterprise, issuing dividends on stock and hiring labor.[13]
Wards in the larger cities in the Territory used a modified Brig-
ham City plan in establishing a needed cooperative or corporate
enterprise. The final category consisted of those communities
which organized on a communal basis, sometimes called the Gos-
pel Plan. Members contributed all of their property to the Order,
shared more or less equally in the common product, had no pri-

---

[12]The great majority of United Orders were of the St. George variety. See Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, Chapters 7 and 8. Members of the St. George type United Order were not required to place all their property in the Order. Dividends were to be paid at five-year in-tervals in proportion to the capital invested. Individuals were to be allowed to withdraw from the Order, but would forfeit one-half of their accumulated capital and dividend. (Articles 12 and 13 of the Articles of Agreement of the United Order of the City of St. George. See Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, Appendix 5.) The fact that dividends are received should cause no qualitative change in the theory of producer cooperatives. See Israelsen, "Economics of the United Order," footnote 12.

[13]Such United Orders were essentially joint-stock companies, and were organized in the northern part of the Great Basin, where cooperative efforts had been necessary from the beginning. Besides Brigham City, Hyrum, Utah and Paris, Idaho operated successful Orders of this type. See Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, Chapters 6 and 10; Arrington, "Cooperative Community in the North"; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, Chapter 11; Arrington, in Ricks and Cooley, *The History of a Valley*, Chapter 8; and Felix, *Cooperative Enterprises in Cache Valley*.

vate property, and functioned, ate, and worked as a well-regulated family. The Orderville United Order is the prime example of this communal type of organization.[14]

There are several testable hypotheses which come from the application of the theory to the United Order. We enumerate some of them as follows:

    I. There will be a tendency for the type 1 (St. George) and type 3 (Orderville) United Orders to limit membership in order to maintain high capital-labor and output-labor ratios.

   II. There will be an inefficient allocation of labor among types 1 and 3, reflected in different capital-labor ratios, wage rates, dividend rates, etc.

  III. Capital formation is likely to take place more rapidly in type 2 (Brigham City) United Orders than in either type 1 or type 3. This will be reflected in a larger percentage of net output retained as investment by the cooperative. To the extent that outside borrowing is available, the tendency will be less marked.

  IV. Incentives to work will be greatest in type 1 United Orders, least in type 3, with type 2 somewhere in between. These differences will be reflected in number of hours worked per member.

   V. The larger the type 1 United Order, the greater will be the average number of hours worked. As type 3 Orders increase in size, hours worked per person will decline.

  VI. Pressures to limit working hours may develop in type 1 Orders, but in type 3 Orders, the pressure will be to set minimum hour requirements.

PURPOSE OF THE ORDER

Stated purposes of the United Order provide another source of hypotheses. During the last decade of his life, Brigham Young

---

[14]The communal type United Orders, although conforming most closely to the system Brigham Young seemed to favor prior to 1874 (Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God,* pp. 139, 140), were few in number: Orderville, Price City, Springdale, and Kingston, Utah; Bunkerville, Nevada; and Joseph City, Sunset, and Brigham City, Arizona were the most successful. Kanab had two United Orders, one of which (John R. Young, president) was communal. Communal Orders were tried briefly at other places, including Monroe, Richfield, and Joseph, Utah; Cave Valley, Chihuahua, Mexico; and Obed, Woodruff, Snowflake, and Taylor, Arizona. Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God,* Chapters 9, 11, 12, 13; Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission,* Chapter 5; Monroe United Order Minutes, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (cited hereafter as Church Archives).

found many opportunities to dwell upon the advantages awaiting those who would unite with their brethren in the Order.[15] Substantial increases in productivity and income were expected through the mechanization and specialization made possible by pooling labor and capital.[16] As incomes increased, men would find more time available to develop the cultural and spiritual sides of their lives. The disappearance of poverty would remove the burden of charity from society. Economic inequality would be eliminated, and in the Order men would truly be "one" in all things. Selling agents and purchasing agents would represent the United Order in outside markets, breaking the power of gentile merchants and eliminating the "ruinous competition" so prevalent in the capitalist system. Surplus income could be used to develop new products and to establish import-replacement industries, thus reversing the balance-of-trade deficit and stemming the flow of cash from the Territory.[17] Economic self-sufficiency and monopoly power in trade

---

[15]See Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, pp. 139, 140, 143, 157, 158; Journal History of the Church, 9 May 1874, pp. 1–6, Church Archives. Brigham Young was not the only spokesman for the United Order. George Q. Cannon, Erastus Snow, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Daniel H. Wells, and Joseph Young were among the many Mormon leaders who publicly extolled the advantages of the Order. (See Journal History of the Church, 9 May 1874 for a report of General Conference, which was reconvened in order to present the United Order system to the Church membership. See also Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, Chapter 7; and *Conference Reports* for 1872 and 1873.) The goals of the United Order are summarized in the preamble to the Articles of Agreement of the United Order of the City of St. George.

[16]For example, in Gunnison, a committee set up to investigate the resources necessary to establish a workable Order estimated that under the United Order system only two-fifths as much land and equipment would be needed to produce the amount produced under the "old system" (Gunnison Ward United Order Records, Church Archives). In General Conference in May 1874, Brigham Young said: "I can tell you now what it will do for you. It will not make any person any worse off in temporal matters, but it will place thousands and hundreds of thousands in a condition in which they will be as comfortable and happy as they can desire." Erastus Snow pointed out that the cooperative institutions already established had done much by a combination of capital. The new order, however, involved an "amalgamation of capital and labor," and would "promote the greatest good to the greatest number" (Journal History of the Church, 9 May 1874, pp. 1–6).

Article 13 of the Articles of Agreement of the United Order of the City of St. George, in justifying a penalty of one-half of the accumulated dividends and capital for withdrawal from the Order, stated that the increased efficiency in the Order would make "the half greater than the whole" would have been under the old system. (Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, Appendix 5. See also Allen, *The Second United Order*, pp. 43, 53.)

[17]The similarities to modern techniques of economic development are striking. Statements by Mormon leaders include: George A. Smith—"Since the earliest settlement in the Territory the leading men of the Church attempted to impress the minds of the people with the necessity of being, as much as possible, self-sufficient." Erastus Snow—"We shall also be enabled to start new enterprises and if they do not pay at first, they are bound to pay in the end, if they are necessary adjuncts to the prosperity of society." George A. Smith—"You go through Utah County, today, and say to a farmer, 'Have you got any sorghum to sell?' 'No, haven't raised any for two or three years; sugar got so cheap, we could not sell it.' 'I suppose you have plenty of sugar?' 'No, we are out of sugar, we haven't any money to buy it with.'" Journal History of the Church, 9 May 1874, pp. 1–6, Church Archives. Wilford Woodruff—"It is surprising that any money is left in the Territory at all, under the ruinous importing and non-exporting policy that has been pursued heretofore." Erastus

544

would protect the United Order economy from the disruptive effects of capitalism's cycle of boom and bust, with its accompanying price fluctuations. Internal prosperity would promote expansion, and new colonies would probe westward and southward.[18]

Although the United Order obviously failed to achieve its full purpose, it is inconceivable that an experiment so ambitious left no impact on the society it was designed to change so radically. The stated objectives of the Order provide us with a means of determining the relative success of the experiment by measuring that impact. Formalizing the objectives into testable hypotheses, we obtain:

VII. As United Orders are established, the volume of business done by "gentile" merchants will decrease.

VIII. As United Orders develop, the rate of introduction of new products, crops, etc. into the Great Basin will increase.

IX. As the United Order system grows, the rate of importation into the Territory, as well as the trade deficit, will decline.

X. The rate of capital accumulation in the Territory will increase after the introduction of the United Order.

XI. The establishment of the United Order will increase productivity and income, decrease unemployment, and eliminate poverty.

XII. The United Order will promote economic equality. This will be evidenced by a decrease in measures of the inequality of wealth and income distribution across and within the various branches of the Order.

XIII. The United Order will be used as a tool of colonization.

XIV. The various measures of economic activity in the United Order economy will be little affected by fluctuation in the outside economy.

Snow on the advantages of having United Order business handled by purchasing and selling agents—"... and what we have for sale we will sell in the best markets, and so enjoy the benefits of our labor, and not by interior competition and underbidding and underselling each other 'scatter our ways to strangers' as we have done in the past. By this combined effort we shall be able to obtain the full market value of our products" (Journal History of the Church, 29 July 1874, Church Archives). See also Instructions for Members of the United Order, reproduced in Appendix 6, Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God,* for suggestions on growing new products such as tobacco and grapes for raisins, wine, and brandy; and making cloth, shoes, etc.; and Journal History of the Church, 6 July 1874, p. 1.

[18]During the winter of 1872–73, Brigham Young and Thomas Kane conceived a plan to establish a second great gathering place for Mormons in Mexico's Sonora Valley. The new center was to be connected with Utah by a string of colonies similar to the "Mormon Corridor." The colonization of Arizona in 1876 was apparently the first stage of the plan. (Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission,* Chapter 1; Arrington, Fox, and May *Building the City of God,* p. 295.)

The United Order experiment was short-lived. Brigham Young died 29 August 1877, barely three and one-half years after the beginning of the United Order movement. Yet, he had survived all but a handful of the 200 branches of the Order organized prior to his death. With the death of its most important sponsor, the movement itself was essentially finished, its promise left unfulfilled. One writer reflected:

> There is something awesome in the spectacle of Brigham Young attempting to organize a regional economy of more than 80,000 inhabitants into a communal commonwealth. The sheer scale of the undertaking imposed problems of a magnitude that makes it hardly comparable to the small self-selected communes characteristic of nineteenth-century American communitarianism. There is, in addition, a marked poignancy in the vision of President Young, aging and in ill health, putting all his resources to the task of realizing in his lifetime the vision of Joseph Smith—and failing.[19]

Historians and contemporaries alike have suggested many possible explanations for the failure of the United Order. One factor which comes up repeatedly in the statements of contemporary observers is the failure of members of the Order to put aside feelings of selfishness.[20] Another oft-cited cause is the tendency of some members of the group to participate more enthusiastically in consumption than in production.[21] That these problems should exist is not surprising in light of the interdependencies of individual in-

---

[19]Arrington, Fox, and May *Building the City of God*, pp. 11–12.

[20]On the failure of the Morgan City United Order: "If I understand the disposition of the people it is the lack of confidence in one another" (Journal History of the Church, 4 May 1876). The American Fork United Order failed due to "selfishness and laziness" (George F. Shelly, *Early History of American Fork*, n.p., n.d.). Joseph A. Young, speaking to members of the Richfield United Order, said that "The feeling 'Mine' is the greatest feeling we have to combat," and that they should not allow selfishness "to have sway or room in our hearts, but if it is deemed necessary to agree to disagree and every one to labor himself, that we should manifest the same good spirit we enjoyed when we embraced and entered upon the principles of the U. O." (Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, p. 201–202). John Taylor, reviewing the history of the cooperative movement, said that from the time of Joseph Smith, it had been thwarted by the "great covetousness, selfishness, and wickedness of the people" (Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, p. 316. See also pp. 281–282).

[21]In Richfield, it was stated that the Order was carrying 100 nonproducers. One man was brought before the board for earning only ten dollars credit in six weeks. Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, pp. 189, 194, 195. From an Orderville United Order document: "Whereas _____ has seen fit to sever his connection with the United Order, and upon settlement it is found that he is in debt to the Order the sum of $665.93, and whereas for several months past he has been unfaithful in his labors, loitering and trifling his time away and otherwise breaking his covenants he made when he united with us. Therefore be it resolved that it is right and just in every respect, to hold him to the full and complete payment of the above indebtedness. Nevertheless, as he has a large family to support and his best days are gone, be it further resolved as an act of charity to his little children, that the above indebtedness be canceled by the entry of this resolution, on the Ledger." Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, p. 282.

546

come with other's work decisions which we observe in the theory of producer cooperatives. We would expect the problem of too many eaters and too few workers to be particularly acute in the communal type Order, since individual work incentives would be low, whereas selfishness and jealousies over hours worked might be expected to create significant problems in Orders of the St. George variety, where an increase in hours worked by one individual would reduce the income of everyone else.

Another problem facing the United Order, and one which elicited considerable comment at the time,[22] was the reluctance on the part of relatively wealthy individuals to put their property in the Order. This reluctance was evident even in the St. George type Order, where individuals were to receive dividends on their contributed capital, and would be allowed to take at least a portion of their original capital out of the Order if they decided to withdraw.[23] Brigham Young himself was not immune to this reluctance. Although he had always stressed the importance of going wholeheartedly into the Order, and had indicated his desire to do so, in August 1874, speaking in Lehi, Young was forced to admit that,

> I am laboring under a certain embarrassment and so are many others, with regard to deeding property, and that is to find men who know what to do with property when it is in their hands.... When this factory at Provo can go into the hands of men who know what

---

[22]The anti-Mormon *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* editorialized on 7 March 1874: "If the Profit don't make the rich men fork over as well as the poor, we shall think him an unjust, discriminating Profit, and shall tell the world that he is afraid of the strong rich men and is an oppressor of the weak and the poor. Brother Brigham, sail in, and show a fair hand in this Euchre Business. Don't slight Brothers Jennings, Hooper, or any of the gilt-edged. One big pot, Brother Brigham, and no favoritism" (as cited in Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, p. 149).

[23]The hesitancy to put property in the Order was by no means limited to wealthy individuals. A non-Mormon living in Beaver in 1874 wrote: "Mormons say here that he (Brigham Young) wishes to get hold of their property, then he will compel them to do anything he orders or excommunicate them. A number of the faithful are distressed over this matter. They dislike to give up their fellowship, and they dislike to give up their property" (Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, p. 145). From American Fork came the following: One man "being absent last meeting he was called on to make his statement in relation to the Order and said he had nothing to say against the Order, he did not understand it neither did he understand that a man's money was not wanted. He understood the man his money and all he had was wanted. But when you come to talk of business, if a man is a business man and goes into any business, and puts in 1,000 and only gives back 500 we would say it was a swindle.

"And in reference to hauling grain into one big stack and dividing the grain, a man must look after his straw and chaff or he will not raise grain long. I want to see how these things will work a little. But if my standing is at stake, you take my horses, cattle and all I have."

The Bishop responded: "We can take whatever shares in this order we like, nothing shall be wasted, instead of diminishing and bringing to poverty, it is the very road to wealth.... As to the idea of a man's fellowship being at stake, no such thing" (American Fork Ward Teachers Minutes, 8 June 1874, p. 50, MS, Church Archives). See also Journal History of the Church, 15 August 1874, p. 3.

to do with it, it will go; when my factory in Salt Lake County can go into the hands of men who know what to do with it, it will go.[24]

When Brigham Young died three years later, such men still had not been found. Although this example is impressive evidence of the existence of the problem, its magnitude and pervasiveness must still be determined. This leads us to suggest another hypothesis:

XV. Relatively wealthy individuals will not join the United Order, i.e., the average wealth and/or income of United Order members will be less than that of people who do not join the Order.

In addition to the above-mentioned difficulties there are a large number of additional factors which, though important, are not easily reduced to testable hypotheses. These include the movement toward legal incorporation which many felt destroyed the spirit of the United Order by replacing goodwill and brotherly love with explicitly defined rights and contractual obligations. The distribution of voting power by shares of stock was felt by some to directly violate the striving for "oneness" stressed by Mormon leaders since the 1830s.[25]

Continued government harrassment of Mormon economic institutions and Church leaders throughout the United Order period must have gravely undermined the vitality of the system. Particularly damaging was the antipolygamy campaign, which led to the arrest and imprisonment of many Mormon leaders who failed to escape to Canada or Mexico via the underground.[26]

The death of Brigham Young in 1877 and his replacement by successors less enthusiastic about the Order, the tremendous pressures toward assimilation, the desire for statehood, and even the vagueness of the instructions as to organization and operation of the system all likely contributed to the demise of the system described by Brigham Young as being "called the Order of Enoch, but which is in reality the Order of Heaven."[27]

---

[24]Sermon of 9 August 1874, *Journal of Discourses* 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855-86), 18:248 (cited hereafter as *JD*), as cited in Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God,* p. 149.

[25]See Arrington, Fox, and May *Building the City of God,* pp. 149-52. The movement to incorporation was said to be necessary in order to protect against legal harassment. See also pp. 160-61, 169-71.

[26]Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God,* pp. 136, 291. On polygamy, see Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* Chapter 12.

[27]*JD* 12:320-23 (8 October 1872), as cited in Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God,* p. 135. On the attitude of John Taylor toward the United Order, see Arrington, Fox, and May,

Although economic theory and hypothesis testing cannot answer all questions raised by the United Order experiment, it is possible, as we have shown, to construct a list of hypotheses which when tested can provide us with greater insights into the role of economic factors in the process of social change.

Since the main purpose of this paper is to apply economic theory to the United Order experience, and to suggest avenues for future empirical research, we do not, nor could we, attempt to provide test results for the fifteen hypotheses previously discussed. In the following section, however, we present preliminary empirical evidence for two of our hypotheses.

The Evidence

The hypotheses we have chosen to test are:

XII. The United Order will promote economic equality. This will be evidenced by a decrease in measures of the inequality of wealth and income distribution across and within various branches of the Order.

XV. Relatively wealthy individuals will not join the United Order, i.e., the average wealth and/or income of United Order members will be less than that of people who do not join the Order.

In addition, we will make reference to evidence which tends to support or deny the validity of other hypotheses.

Our sample consists of twelve communities, seven which had functioning United Orders, and five control cities which did not. The five communities without operational Orders were carefully chosen based on similarity and proximity to one or more of our United Order communities. The following pairings were made:

United Order City	Control City
Brigham City	Logan
Cedar City	Beaver

Building the City of God, pp. 315–17. Many other reasons are given. For example: The Orders failed because of the influx of non-Mormons, lack of total participation, and the illness and age of Brigham Young. Pearl F. Jacobson, Golden Sheaves From a Rich Field (Richfield, Utah: Richfield Reaper Publishing Company, 1964), p. 62. In Rockville, Order farms were scattered, there were difficulties with water privileges, and a lack of unity. Wayne D. Stout, A History of Rockville, Utah, 1862–1972 (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1972). In Pleasant Grove, "human nature" was the problem. The Arizona orders lacked markets, were exposed to the threats of nature, and expanded too thinly. (Peterson, Take Up Your Mission.) In Santa Clara, the United Order failed because the participants were all "rugged individuals" (Andrew K. Larson, "Santa Clara," in Agriculture Pioneering in the Virgin River [Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, n.d.]). In Mt. Pleasant, the resources of the Order would not furnish sufficient employment, and in Kingston, an influx of people with nothing discouraged the original members. In Hebron, "interest failed" (Newell R. Frei, History of Pioneering in Shoal Creek [Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1932]).

Fairview	Manti
Kanab	Long Valley (Mt. Carmel, Glendale)
Monroe	Fillmore
Mt. Pleasant	Manti
Orderville	Long Valley

The Orderville United Order was communal, the Brigham City Order was capitalist, and Kanab had two Orders existing simultaneously—one communal and one collective.[28] The four remaining United Orders were collectives.

The time period covered by the study is 1868–1880; particularly the years 1868, 1872, 1874, 1875, 1876 and 1880.[29] Our data consist of 12,650 individual income figures, an average of more than 2,100 per year, and include approximately 70 to 80 percent of all income earners in the communities covered. Within communities, the sample size ranges from 40 in Kanab, 1872, to 576 in Logan, 1880. In addition to the income data, we have been able to locate United Order account books for selected years for all of our United Order cities except Brigham City, for which capital stock accounts are available. Besides providing us with a record of debits and credits, these books, along with other United Order records, have enabled us to distinguish individuals who were members of the Order from those who were not.

The primary tool of analysis used in this study is the Gini concentration ratio, or Gini coefficient, a measure of distributional inequality which ranges from zero (signifying absolute equality) to one (absolute inequality).[30] The Gini ratios were estimated from

---

[28]Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God,* Chapter 11. The least successful of the United Orders in the sample was the one at Cedar City, which failed by the end of 1874. The control cities generally had organized United Orders, but they had either not operated at all, or had failed after a short time. The exception was Logan, which had two very successful United Orders, but they were really nothing more than capitalist profit-sharing or joint stock companies which enjoyed widespread ownership and participation. The Logan enterprises were not as all-encompassing as the Brigham City United Order.

[29]Eighteen sixty-eight was chosen because it was a pre-railroad year and not a "grasshopper" year, as was 1867. Eighteen seventy-two was post-railroad and pre-United Order. Eighteen seventy-three was not used because of the Panic and depression in that year. Eighteen seventy-four was the year in which the United Order was started. Eighteen seventy-five was the first full year of operation of the United Order branches in our sample (Cedar City had failed). In 1876 some of the Orders—Fairview and Mt. Pleasant—were beginning to show signs of collapse (Fairview apparently failed in 1877, and Mt. Pleasant in 1876 or 1877; Monroe was dissolved in 1878). By 1880, all but three of the United Orders had failed. Orderville was going strong, but Brigham City and Kanab had serious problems.

[30]The Gini concentration ratio is defined as twice the size of the area lying between the Lorenz curve and the 45-degree line in the accompanying figure.

$$\text{Gini ratio} = 2A = \frac{A}{A + B}$$
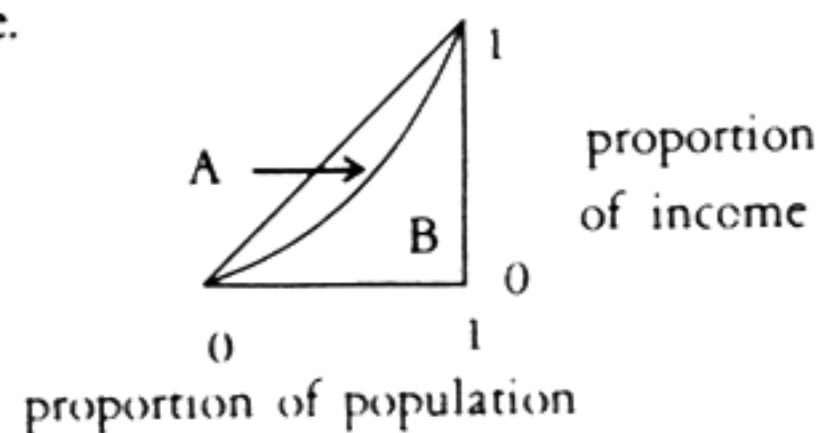
the data by use of a technique recently developed by Bartell Jensen and James McDonald.[31] Table 1 shows Gini ratios by community and by year. Three periods are particularly interesting. During the first, 1868–1872, the transcontinental railroad was completed, and several Utah lines were either completed or under construction.[32] The second period, 1872–1875, encompasses the organization of the United Order (1874) and its first full year of operation (1875).[33] During the 1875–1880 period, we observe the failure of nearly all Orders which survived their first year.[34] Table 2 presents impressive evidence of the impact on income distribution of changes in economic institutions. During the 1868–1872 period,

TABLE 1

GINI COEFFICIENT
1868–1880
(Sample Cities Paired With Control Cities)

City	1868	1872	1874	1875	1876	1880
Cedar City–UO	.472	.572	.553	.581	.611	.616
Beaver–control	.504	.582	.591	.633	.638	.604
Fairview–UO	.477	.452	.478	.547	.503	.452
Manti–control	.529	.566	.516	.534	.540	.574
Kanab–UO	–	.518	.477	.530	.531	.492
Long Valley–control	–	.487	.582	.525	.598	.576
Monroe–UO	–	.485	.572	.674	.519	.509
Fillmore–control	.547	.639	.635	.620	.503	.548
Mt. Pleasant–UO	.415	.485	.509	.524	.502	.537
Manti–control	.529	.566	.516	.534	.540	.574
Orderville–UO	–	–	–	–	–	.290
Long Valley–control	–	–	–	–	–	.576
Brigham City–UO	.499	.511	.504	.488	.520	.555
Logan–control	.465	.495	.501	.491	.479	.514

SOURCE: U.O. Accounts and General Economic Records (MSS.), Church Archives, LDS Church.

[31]The procedure involves the use of a computer program which calculates the maximum likelihood estimate of the Gini concentration ratio, based on the Gamma distribution.

[32]The Utah Central Railroad was completed in 1870, the Utah Southern was completed to Lehi in 1872, and the Utah Northern was completed to Cache Valley in 1872. (See Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* Chapter 9.)

[33]In our sample, all but the Orderville United Order were organized in 1874. Orderville was organized in 1875.

[34]In our sample, only the Cedar City United Order failed in 1874. All of the other Orders continued at least through 1876.

TABLE 2

PERCENT CHANGE IN GINI COEFFICIENT
(Sample cities paired with control cities)

City	1868–1872	1872–1875	1875–1880	1872–1880
Cedar City–UO	21	1	6	8
Beaver–control	15	9	– 4	4
Fairview–UO	– 5	21	–17	*
Manti–control	7	– 6	8	2
Mt. Pleasant–UO	17	8	3	11
Manti–control	7	– 6	8	2
Monroe–UO	–	39	–25	5
Fillmore–control	17	– 3	–12	–14
Kanab–UO	–	2	– 7	– 5
Long Valley–control	–	8	10	18
Brigham City–UO	2	– 5	14	9
Logan–control	9	– 1	5	4
UO–Average	9	11	– 4	5
Control–Average	11	*	2	3

*Indicates less than 0.5% change.

SOURCE: U.O. Accounts and General Economic Records (MSS.), Church Archives, LDS Church.

the estimated Gini ratios in eight of nine cases increased, the average change being 10 percent, with both groups of cities showing a similar pattern. It is tempting to attribute the increased inequality to the completion of the transcontinental railroad, but such conclusions must remain tentative until further studies are made.[35]

The changes which took place during the second period are of particular interest. Here we find a dramatic shift toward inequality in the United Order cities with the average increase in the Gini ratio being 11 percent. If we eliminate Brigham City, which was not a producer cooperative by our definition, the average becomes 14 percent. All but two of the control cities, on the other hand, show a decrease in the Gini ratio—a move toward equality.[36]

[35]Leonard J. Arrington shows that there was a significant decrease in equality in the distribution of taxable income in Utah between 1866-1867 and 1871, as measured by the slope of the Pareto curve. From 1.76 in 1866-1867, the slope falls to 1.09 in 1871. He attributes this to the coming of the railroad in 1869. (Arrington, "Taxable Income in Utah, 1862-1872," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24 [January 1956]:21-47.)

[36]Most of the changes took place in 1875, the first full year of operation of the Order. The percentage change from 1874 to 1875 in the Gini ratio was:

The third period, 1875–1880, is not as easily interpreted. We have all possible combinations of increases and decreases in our six pairs. The general movement seems to be toward greater equality in United Order communities than in the control group. In only two of the pairs does the United Order city become less equal relative to its control city. The average gain in equality is 4 percent (8 percent without Brigham City) in the Order group, while the control communities moved slightly toward less equality.

Finally, for the entire 1872–1880 period, we see that only Kanab, among United Order cities, achieves a significant decrease in inequality, either absolutely or relative to the control city.

Now that we have seen the results for the individual communities, let us turn to the examination of income distribution across communities. Table 3 gives Gini ratios across cities by group and for the entire sample. In Table 4 we are given the percentage change in Gini ratios for the three periods in question. The results of this analysis correspond closely to those we obtained for individual cities. Both of our groups show an increase in inequality for the first period. In the second period, the United Order Gini again increases, this time by 16 percent, while the control group Gini decreases slightly.[37] During the third period, income in both groups becomes more equally distributed, and for the entire 1872–1880 period, inequality increases by 2 percent in the United Order group, and decreases by 5 percent in the control group.

Based on the preliminary data cited above, we tentatively reject hypotheses XII. It appears that the United Order did not promote equality in the distribution of income across communities, and did not increase equality within communities having St. George type orders. On the contrary, the introduction of the United Order seems to have substantially reduced the degree of equality in most cases. The exceptions to the general case are clearly the communal type orders. Unfortunately, we were unable to obtain Orderville income data for years prior to 1880, but a glance at Table 1 should be enough to convince any skeptic that the Orderville

Cedar City	5	Mt. Pleasant	3	Kanab	11
Beaver	7	Manti	4	Long Valley	-10
Fairview	14	Monroe	18	Brigham City	- 3
Manti	4	Fillmore	- 2	Logan	- 2
Average UO	8	(10 without Brigham City)			
Average control	- 1				

[37]The percentage change in the Gini ratio from 1874 to 1875 is 15 for the United Order cities, -2 for the control cities, and 3 for the entire sample.

TABLE 3

GINI COEFFICIENT BY YEARS
(Sample Cities vs. Control Cities)

City	UO Cities	Control Cities	Total
1868	.485	.520	.508
1872	.518	.590	.565
1874	.524	.587	.565
1875	.600	.578	.582
1876	.538	.544	.542
1880	.530	.558	.546

SOURCE: U.O. Accounts and General Economic Records (MSS.), Church Archives, LDS Church.

TABLE 4

PERCENT CHANGE IN GINI COEFFICIENT
(Sample Cities vs. Control Cities)

Year	UO Cities	Control Cities	Total
1868–1872	7	13	11
1872–1875	16	– 2	3
1875–1880	–12	– 3	– 6
1872–1880	2	– 5	– 3

SOURCE: U.O. Accounts and General Economic Records (MSS.), Church Archives, LDS Church.

United Order did promote economic equality. The Gini ratio of .290 is just half that of Long Valley, the control community. Figure 1 shows actual 1880 Lorenz curves for Orderville and for Long Valley. We would expect to observe a more equal distribution in a commune than in a collective, the manner in which income is distributed being the major difference between the two, but explaining the long run success of Orderville or any commune is difficult in light of the theory of producer cooperatives. Economic considerations alone cannot provide the answer, at least not without some changes in basic assumptions, particularly the traditional assumption of self-interest.[38] The Brigham City United Order was,

[38]There are several specific ways in which the assumption of self-interest can be changed, i.e., in which "unselfishness" can be assumed. Sen, "Labor Allocation," provides one way. For the purposes of the United Order, perhaps an appropriate assumption would be that suggested by B. Michael Pritchett of Brigham Young University in an unpublished manuscript "Economic Equality and Radical Institutionalism." This paper describes a utility function which makes operational the injunction to "love thy neighbor as thyself." The individual is required "to perceive consumption of any of the real goods equally, whether that consumption is performed by himself or some k^{th} individual, his neighbor." Pritchett shows that this assumption, together with that of diminishing mar-

FIGURE 1

Comparison of Lorenz Curves for Orderville and Long Valley, 1880
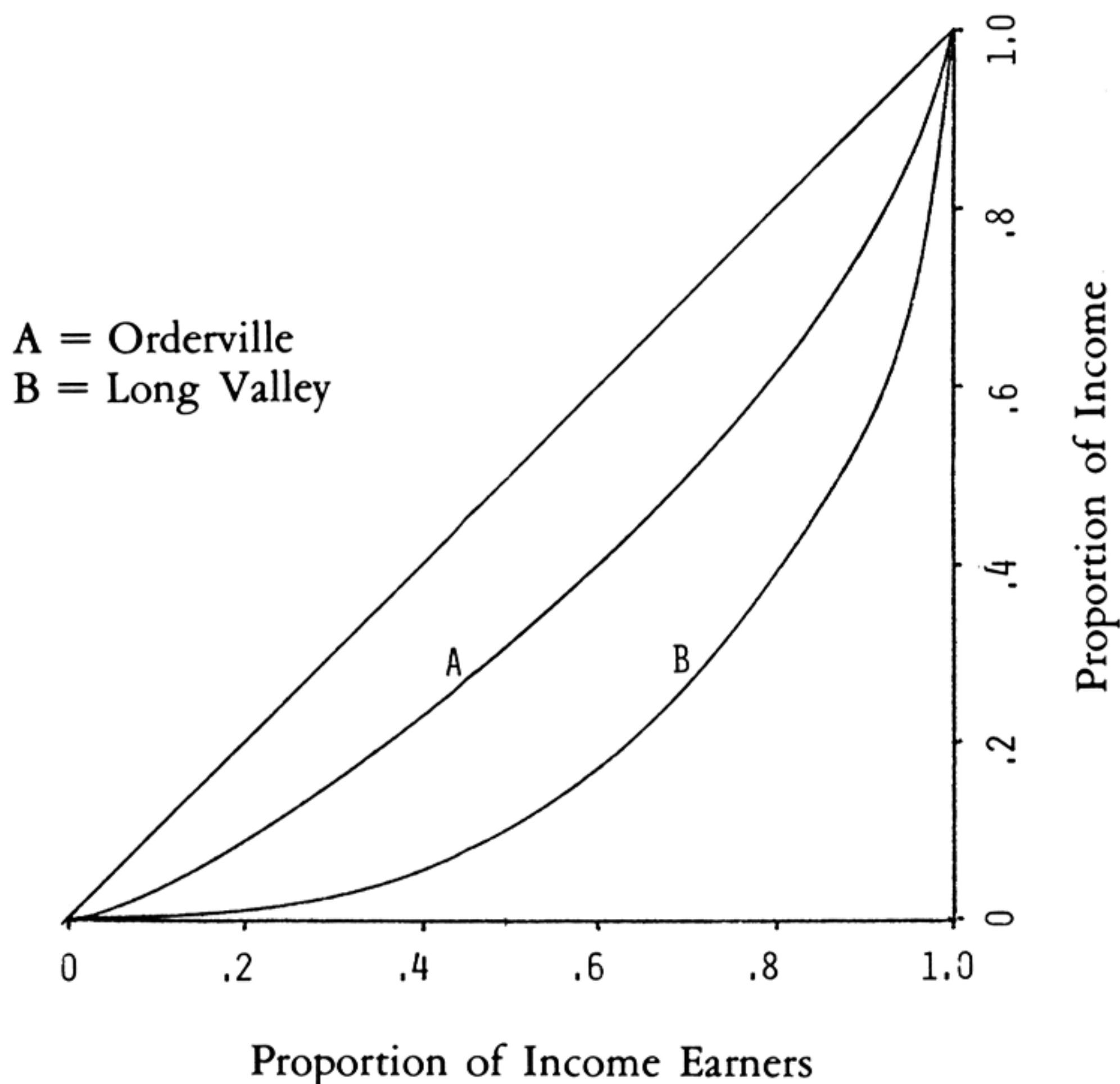
A = Orderville
B = Long Valley

Proportion of Income

Proportion of Income Earners

of course, simply a continuation of the capitalist-type, profit-sharing mercantile and manufacturing enterprise already in existence in the city. As such it would be expected to promote economic equality to the degree that the ownership of capital stock was equally distributed.

The reduction in economic equality across United Order cities is not unexpected; in fact, we might have predicted it from hy-

ginal utility of consumption, results in utility maximization with equal shares of each of the goods. We can apply this "Christian" utility function to the theory of producer cooperatives and show that all of the problems with incentives in collectives and communes disappear. Thus, a producer cooperative (collective or commune) in which neighborly love has replaced selfishness should not be subject to the problems predicted by the standard theory. The evidence is overwhelming that the Orderville United Order was such a place. Thus, (the applicable) economic theory does explain the success of Orderville, as well as the other Orders where that "change in the nature of man" was not realized.

pothesis II. A result which is rather perplexing, however, is the reduction in equality observed within communities as collective type United Orders are established. A comparison of actual Lorenz curves for Monroe in 1872, 1875, and 1880 can be seen in Figure 2. Notice the dramatic shift toward inequality from 1872 to 1875, and the return to relative equality by 1880. A complete elucidation of this result will not likely be possible without more extensive examination of the data, but we can speculate about possible contributing factors. First, it is of interest to note that in the United Order accounts, an individual's credits are his "money" income, the measure we have used in estimating Gini ratios. The "real" income of a person, however, is perhaps best indicated by his debits, the measure of actual consumption. A redistribution of income
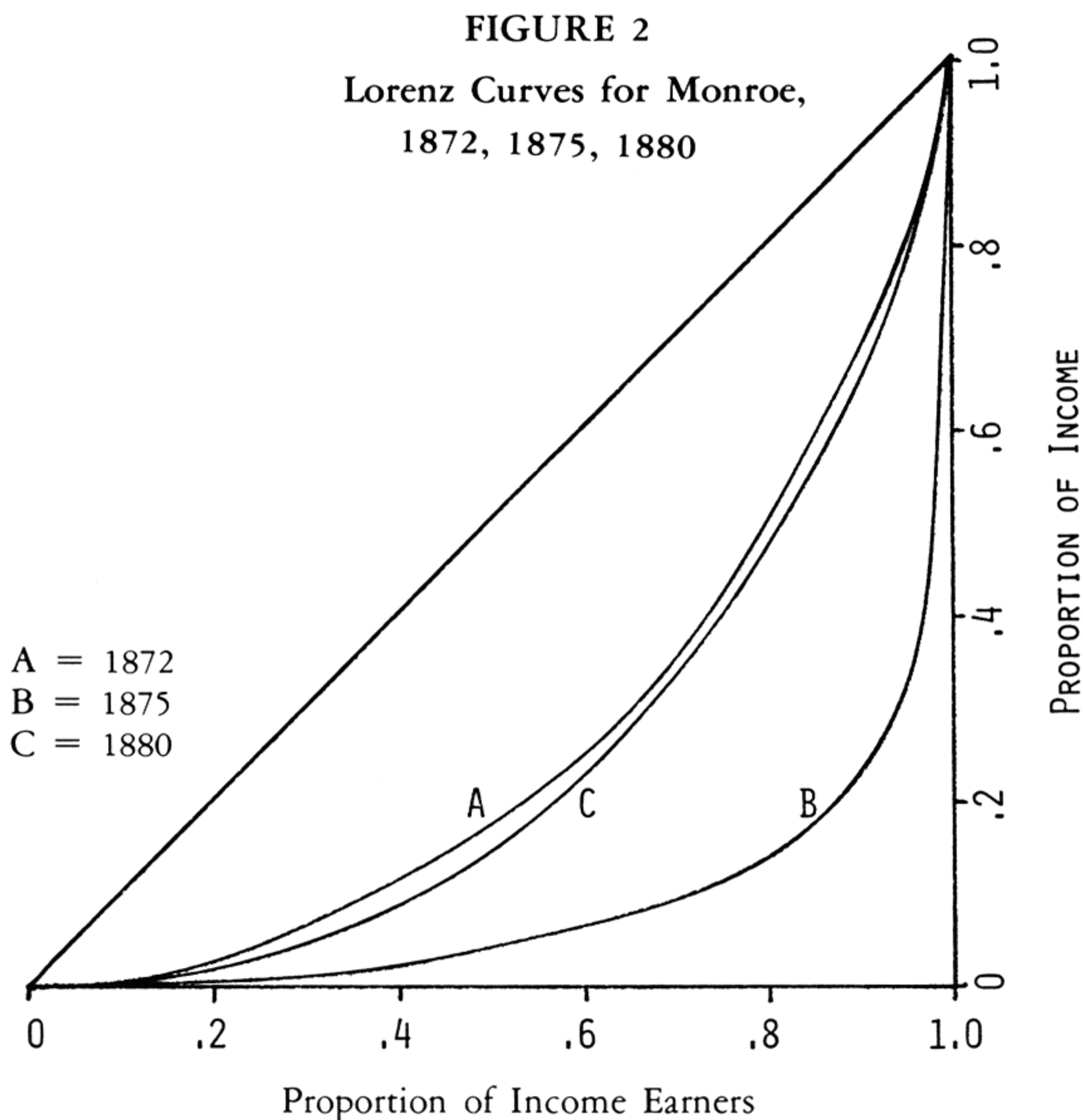
FIGURE 2

Lorenz Curves for Monroe,
1872, 1875, 1880

A = 1872
B = 1875
C = 1880

Proportion of Income Earners

takes place when credits and debits are not equal, particularly in those Orders which canceled debits and credits at the end of each year.[39] Table 5 compares means and Gini ratios for debits and credits in various United Orders. Only in Monroe were debits less equally distributed than credits.[40] This may indicate that the degree of inequality in United Order cities is exaggerated through the use of credits as part of income rather than debits. A comparison of Tables 1 and 5, however, indicates that even United Order debits are less equally distributed than total community income in all cities except Fairview.

The fact that most St. George type Orders paid fairly competitive dividends on capital contributed but paid low wages for contributed labor may help explain the inequality. Since wealthy individuals tended to receive a higher percentage of their income from capital than did poorer people, the increase in the return to capital relative to that of labor would likely increase inequality. A related source of inequality in such Orders is the fact that different people contributed different proportions of their labor and capital. If the return to capital in the Order is not as attractive as that outside the Order, not much capital is likely to be contributed.[41] Again, individuals earning most of their income from labor may be hurt, this time doubly so, since capital formation and productivity will suffer. None of these explanations seems completely satisfactory, yet all would bear looking into.

TABLE 5

MEANS AND GINI COEFFICIENTS FOR DEBITS AND CREDITS IN UO CITIES

| City | Year | Debits | | Credits | |
		Mean	Gini	Mean	Gini
Cedar City	1874	116	.574	54	.608
Fairview	1875	154	.503	198	.548
Kanab	1874	139	.570	198	.609
Monroe	1876	187	.596	276	.562
Mt. Pleasant	1875	231	.545	297	.586
Monroe	1877	272	.590	237	.585

SOURCE: U.O. Accounts and General Economic Records (MSS.), Church Archives, LDS Church.

[39]See, for example, Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God,* p. 278.
[40]Mean debits are greater than mean credits in Cedar City, 1874, by a ratio of more than 2:1. This helps explain why the Cedar City Order failed to continue another year.
[41]See Israelsen, "Economics of the United Order," Appendix 2A.

557

TABLE 6

MEAN INCOME OF UO MEMBERS
AND NON-MEMBERS PRIOR TO
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
ORDER (1872)

City	Mean Income UO Member	Mean Income Non-member
Fairview	614.23	416.70
Mt. Pleasant	907.33	496.08
Cedar City	672.41	422.80
Orderville	319.62	217.68
Monroe	277.30	213.18

SOURCE: U.O. Accounts and General Economic Records (MSS.), Church Archives, LDS Church.

A result of this study which seems striking is the high degree of income inequality suggested by the overall magnitude of the Gini ratios. For individual communities (excluding Orderville) the ratios range from .674 (Monroe, 1875) to .415 (Mt. Pleasant, 1868). The average ratio is .535. For the entire sample, the Gini ranges from .508 in 1868 to .582 in 1875. In a recent study of the distribution of family income by state for the 1949–1969 period, the Gini ratios range from .536 (Mississippi, 1949) to .323 (New Hampshire, 1969).[42]

The apparently greater degree of inequality evidenced in our results may be overstated relative to the interstate study because that study deals with family income, while ours includes each income earner separately.

Hypothesis XV states that a contributing cause in the failure of the United Order was the reluctance of relatively wealthy individuals to join the Order. Table 6 compares mean income in 1872 of those individuals who later became members of the United Order to the mean income in 1872 of those who apparently did not join.[43] Table 7 contains a comparison of member and non-member income by United Order for 1874–1876. With the exception of Monroe, the average income of individuals who joined the United Order was substantially greater than that of individuals who did

[42]Tom S. Sale, III, "Interstate Analysis of the Size Distribution of Family Income, 1950–1970," *Southern Economic Journal* 40 (January 1974):434–41.

[43]Those included as members are individuals in 1872 who were found on the United Order accounts in 1874–76 (1879–80 for Orderville).

TABLE 7

MEAN INCOME OF MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS OF THE UO IN SAMPLE CITIES

City	Year	Mean Income UO Members	Mean Income Non-members	Total
Cedar City	1874	522	271	395
Fairview	1875	174	162	171
Kanab*	1874	289	219	271
Monroe	1876	113	284	147
Mt. Pleasant	1875	252	191	223
Brigham City	1875	419	311	357
Monroe	1877	127	144	134

*In Kanab, "UO members" refers to those in the communal order led by John R. Young; "non-members" participated in a collective type Order under Bishop Levi Stewart. Records show that only two families did not participate in either Order. (Kanab U.O. records and Dean May, Senior Historical Associate, Church Historical Dept., LDS Church.)

SOURCE: U.O. Accounts and General Economic Records (MSS.), Church Archives, LDS Church.

not join. Based on this data, we would reject the hypothesis. The problem is not as simple as it may appear, however. It was possible, in most instances, for an individual to join the United Order without contributing all, or any, of his property, and those with property to manage outside the Order likely found it difficult to contribute very much labor to the Order. The observed fact that relatively wealthy people did join the order loses much of its meaning in the absence of evidence concerning the degree of involvement of those people and their property in the Order.[44] The collection and analysis of such evidence would seem to be a fruitful avenue for future research.

[44]For example, Cedar City United Order members had a mean income in 1874 of $522, the largest, by far, of any group in the comparison. Yet, a look at Table 5 reveals that the average credit earned by those same people was only $54, only one-tenth of total income and by far the smallest mean credit in the study.

APPENDIX

Listing by state of all communities known to have been organized under the United Order*

Arizona

Beaver Dams (Littlefield Ward), Mojave Co.
Brigham City (Ballinger), Navajo Co.
Graham, Graham Co.
Hayden's Ferry (Hayden), Gila Co.
Joseph City (Allen's Camp, St. Joseph), Navajo Co.
Mesa, Maricopa Co.
Mill Point
Mt. Trumbull, Mojave Co.
Obed, Navajo Co.
Salt Creek
Simonsville
Snowflake, Navajo Co.
Sunset, Navajo Co.
Taylor, Navajo Co.
Woodruff, Navajo Co.

Idaho

Bear Lake Stake
Bennington, Bear Lake Co.
Bloomington, Bear Lake Co.
Fish Haven, Bear Lake Co.
Franklin, Franklin Co.
Liberty, Bear Lake Co.
Malad, Oneida Co.
Montpelier, Bear Lake Co.
Ovid, Bear Lake Co.
Paris, Bear Lake Co.
Samaria, Oneida Co.
St. Charles, Bear Lake Co.

Mexico

Cave Valley, Chihuahua

Nevada

Bunkerville, Clark Co.
Overton, Clark Co.
Panaca, Lincoln Co.
St. Joseph, Clark Co.
St. Thomas, Clark Co.

Utah

Adamsville, Beaver Co.
Alpine, Utah Co.
American Fork, Utah Co.
Annabella, Sevier Co.
Axtell, Sanpete Co.
Bear Lake Stake
Bear River City, Box Elder Co.
Beaver, Beaver Co.
Beaver Stake
Belleview (Bellevue), Washington Co.
Big Cottonwood, Salt Lake Co.
Bountiful, Davis Co.
Box Elder County
Brigham City, Box Elder Co.
Brighton, Salt Lake Co.
Cache Valley Central
Cedar City, Iron Co.
Cedar Fort (Cedar Valley), Utah Co.
Centerfield, Sanpete Co.
Centerville, Davis Co.
Circleville, Piute Co.
Clarkston, Cache Co.
Coalville (Cluff Ward), Summit Co.
Cooper Bottom, Washington Co.
Davis County

Eden, Weber Co.
Elsinore, Sevier Co.
Ephraim, Sanpete Co.
Fairfield, Utah Co.
Fairview, Sanpete Co.
Farmers and Horticulturists, Salt
    Lake Co.
Farmington, Davis Co.
Fayette, Sanpete Co.
Fillmore, Millard Co.
Fountain Green, Sanpete Co.
Glendale, Kane Co.
Glenwood, Sevier Co.
Goshen, Utah Co.
Greenville, Beaver Co.
Gunnison, Sanpete Co.
Harmony (New Harmony),
    Washington Co.
Harrisburg, Washington Co.
Heber, Wasatch Co.
Heberville Bottoms,
    Washington Co.
Hebron, Washington Co.
Henneferville, Summit Co.
Holden, Millard Co.
Huntsville, Weber Co.
Hyrum, Cache Co.
Hyde Park, Cache Co.
Iron County
Jericho, Juab Co.
Johnson, Kane Co.
Joseph, Sevier Co.
Juab Stake
Kamas, Summit Co.
Kanab, Kane Co.
Kanarra (Kanarraville), Iron
    Co.
Kanosh, Millard Co.
Kaysville, Davis Co.
Kingston, Piute Co.
Laketown, Rich Co.
Leeds, Washington Co.

Lehi, Utah Co.
Levan, Juab Co.
Liberty, Weber Co.
Logan, Cache Co.
Logan 1st, Cache Co.
Logan 2nd, Cache Co.
Logan 3rd, Cache Co.
Lynne, Weber Co.
Mammoth, Juab Co.
Manti, Sanpete Co.
Marriott's Settlement, Weber
    Co.
Mayfield, Sanpete Co.
Mantua, Box Elder Co.
Meadow, Millard Co.
Mendon, Cache Co.
Millard, Millard Co.
Millard Stake
Mill Creek, Salt Lake Co.
Millville, Cache Co.
Minersville, Beaver Co.
Monroe, Sevier Co.
Morgan, Morgan Co.
Moroni, Sanpete Co.
Morristown, Washington Co.
Mt. Carmel, Kane Co.
Mt. Pleasant, Sanpete Co.
Nephi, Juab Co.
North Kanyon, Davis Co.
Oak Creek, Millard Co.
Ogden Central, Weber Co.
Ogden 1st District, Weber Co.
Ogden 2nd District, Weber Co.
Orgen 3rd District, Weber Co.
Orderville, Kane Co.
Panguitch, Garfield Co.
Paradise, Cache Co.
Paragoonah (Paragonah), Iron
    Co.
Pahreah (Paria), Kane Co.
Paris, Kane Co.
Parowan, Iron Co.

Payson, Utah Co.
Peoa, Summit Co.
Pine Valley, Washington Co.
Pinto, Washington Co.
Pintura, Washington Co.
Plain City, Weber Co.
Pleasant Grove, Utah Co.
Portage, Box Elder Co.
Porterville, Morgan Co.
Prattville, Sevier Co.
Price City, Washington Co.
Provo, Utah Co.
Provo Central, Utah Co.
Randolph, Rich Co.
Richfield, Sevier Co.
Richmond, Cache Co.
Rockport, Summit Co.
Rockville, Washington Co.
Salem, Utah Co.
Salina, Sevier Co.
Salt Lake Central, Salt Lake Co.
Salt Lake City #1, Salt Lake Co.
Salt Lake City 1st through 17th, 19th, 20th, Salt Lake Co.
Sanpete County
Santa Clara, Washington Co.
Santaquin, Utah Co.
Sevier Stake
Scipio, Millard Co.
Shunesburg, Washington Co.
Slaterville, Weber Co.
Smithfield, Cache Co.
South Cottonwood, Salt Lake Co.
Southern Utah Mission
Spanish Fork, Utah Co.
Spring City, Sanpete Co.
Springdale, Washington Co.

Springlake, Utah Co.
Springville, Utah Co.
St. George, Washington Co.
St. George 1st, Washington Co.
St. George Stake
Summit, Iron Co.
Summit Stake
Tanners, Salt Lake Co.
Tailors, Salt Lake Co.
Toquerville, Washington Co.
Tooele, Tooele Co.
Utah County Central
Virgin City, Washington Co.
Virgin Field, Washington Co.
Vermillion (Sigurd), Sevier Co.
Wanship, Summit Co.
Washington, Washington Co.
Wellsville, Cache Co.
West Jordan, Salt Lake Co.
West Weber, Weber Co.
Willard, Box Elder Co.
Willow Creek (Draper), Salt Lake Co.
Woodruff, Rich Co.

Wyoming

Almy, Uinta Co.

---

*From lists compiled by L. Dwight Israelsen, Leonard J. Arrington, and Feramorz Y. Fox.

Conjectural Emendation and the Text of the Book of Mormon

Stan Larson

As one looks at the way a book is made, often being dictated, written down, edited, copied, rewritten, and then typeset for printing, he is not surprised that the scribe, copyist, editor, or printer might have misheard one word for another or miscopied from one manuscript to another, or even misspelled a word here or there. No matter how careful one is, errors do creep in. Most often the mistakes can be cleared up in second printings by checking the printed copy against manuscript copies.

Occasionally, however, the original text is not available and errors exist in the earliest manuscripts. The texts must then be carefully studied and proposed textual corrections decided upon that are both "intrinsically suitable" and "such as to account for the corrupt reading [error] . . . in the transmitted text."[1] This process of studying early manuscripts and recommending corrections is called conjectural emendation. It is conjectural because it is based on circumstantial evidence and by its nature is unverifiable since it attempts to go beyond the earliest extant manuscript. Though he does not use the term "conjectural emendation," Robert J. Matthews uses this technique convincingly in evaluating a passage in the Inspired Version of the Bible.[2] Conjectural emendation must be judiciously and sparingly applied, however, for in this subjective enterprise one may get carried away and end up in the situation of the classical scholar Richard Bentley, who "in his later work . . . largely disregarded the evidence of manuscripts in determining the correct readings, and depended chiefly upon his own instinctive feeling as to what an author must have written."[3] Thus, rather than propose alterations to a text simply to suit one's fancy, it would seem better to propose some instances in which conjectural emendation appears to be justified.

Stan Larson is coordinator of standard works translation for the Church Translation Services and also is studying for a Ph.D. at the University of Birmingham, England.

[1]Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration,* 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 182.

[2]Robert J. Matthews, *"A Plainer Translation": Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible—A History and Commentary* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), pp. 202-04, convincingly proposes a new reading for the Inspired Revision of Luke 6:33 in spite of the consistent evidence of the original manuscript (NT 2), the Bernhisel manuscript, and all printed editions.

[3]Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament,* p. 182.

A possible need for conjectural emendation in the Book of Mormon arises from its unique origin as a dictated translation. An "error of the ear" may occur when a homophone (two words with the same sound such as *straight* and *strait*) or near-homophone is dictated and the wrong word comes to the mind of the scribe and is accordingly written in the manuscript. Phonetic similarity may thus account for Oliver Cowdery's mishearing of some words. The presence of such errors in the Original MS of the Book of Mormon actually supports the position that Joseph Smith dictated to his scribe. Such difficulties are a natural product of the dictation process and are evidence that there was no collusion between the dictator and the scribe.

Examples of errors found in the Book of Mormon manuscripts that were due to either misspelling, miscopying, and/or mishearing are the writing of *&* for *an, away* for *a way, bear* for *bare, chaste* for *chased, drugs* for *dregs, forth* for *fourth, hare* for *hair, head* for *heed, holly* for *holy, know* for *now, least* for *lest, life* for *light, loose* for *lose, maid* for *made, new* for *knew, no* for *know, oar* for *ore, of* for *off, read* for *red, reign* for *rain, strait* for *straight, the* for *thee, then* for *than, there* for *their, thou* for *though, tittle* for *title, to* for *too, wedge* for *wage, where* for *were,* and *ye* for *yea.* These were corrected either directly in the Original MS, or while the Printer's MS was being transcribed, or when the text was first printed in 1830. If such errors occurred, were found, and corrected before the book was printed, is it possible that similar errors occurred that have *not* been corrected? Even though the possibility that such errors have been made in the transcription of the Book of Mormon text has been acknowledged,[4] there has been very little done to specify possible examples of such.

In the following passages, all of the printed editions and the Printer's MS (and also the Original MS, when it exists) have the same text. Although the suggested correction for each of the following is based on conjectural emendation, there is good reason for each suggestion.

A possible case of an error of the ear is 3 Nephi 25:2: "But unto you that fear my name, shall the Son of Righteousness arise with healing in his wings; and ye shall go forth and grow up as calves in the stall." The phrase "the Son of Righteousness" occurs instead of the suggested emendation "the Sun of Righteousness." In 1959 Sidney B. Sperry discussed this passage in some detail and

[4]*Scriptures of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Supplement* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1968), p. 55.

pointed out that although in English *sun* and *son* are homophones, the Hebrew of Malachi 4:2 (which is being quoted) has *shemesh* meaning "sun,"[5] and not *ben* which is the word for "son." Also, the Hebrew text says literally "the sun of righteousness shall arise with healing in *her* wings," the feminine pronoun agreeing with the feminine gender of *shemesh.*[6] He concluded that due to this "compelling evidence" from the Hebrew text, one is "driven inevitably to the view that 'Sun of Righteousness' is the correct reading."[7] While proposing this correction to the text, Dr. Sperry adds that "*the meaning is not changed at all,* because most conservative scholars through the centuries have agreed that 'Sun of Righteousness' refers to the Savior."[8]

Other homophones that have created difficulties are *right* and *rite,* and while the context usually makes the necessary meaning clear there are some situations that are potentially ambiguous. *Right(s)* occurs seventy times, but *rites* only twice, and it seems that these occurrences of *rites* at Alma 43:45 and 44:5 are wrong. There are several reasons for this conclusion. Of the six passages where the Original MS is in existence and is legible, three of them have the spelling *rites,* but by the time they were printed in the first edition they appeared as *rights.*[9] Sometimes the stages of revision can be seen, as in the case of Alma 43:47, which has *rites* in the Original MS, *rites* corrected to *rights* in the Printer's MS, and *rights* in all printed editions. Most of the occurrences of *rights* cluster together in the "war chapters" of Alma, in which the Nephites are fighting to preserve their civil and religious rights, not defending the rituals of their church worship. In Alma 43:45 and 44:5, the conjectural emendation *rights* seems more consistent with the context, which refers to the freedom to worship as they desired.[10]

The phrase "the remnant of those that are slain" in 2 Nephi 24:19 seems to be self-contradictory since the ones who are slain

---

[5]Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), p. 1039.

[6]Another biblical quotation within the Book of Mormon that speaks of the sun rising is found at 3 Nephi 12:45. Here, too, the Printer's MS had *son,* but fortunately in this case the Printer's MS was corrected to *sun,* and it was correctly printed in the first edition.

[7]Sidney B. Sperry, "The Book of Mormon and Textual Criticism," in *Book of Mormon Institute,* Brigham Young University Extension Publications, 5 December 1959, p. 5.

[8]Ibid. Emphasis in the original. Ironically, when Brother Sperry's talk was printed, the phrase "Sun of Righteousness" in this quote was misprinted as "Son of Righteousness."

[9]There is even one case (Mosiah 29:32) where the Printer's MS has *wrights,* and this too is corrected to *rights* in the printed editions.

[10]It is made clear in Alma 43:9 that they were fighting to preserve their rights and freedoms in order to be able to "worship God according to their desires."

would not have anyone left to represent them. This is a quotation of Isaiah 14:19, and here the King James Version has *raiment,* which translates *lĕbush* meaning "garment, clothing, raiment."[11] Brother Sperry seems to favor *raiment* for this verse in the Book of Mormon and suggests that the meaning is: "Clad with the slain, i.e., his corpse is surrounded by other dead bodies."[12] It seems likely that the scribe understood the word as *remnant* when *raiment* was dictated.

In both 2 Nephi 29:4 and Alma 18:37, the *travel(s)* of the printed text and the Printer's MS might have been dictated as *travail(s),* or might have been misspelled by Oliver Cowdery. Most words misspelled in the Printer's MS were corrected by John H. Gilbert, the major typesetter for the first edition, who said:

> In one instance he [Oliver Cowdery] was looking over the manuscript, when the word "travail" occurred twice in the form but spelled in the manuscript, *travel.* Mr. Grandin when reading the proof pronounced the word correctly, but Cowdery did not seem to know the difference. . . .[13]

The "form" (or pages of a book intended to be printed on one side of a sheet) Gilbert referred to comprised pages 209–24 in the 1830 edition, and though the word is indeed misspelled as *travel* in the Printer's MS, it is correctly printed as *travail* at Mosiah 27:33 and 29:33. It should be noted that though the pronunciation of *travail* and *travel* are quite distinct in present-day English, this was not the case in the nineteenth century.[14] The fascinating aspect of this problem is that *travail* (always with the manuscript spelling *travel*) also occurs four *other* times in the Printer's MS, but in only two of these (Mosiah 14:11 and 3 Nephi 22:1) was its spelling corrected to *travail* in the printed text. The other two cases (2 Nephi 29:4 and Alma 18:37) remain in their manuscript misspelling, and it would seem that they also should have been rendered *travail.*

The Book of Ether is structurally organized so that it begins with a genealogical table from the prophet Ether back through

---

[11]Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon,* p. 528.

[12]Sidney B. Sperry, *Book of Mormon Compendium* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968), p. 242.

[13]John H. Gilbert to James Cobb, 10 February 1879, New York Public Library, as quoted in Larry Porter, "A Study of the Origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816–1831" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971), p. 89. Emphasis in the original.

[14]Both words were pronounced with the stress on the first syllable. See Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: S. Converse, 1828), s.v. *travail* and *travel.* Orson Pratt's pronunciation of *travail(s)* can be checked in his 1869 edition of the Deseret Alphabet Book of Mormon (New York: Russell Bros., 1869) on pages 141 (Mosiah 14:11), 162 (Mosiah 27:33), 166 (Mosiah 29:33), and 377 (3 Nephi 22:1).

the generations to his forefather Jared, and then the story is told in chronological order from that time down to the time of Ether. Each of the individuals listed in the genealogy is mentioned in the following chapters, with the exception in Ether 1:11–12 of *Shiblon,* whose name does not precisely match with the *Shiblom* of the corresponding passages in Ether 11:4, 5, 7, 9. Brother Sperry, noting this difference of spelling, suggests that we are probably "dealing with one original and not two distinct names."[15] This is supported by the implication of Ether 11:9 that Seth was the son of Shiblom (cf. Ether 1:11), and not the brother of Shiblom as some have advocated. Since the form *Shiblom* occurs six times in Ether and the alternate form only twice, and since Jaredite names tended to favor mimation,[16] it appears that Ether 1:11–12 should correctly be *Shiblom.* The Original MS is not available to determine whether the proposed emendation is in the original, or whether the difficulty arose from mishearing or simply miscopying on the part of the scribe.

That Helaman 3:3 has *yea* instead of *year* stems back to the Original MS and was due either to faulty transcription or to mishearing of what was dictated. This particular kind of error is not unknown,[17] and the conjectural emendation *year* is supported by the occurrences of "forty and third year" twice in verse one, and "forty and fourth year" and "forty and fifth year" in verse two, leading up to the emended phrase about the "forty and sixth year" in verse three.

The text of 2 Nephi 8:15 seems to have a few words missing since it attributes roaring waves to the Lord himself! What was probably intended is "I am the Lord thy God, that divided the sea whose waves roared" (as found in the King James Version of Isaiah 51:15), with the logical order that it is the Lord that divides or stirs up the sea and that it is the waves of the sea that are making the roaring sound. The Hebrew underlying this phrase is *roga' hayyam,* which means "who is disturbing the sea."[18] Al-

---

[15] Sperry, *Compendium,* p. 474n.

[16] Hugh Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1964), pp. 236–37.

[17] A similar difficulty occurred in Alma 48:21 where the Original MS has "nineteenth year," the Printer's MS has "nineteenth yea," the 1830 edition has "nineteenth; yea," and the 1840 and following editions have "nineteenth year; yea." It can be seen that the original rendition as written at the dictation of Joseph Smith was correct, and that when the Printer's MS was made the problem arose due to the incomplete transcription of *year* as *yea.* This was copied in the editions until 1849 when the difficulty was sensed; however, because the solution was not based on the reading of the Original MS but simply on the requirements of context, it did not correct the *yea* back to *year,* but merely added a *year* before the *yea.* Obviously, the original intent was to have *year* without *yea.*

[18] Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon,* p. 920. The same phrase is found in Jeremiah 31:35.

though there is indeed a gap of four words in our present Book of Mormon text and the Original MS for this verse is not extant, it is *possible* that the phrase now missing in 2 Nephi 8:15 was actually written in the Original MS and is an example of a transcription error in which a phrase was accidentally omitted when the Printer's MS was copied.[19]

When the passage at 2 Nephi 23:8 is compared with the parallel at Isaiah 13:8 in the King James Version, it becomes apparent that the Book of Mormon text is different in that the latter does not have the followng clause: "they shall be in pain as a woman that travaileth." This difference between the Book of Mormon and the Bible could be accounted for by asserting either that the clause was added to the Bible account or deleted from the Book of Mormon account. Since the words "they shall be" begin the missing part as well as the immediately following clause, it may indicate that someone's eye skipped from one set of words to the other and thus account for their absence in the Book of Mormon. As in the previous passage examined, the words under consideration *may* have been lost when the Printer's MS was made from the Original MS, though the Original MS is unavailable to substantiate the situation one way or another. Notice that when the wording of the King James Version is presented in the structural arrangement and punctuation of the Revised Standard Version, the fine balance of the characteristic poetic parallelism would be lost if the second line were omitted:

> Pangs and sorrows shall take hold of them;
> > they shall be in pain as a woman that travaileth.
> They shall be amazed one at one another;
> > their faces shall be as flames.

Unlike many other Biblical passages revised in the Book of Mormon, the text at this point in the Inspired Revision simply follows the King James Version, which may indicate that the phrase was not supposed to be missing from the Book of Mormon.

Deserting in the phase "deserting away into the land of Nephi, among the Lamanites" of Helaman 4:12 has appeared in every printed edition of the Book of Mormon. The word *deserting* would normally be found in a context indicating an abandoning of military service. However, the Printer's MS has *desenting*. This could be taken either as *deserting* or *dissenting*. A consid-

---

[19]There are other places like this where there are gaps in the Printer's MS and the printed editions, and where the Original MS is missing. An example would be verse 15 of the Words of Mormon which should read "and they *had been* punished according to their crimes."

eration in favor of the latter is the association of the same preposition, *away,* found in 3 Nephi 3:11 where it talks about *dissenting away.* Also Oliver Cowdery's spelling habits in the Book of Mormon manuscript should be considered: there are ten other places where *dissent* (or related forms) are spelled as *desent,* which certainly pushes in favor that *dissenting* was the intent of the Printer's MS at this point. Thus, by a not-too-far-fetched conjectural emendation the text becomes *dissenting.*

Helaman's letter to Moroni is introduced with the statement: "these are the words which he wrote" (Alma 56:2); then from this verse through Alma 58:41 the letter is quoted, evidently verbatim. Throughout these 133 verses all references to Helaman are consistently in the first person,[20] except in Alma 56:52 where the third person reference to Helaman and his warriors breaks this consistency.[21] The crossed-out part in the Printer's MS in verse 52 of ⨍ Helaman came upon their rear" hints that the Original MS (which is not extant for these words) might have read "I Helaman." A reasonable reconstruction for this verse is: "...when *I* Helaman came upon their rear with *my* two thousand, and began to slay them exceedingly, insomuch that the whole army of the Lamanites halted and turned upon *me.*"[22]

Although the textual difficulties discussed above show that some errors have crept into the Book of Mormon right from the beginning, it must be remembered that such faults are the failings of men. The Book of Mormon is a marvelously consistent volume, and it is a wonder that with so many chances for mishearing, misspelling, or miscopying, there are so few instances where one must appeal to the process of conjectural emendation.

---

[20]Compare especially Alma 56:9; 57:36; and 58:41.

[21]There is a parallel instance in Helaman 13:25 where a third person reference needed to be changed to first person and this was done to the passage in 1837.

[22]Though it is a little awkward, it would require less emendation to have "me Helaman," which would be like the style found in 1 Nephi 7:6; 14:5; and Jacob 1:1, 2; 7:22.

Mormon Bibliography 1977

Chad J. Flake

Last year in the Mormon Bibliography I noted that the printing of the Book of Mormon on newsprint paper gave it a somber, dull appearance, certainly not what I want to see upon opening a book of scripture. Its paper and printing placed the book in the dime novel category where it certainly does not belong. It is interesting that the only comment I received was from a gentleman at Deseret Book Co. who defended its publication. This caused me to pause and reconsider my position. Was the demand for an inexpensive copy an overriding factor over what to me was good taste? Since then, Deseret Book Co. has published the highly successful "Reference Set"—a series of nine books ranging from James E. Talmage's *Jesus the Christ* to President Kimball's *Miracle of Forgiveness*. This set was on *Mountain West's* ten top sellers for several weeks. Although I personally would not have the set in my own library, having it printed on pulp paper does not offend me as does printing the Book of Mormon this way. Over the centuries people have gone to great lengths to ensure that scriptures appear in the best form imaginable. For example, I have a Moslem book in which the quotations of Mohammed are printed in gold. At the book store is an extremely inexpensive edition of the Bible published by the World Publishing Company, but it is on white, not grey paper. It is my contention that that which we believe to be divine should not be poorly printed on poor paper and bound poorly. Frankly, there is a practical side as well as aesthetic: certainly there are people who will be turned away from a serious consideration of the Book of Mormon because of the unpleasant appearance of this new edition.

The newest edition to the collection of books in this pulp library is the *History of the Church,* which is also enjoying good sales. Apart from the paper, it has been sufficiently reduced so that only young eyes are able to read it.

Arriving in my office about the same time was an addition of Parley P. Pratt's *Key to the Science of Theology* bound with his *Voice of Warning.* Again the printing is mediocre, but its binding I thought was wretched—in ersatz half leather without end papers. But more serious than the printing and binding which remain a matter of taste, and it appears mine differs from a great many oth-

ers' who are buying the book, there are some bibliographic problems with the book. In its 1978 preface the anonymous editor talks of its being a revision of an earlier edition, but makes no mention of which earlier edition was used. In *The Key to the Science of Theology* this is critical. Similar bibliographical lapses occur with the *Voice of Warning.*

The printing of books of poor quality is certainly not restricted to any one publisher. Closer to home is the unsatisfactory book making by the Brigham Young University Press. Consider *The Biography of Ina Coolbrith* printed in purple ink, *Armed with the Spirit* on brown paper with a center inset of dead white paper, *Water Stone Sky* with Lake Powell's panoramas illustrated in two-inch views. More critical are our scholarly books. Arrington's *Charles C. Rich,* McLaw's *Spokesman for the Kingdom,* and *Sister Saints* comprise the series "Studies in Mormon History." Yet instead of being issued in high quality editions one expects for important books from a university press, these books are wretchedly designed and poorly printed on inexpensive paper and do not compare with the similar series of books coming from the University of Utah Press. With less adequate facilities and a smaller staff, the University of Utah Press consistently publishes books of printing quality. It is not that Brigham Young University Press can't print a quality book; Wesley Burnside's *Maynard Dixon,* and the *Brescia Dante* prove it can. Again economics seems to get the blame. But, practical considerations must come to mind too. The books published by BYU press are advertised all over the world; for many in the scholarly community these books are their only contact with BYU. What kind of statement does an ugly, badly printed book make about us?

Anderson, Paul L. "First of the Modern Temples." *Ensign* 7 (July 1977):6–11.

Arrington, Leonard J. "The Latter-day Saints and Public Education." *Southwestern Journal of Social Education* 7 (Spring/Summer 1977):9–25.

_____. "Pioneers from Mississippi." *Ensign* 7 (June 1977):46–51.

_____ and Ronald K. Esplin. "Building a Commonwealth: The Secular Leadership of Brigham Young." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1977):216–32.

Backman, Milton V., Jr. "Truman Coe's 1836 Description of Mormonism." *BYU Studies* 17 (Spring 1977):347–54.

Bair, JoAnn W. and Richard L. Jensen. "Prosecution of the Mormons in Arizona Territory in the 1880s." *Arizona and the West* 19 (Spring 1977):25–46.

Baldwin, Orval F., II. "A Mormon Bride in the Great Migration." *Nebraska History* 58 (Spring 1977):53–71.

Barney, R. D. and G. G. Y. Chu. "Differences between Mormon Missionaries' Perceptions and Chinese Natives' Expectations in Intercultural Transactions." *Journal of Social Psychology* 98 (February 1976):135–36.

Best, Brian. "Nephi, Lehi, and Samuel the Lamanite." *Ensign* 7 (December 1977):44–51.

Bitton, Davis. "Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977):101–18.

_____. " 'These Licentious Days': Dancing Among the Mormons." *Sunstone* 2 (Spring 1977):15–27.

Britsch, R. Lanier. "The Founding of the Samoan Mission." *BYU Studies* 18 (Fall 1977):12–26.

Bush, Lester E., Jr. "The Spalding Theory Then and Now." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1977):40–69.

Center, Don B. "Maligning as Technique in Anti-Mormon Rhetoric, 1847–1890." *Georgia Speech Communication Journal* 8 (Spring 1977):4–12.

Christian, Lewis Clark. *A Study of the Mormon Westward Migration Between February 1846 and July 1847 with Emphasis on and Evaluation of the Factors that Led to the Mormons' Choice of Salt Lake Valley as the Site of their Initial Colony.* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1976. Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University. Order #77-4821.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Stakes. Malad, Idaho. *History of Malad Idaho Stake, 1888–1977.* n.p., 1977.

Craig, Clifford Bean. *Interpersonal Interaction in Urban Space: A Geographic Analysis Within the Mormon Culture Region.* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1977. Ph.D. dissertation, Clark University. Order #77-32,415.

Davies, J. Kenneth. "The Secularization of the Utah Labor Movement." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Spring 1977):108-34.

DeMille, Janice Force. *Portraits of the Hurricane Pioneers.* St. George, Utah: Dixie College Press, 1976.

————. "Shonesburg: The Town Nobody Knows." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Winter 1977):47-60.

Derr, Jill Mulvay and Susan Oman. "The Nauvoo Generation: Our First Five Relief Society Presidents." *Ensign* 7 (December 1977):36-43.

Divett, Robert Thomas. "New Mexico and the Mormons." *The Greater Llano Estacado Southwest* 6 (Spring 1976):14-21.

Esplin, Fred C. "The Church as Broadcaster." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Spring 1977):25-45.

Foster, William Lawrence. *Between Two Worlds: The Origins of Shaker Celibacy, Oneida Community Complex Marriage, and Mormon Polygamy.* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1976. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago.

Gowans, Fred R. and Eugene E. Campbell. *Fort Supply: Brigham Young's Green River Experiment.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976.

Grover, Mark L. *The Mormon Church in Latin America: A Periodical Index 1830-1976.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977.

Gurgel, K. D. "Travel Patterns of Canadian Visitors to the Mormon Culture Hearth." *Canadian Geographer* 20 (Winter 1976):405-18.

Hardy, B. Carmon. "Cultural 'Encystment' as a Cause of the Mormon Exodus from Mexico in 1912." *Pacific Historical Review* 34 (196):439-54.

————. "The Schoolboy God: A Mormon-American Model." *The Journal of Religious History* 9 (December 1976):173-88.

Hatch, R. "Mormon Church: Managing the Lord's Work." *Masters in Business Administration* 11 (June 1977):33+.

Hill, Marvin S., C. Keith Rooker, and Larry T. Wimmer. "The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics." *BYU Studies* 17 (Summer 1977):391-476.

Irving, Gordon. "Encouraging the Saints: Brigham Young's Annual Tours of the Mormon Settlements." *Utah Historical Quar-*

terly 45 (Summer 1977):233-51.

Jackson, Richard H. *Images of the West: Elements of the Mormon Landscape.* Provo, Utah: Richard H. Jackson, 1976.

———. "The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan." *BYU Studies* 17 (Winter 1977):223-40.

——— and R. L. Layton. "Mormon Village: Analysis of a Settlement Type." *Professional Geographer* 28 (May 1976):136-41.

Jensen, Ethel. *Redmond Memories, 1875-1975.* n.p.: Zion's Bookstore, 1975.

Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism: A Response to Mormonism—Shadow or Reality? By an LDS Historian. Salt Lake City: n.p., 1977.

Johnson, Clark V. *Mormon Education in Mexico: The Rise of the Sociedad Educativa y Cultural.* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1977. Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University. Order #77-13,803.

Keller, Charles L. "Promoting Railroads and Statehood: John W. Young." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1977):289-308.

Knecht, Stephen R. *The Story of Joseph Smith's Bible Translation.* Salt Lake City: Associated Research Consultants, 1977.

Larche, Douglas Wayne. *The Mantle of the Prophet: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Quest for Mormon Post-martyrdom Leadership 1844-1860.* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1977. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University. Order #77-22,601.

Larson, Stan. "Textual Variants in Book of Mormon Manuscripts." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1977):8-30.

Lifchez, R. "Inspired Planning: Mormon and Fourierist Communities in the Nineteenth Century." *Landscape* 20 (Spring 1976):29-35.

MacKinnon, William P. "The Gap in the Buchanan Revival: The Utah Expedition of 1857-58." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Winter 1977):36-46.

McLaws, Monte Burr. *Spokesman for the Kingdom.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977.

"Marketing the Mormon Image: An Interview with Wendell Ashton." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Spring 1977):15-20.

May, Dean L. "The Making of Saints: The Mormon Town as a Setting for the Study of Cultural Change." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Winter 1977):75-92.

Paul, Rodman. "The Mormons: From Poverty and Persecution to

Prosperity and Power." *American Heritage* 28 (June 1977):74–83.

Payne, Allan Dean. *The Mormon Response to Early Progressive Education,* 1892–1920. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1977. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah. Order #77-16,051.

Poulsen, Richard C. " 'This is the Place': Myth and Mormondom." *Western Folklore* 36 (July 1977):246.

Powell, Allan Kent. "Mormon Influence on the Unionization of Eastern Utah Coal Miners, 1903–33." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977):91–100.

Quinn, D. Michael. *The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932: An American Elite.* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1976. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University. Order #76-30,277.

Schomakers, G. "Mormon Trekken Westwaarts." *Spiegel Historiael* [Netherlands] 9 (1974):422–29.

Sessions, Gene A. and Stephen W. Stathis. "The Mormon Invasion of Russian America: Dynamics of a Potent Myth." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Winter 1977):22–35.

Shepherd, Allen L. "Gentile in Zion: Algernon Sidney Paddock and the Utah Commission, 1882–1886." *Nebraska History* 57 (Fall 1976):359–77.

Smaby, Beverly P. "The Mormons and the Indians: Conflicting Ecological Systems in the Great Basin." *American Studies* 16 (Spring 1975):35–48.

Sorenson, John L. "The 'Brass Plates' and Biblical Scholarship." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1977):31–39.

Stathis, Stephen W. and Dennis L. Lythgoe. "Mormonism in the Nineteen-Seventies: The Popular Perception." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Spring 1977):95–113.

Stum, Richard. "Made in Hong Kong: Youthful Converts." *New Era* 7 (October 1977):28–34.

Tanner, George S. and J. Morris Richards. *Colonization on the Little Colorado.* Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northland Press, 1977.

Thorp, Malcolm R. "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837–52." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977):51–65.

Thrift, Ronald Edwin. *Two Paths to Utopia: An Investigation of Robert Owen in New Lanark and Brigham Young in Salt Lake City.* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1976. Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico. Order #76-25,684.

Wahlquist, Wayne L. "A Review of Mormon Settlement Liter-

ature." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Winter 1977):4–21.

Walker, Ronald W. "The Liberal Institute: A Case Study in National Assimilation." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1977):74–85.

————. *The Godbeite Protest in the Making of Modern Utah.* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1977. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah. Order #77-20,568.

Whittaker, David J. "Early Mormon Pamphleteering." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977):34–49.

Wilkinson, Ernest L. and W. Cleon Skousen. *Brigham Young University.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976.

Willis, John. "Mormon Fertility and the Americanization Hypothesis: Some Further Comments." *Social Biology* 22 (Fall 1975):282–84.

Wimmer, Larry T. and Clayne L. Pope. "The Genealogical Society Library of Salt Lake City: A Source of Data for Economic and Social Historians." *Historical Methods Newsletter* 8 (1975):51–58.

DOCTRINAL

Answers for Young Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Bassett, Arthur R. "Alma the Elder." *Ensign* 7 (February 1977):5–10.

Bennion, Francine."LDS Working Mothers." *Sunstone* 2 (Spring 1977):6–15.

Benson, Ezra Taft. *This Nation Shall Endure.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Brough, R. Clayton. *Our First Estate.* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1977.

————. *They Who Tarry: The Doctrine of Translated Beings.* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1976.

Bush, Edna K. *Dissecting the Book of Mormon: A Fresh Approach to the Book of Mormon.* St. Petersburg, Fla.: n.p., 1977.

Cannon, Elaine and Ed J. Pinegar. *The Mighty Change.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Card, Orson Scott. "Dissent and Treason." *Ensign* 7 (September 1977):52–58.

Center, Don. "Genealogy and the Mormons." *Journal of Genealogy* 2 (July 1977):12, 16.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. *Paperback Reference Set.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. *Topical Guide to*

the Scriptures of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Coleman, Gary. *How Great Will be Your Joy!* Salt Lake City: Hawkes, 1977.

"A Conversation with the General Relief Society Leaders." *Ensign* 7 (March 1977):32–42.

Dunn, Paul H. *You and Your World.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977.

Durrant, George. "Will Your Children Marry in the Temple?" *Ensign* 7 (January 1977):54–58.

Eberhard, Ernest, Jr. *Is It Love?* Provo, Utah: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1977.

Edvalson, Frederick M. *Inspired Version Study Guide: A Key to the Significant Changes.* Provo, Utah: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1977.

Edwards, F. Henry. *The New Commentary on the Doctrine and Covenants.* Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1977.

England, Eugene. "Moroni and His Captains: Men of Peace in a Time of War." *Ensign* 7 (September 1977):28–36.

Featherstone, Vaughn J. *Do It Yourself Destiny.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977.

Fielding, Lavina and Jeffery O. Johnson: "Endangered Species: Single Men in the Church." *Sunstone* 2 (Summer 1977):2–7.

Gunn, Rodger S. *Worlds Without End.* Salt Lake City: Hawkes, 1976.

Holland, Jeffery R. "Of Countries and Of Kingdoms..." *BYU Studies* 18 (Fall 1977):3–11.

Jacob, Don Murdock. *Jacob's Ladder: A Gospel Study Using Scientific Principles.* Logan, Utah: Unique Printing, 1976.

Jensen, James. *Being Prepared–Duty of Faithful.* Salt Lake City: Hawkes, 1976.

Jepson, Winston and Richard White. *Plan of Salvation.* Salt Lake City: Hawkes, 1976.

Karren, Keith J. *God's Special Children: Helping the Handicapped Achieve.* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1977.

Keele, Reba L. *Let's Talk: Adults and Children Sharing Feelings.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977.

Kenney, Scott. "Mormons, Genesis and Higher Criticism." *Sunstone* 3 (November-December 1977):8–12.

Kimball, Spencer W. *Abraham: An Example to Fathers.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

———. "First Presidency Message: 'It Becometh Every Man.'" *En-*

sign 7 (October 1977):2–7.

Kunz, Phillip R., ed. *The Mormon Family.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977.

Larsen, Norma Clark. *His Everlastin' Love.* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1977.

McConkie, Oscar W., Jr. *Aaronic Priesthood.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Maxfield, Melvil Richard. *The Book of Mormon and the Conversion Process to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: A Study of Recent Converts.* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1977. Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University. Order #77-17,620.

Maxwell, Neal A. *Wherefore, Ye Must Press Forward.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Measuring Mormonism, Volume 4. Salt Lake City: The Association for the Study of Religion, Inc., 1977.

Meservy, Keith H. "Ezekiel's 'Sticks.'" *Ensign* 7 (September 1977):22–27.

New Era. *Answers for Young Latter-day Saints.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

New Era. *The Time of Your Life.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977.

Nibley, Hugh. "A Strange Thing in the Land: The Return of the Book of Enoch." *Ensign* 7 (February, March, April, June, August 1977):66–75, 86–90, 78–89, 78–90, 64–65.

Petersen, Mark E. *Marriage: Covenants and Conflicts.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977.

———. *Moses—Man of Miracles.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Prayer. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Rector, Connie and Diane Deputy. *Links of Forever.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977.

Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Evangelism Commission. *Who are the Saints? An Introduction to the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.* Independence: Herald House, 1977.

Rhodes, Michael Dennis. "A Translation and Commentary of the Joseph Smith Hypocephalus." *BYU Studies* 17 (Spring 1977):259–74.

Ricks, Eldin. *Story of the Life of Christ.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Riddle, Chauncey C. "Korihor: The Arguments of Apostasy." *Ensign* 7 (September 1977)18–21.

Robertson, LaRae Collett. *You Can be a Book of Mormon Expert in Five Minutes a Day.* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1977.

Romney, Marion G. *Learning for the Eternities.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Ruf, H. O. *The Fall of Lucifer and the Establishment of Zion Foreseen.* Springfield, Mo.: Zion Publishing Co., 1976.

Sealy, Shirley. *Beyond This Moment.* Provo, Utah: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1977.

Seavy, Winona R. *Dare to Believe.* St. George, Utah: n.p., 1977.

Short, Dennis R. *For Men Only: The Lord's Law of Obedience.* Salt Lake City: The author, 1977.

Sorenson, A. Don. "Being Equal in Earthly and Heavenly Power: The Idea of Stewardship in the United Order." *BYU Studies* 18 (Fall 1977):100–17.

Sykes, Egerton. "The Origins of the Book of Mormon." *New World Antiquity* 24 (March-April 1977):32.

Vernon, Glenn M. *Sociology of Mormonism: A Preliminary Analysis.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1975.

Zimmerman, Dean R. *Living Prophet.* Salt Lake City: Hawkes, 1976.

INSPIRATIONAL

Affleck, Afton Grant. *Love is the Gift.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977.

Andersen, H. Verlan. *Many are Called but Few are Chosen.* Salt Lake City: Hawkes, 1976.

Barnes, Kathleen and Virginia Pearce. *Today I Saw a Prophet.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Christensen, Leon N. *The Little Book: Why I am a Mormon.* Boston: Branden Press, 1976.

Curtis, Lindsay R. *Making of a Prophet.* Salt Lake City: Hawkes, 1976.

Durrant, George. *The Art of Raising Parents.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977.

Farmer, Gladys. *Elders and Sisters.* Provo, Utah: Seagull Books, 1977.

The Friend. *Friend to Friend: General Authorities Speak to Children.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Kapp, Ardeth Greene. *Miracles in Pinafores and Bluejeans.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Miller, Ken. *Mormonism: A Happy Way to Live!* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1977.

Nolan, T. "The Family Plan of the Latter-day Osmonds." *Rolling Stone* n208 (11 March 1976):46–50+.

Peters, Kris. *Let's Go to Sunday School.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977.

Seavy, Winona R. *It's in the Bible.* St. George, Utah: n.p., 1977.

Sill, Sterling W. *The Wealth of Wisdom.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Thomas, Darwin L. "Being Parents, Being Children." *Ensign* 7 (September 1977):12–17.

Wellington, Paul A., ed. *Twelve Sermons.* Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1977.

THE ARTS

Bailey, Paul. *Holy Smoke: A Dissertation on the Utah War.* Los Angeles: Westernlore Publishers, 1977.

Bunker, Gary L. and Davis Bitton. "Illustrated Periodical Images of Mormons, 1850–1860." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Spring 1977):82–94.

Card, Orson Scott. "Family Art." *Ensign* 7 (July 1977):66–73.

———. "Father, Mother, Mother, and Mom." *Sunstone* 2 (Summer 1977):F-1–F-16.

———. *Listen, Mom and Dad.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977.

———. "Three Kings and a Captain: Nephite Leaders in the Land of Nephi." *Ensign* 7 (January 1977):76–82.

Carter, Tom, Jan Harold Brunvand, and Hal Cannon. *The New Beehive Songster,* Volumes I and II. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1977.

Cheville, Roy A. *Joseph and Emma. Companions.* Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1977.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Hymnal. English. *Activity Songs and Verses.* Salt Lake City: Church Distribution Center, 1977.

Clark, Bruce B. and Ralph A. Britsch, eds. *The Need Beyond Reason and Other Essays.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977.

Day, Afton. *How to be a Perfect Wife and Other Myths.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1976.

Dean, Bessie. *Let's Love One Another.* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1977.

Evans, Max J. "Handling Photographs in the L.D.S. Church Archives." *The American Archivist* 40 (April 1977):173.

Geary, Edward L. "Mormondom's Lost Generation: The Novelists

of the 1940s." *BYU Studies* 18 (Fall 1977):89–98.

Harker, Herbert. *Turn Again Home.* New York: Random House, 1976.

Holbrook, Leona. "Dancing as an Aspect of Early Mormon and Utah Culture." *Dance Heritage* 8:4–14.

Lovett, Gene. *Hear My Echo, Heed My Cry.* Santa Monica, Calif.: Titan Press, 1977.

Marshall, Donald R. *Frost in the Orchard.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press. 1977.

———. *The Rummage Sale.* Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1975.

Myer, Peter and Marie. "New Directions in Mormon Art." *Sunstone* 2 (Spring 1977):32–64.

Nelson, Richard Alan. "From Antagonism to Acceptance: Mormons and the Silver Screen." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon. Thought* 10 (Spring 1977):58–69.

Parr, Lucy. *True Stories of Mormon Pioneer Courage.* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1977.

Pearson, Carol Lynn. *My Turn on Earth.* North Hollywood, Calif.: Embryo Music, 1977.

"A Portfolio of Mormon Painters." *Ensign* 7 (July 1977):39–57.

Promised Land Publications. *Illustrated Articles of Faith.* Provo, Utah: Community Press, 1977.

Slaughter, William W. and W. Randall Dixon. "Utah Under Glass: An Introduction to Four Prominent Pioneer Photographers of 19th-Century Utah." *Sunstone* 2 (Summer 1977):28–39.

Swenson, Paul. "Nostrums in the Newsroom." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Spring 1977):46–57.

Thayer, Douglas H. *Under the Cottonwoods and Other Mormon Stories.* Provo, Utah: Frankson Books, 1977.

Wilson, William A. "Utah Folklore and the Utah Librarian." *Utah Libraries* 20 (Spring 1977):25–36.

BIOGRAPHY AND FAMILY HISTORY

Allen, James B. "The Great Protectionist: Sen. Reed Smoot of Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Fall 1977):325–45.

Arrington, Leonard J. "Historian as Entrepreneur: A Personal Essay." *BYU Studies* 17 (Winter 1977):193–209.

——— and John Haupt. "The Mormon Heritage of Vardis Fisher." *BYU Studies* 18 (Fall 1977):27–57.

Awerkamp, Jacqueline Williams. *William Atkin & Rachel Thompson Journal Genealogies* n.p.: Atkin Family Organization[?], 1976.

Aylworth, Martha Hendricks. *A Sketch of the Life of William Dorris*

581

Hendricks. Rexburg, Idaho: Diane Hendricks, [1977].

Barron, Howard H. *Orson Hyde–Missionary, Apostle, Colonizer.* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1977.

Bickerstaff, George. *My Special Family.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977.

Bushman, Richard L. "The Character of Joseph Smith: Insights from His Holographs." *Ensign* 7 (April 1977):10-13.

Card, Orson Scott. "Mexico." *Ensign* 7 (February 1977):16-23.

Croft, David J. "The Private Business Activities of Brigham Young." *Journal of the West* 16 (October 1977):36.

Dear, Mary Cleora. *Two Hundred Thirty-Eight Years of the Whitmer Family, 1737-1976.* Richmond, Va.: Beck, Printing Company, 1976.

Edwards, Paul M. "The Secular Smiths." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977):3-17.

England, Eugene. "Brigham Young as a Missionary." *New Era* 7 (November 1977):30-37.

_____. "Young Brigham." *New Era* 7 (September 1977):15-26.

Fielding, Lavina. "Florence Smith Jacobsen: In Love With Excellence." *Ensign* 7 (June 1977):24-29.

Fisher, J. Robert. *F. Peirce Fisher, 1882-1962.* Medicine Hat: The Printer, 1977.

Gates, Susa Young. "From Impulsive Girl to Patient Wife: Lucy Bigelow Young." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1977):270-88.

Gibbons, Francis M. *Joseph Smith: Martyr, Prophet of God.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Goss, P. L. "William H. Culmer House, Salt Lake City, Utah." *Antiques* 110 (September 1976):545-49.

Hilbig, Hazel Manwaring. *George Albert Goodrich Family History and Genealogy 1608-1976.* Salt Lake City: Ace Printing Company, 1976.

Hill, Donna. *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon.* New York: Doubleday, 1977.

Hunt, Larry E. "Frederick Madison Smith: The Formative Years of an RLDS President." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977):67-89.

Hyman, Sidney. *Marriner S. Eccles: Private Entrepreneur and Public Servant.* Stanford: Stanford University, 1976.

Jennings, Renz L. *The Boy from Taylor.* Phoenix: Jennings, 1977.

Jessee, Dean. "Howard Coray's Recollections of Joseph Smith." *BYU Studies* 17 (Spring 1977):341-46.

Kimball, Edward L. and Andrew E., Jr. *Spencer W. Kimball.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977.

LeCheminant, Dale Campbell. *John A. Widtsoe: Rational Apologist.* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1977. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah. Order #77-19,966.

Lewis, K. Howard. *The Thomas Karren Family, a Record of the Descendants and Ancestry of Thomas Karren and Related Families.* Sacramento: Spilman Printing, 1976.

Marshall, Vera Lee Kearl. *Proud to Remember: History of Alfred Kearl.* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1976.

Memmott, H. Kirk. *Thomas Memmott Journal,* Volume 1. Provo, Utah: J. Grant Stevenson, 1976.

Moorman, Donald R. "Shadows of Brigham Young as Seen by his Biographers." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1977):252-64.

O'Brien, Robert. *Marriott.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977.

Perkes, William E. *History of Richard Rushton Sr. and Family.* Alhambra, Calif.: Greenwood Press, 1976.

Petersen, Roger K. "Joseph Smith: Prophet-Poet." *Century II* 2 (Fall 1977):17-31.

Quinn, D. Michael. "Brigham Young: Man of the Spirit." *Ensign* 7 (August 1977):34-37.

Richard, Clara. *They Conquered by Faith: A Biography of Ezra and Amanda Richards.* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1976.

Rogers, Kristen Smart. "William Henry Smart: Uinta Basin Pioneer Leader." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Winter 1977):61-74.

Sawyer, Richard V. *These Mortal Years: The Biography of M. L. Bean.* Seattle: Frayn Printing Company, 1977.

Shipps, Jan. "The Public Image of Sen. Reed Smoot, 1903-32." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Fall 1977):380-400.

Smith, Carl N., ed. *Inside the Circle of the Samuel F. Smith and Lulu J. Smith Family.* Phoenix: Carl N. Smith, 1977.

Sorensen, Douglas. *History of the Virginia Ward.* Virginia, Idaho: Hugh Brady, 1977.

Thompson, William Howard. *Joseph Lewis Thompson Family.* St. George: Dixie College, 1976.

Tobler, Douglas F. "Karl G. Maeser's German Background, 1828-1856: The Making of Zion's Teacher." *BYU Studies* 17 (Winter 1977):155-75.

Turney, Catherine. "John Doyle Lee: Villain or Scapegoat?" *Mankind* 5 (1976):60-67.

Walker, Ronald W. "Young Heber J. Grant and his Call to the Apostleship." *BYU Studies* 18 (Fall 1977):121–26.

———— and Ronald K. Esplin. "Brigham Himself: An Autobiographical Recollection." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977):19–34.

Watt, Ronald G. "Sailing 'The Old Ship Zion': The Life of George D. Watt." *BYU Studies* 18 (Fall 1977):48–65.

Wirthlin, LeRoy S. "Nathan Smith (1762–1828) Surgical Consultant to Joseph Smith." *BYU Studies* 17 (Spring 1977):319–337.

Workman, Mary Ellen B. *The Ancestors of Richard Ballantyne and Huldah Meriah Clark.* Bountiful: n.p., 1977.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bitton, Davis. *Guide to Mormon Diaries & Autobiographies.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977.

Book Reviews

BARRON, HOWARD H. *Orson Hyde.* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1977. xiv + 336 pp. $7.95.
Reviewed by Marvin S. Hill, associate professor of history at Brigham Young University.

Howard Barron, a professor of religious instruction at Brigham Young University, has written a study of Orson Hyde which the publisher calls on the dust jacket "a biographical classic." While in some ways the book may be a "classic," it is not a biography, nor essentially an historical work as I understand these terms.

Barron's work is a chronology of the major events in Orson Hyde's life, with emphasis upon his activities as missionary, apostle, colonizer, and Church administrator up to the time the Saints left Council Bluffs. No doubt many Latter-day Saints will find this account informative since Hyde participated in many of the major events in Church history during these years and was a very active missionary.

Yet opportunities are lost. Despite its sequential format, its sketchy historical research, and its historical subject matter, I do not believe this work qualifies as history or biography in the best sense. The book is not an attempt to understand the man Orson Hyde, his mind and spirit, his times, the meaning of his life in the broad context of Mormon and American history. It is rather an attempt to depict Orson Hyde as the ideal Mormon type, in terms of 1970 values. Great emphasis is placed on Orson's faith and commitment, his obedience and conformity. Seen thus, Hyde is shorn of those qualities which made him a unique and significant human being. Hyde is valued here as an automaton who acts only in ways leaders are expected to act. He is symbol and image, but not flesh and blood. Thus countless paragraphs tell us that he departed for this mission or that one, that he filled this Church assignment or that, but never are we taken inside the man to probe his heart and soul as a free, moral individual.

The handling of Hyde's apostasy in 1838 illustrates the point. During the Mormon war in Missouri when 300 elders were organized into Danite bands and sent out to raid Gallatin and burn the town (in retaliation for so many wrongs done the Mormons in Missouri), Orson Hyde took no part. Sick with anguish and des-

pair, and tortured with growing doubt about the truth of Mormonism, Hyde wrote to a Sister Abbot on October 25: "I have left the Church called Latter Day Saints for conscience sake, fully believing that God is not with them, And is not the mover of their schemes and projects." Hyde told Brigham Young afterward that it was the Danites that repelled him. He and Apostle Thomas Marsh wrote an affidavit denouncing Danite activity which was collected as evidence against Joseph Smith at the pre-trial in Richmond in November 1838. Hyde was excommunicated from the Church and remained out of it for eight months. Lonely and remorseful, he later contacted Heber C. Kimball and sought his intercession with the Prophet to regain his membership and former standing. Only upon Kimball's and Hyrum Smith's special pleading did Joseph Smith yield and allow Hyde's restoration. Hyde confessed that he had acted foolishly, and that he had sinned, but we have no record of his saying that his testimony in his sworn affidavit was a misrepresentation. We do know that he told Brigham Young that he had come to see matters in a different light, however.

This very crucial period in Hyde's life, which tells us so much about the man and his times, is handled in a conventional way in *Orson Hyde*. Professor Barron accepts John Taylor's statement that the testimony of Marsh and Hyde was untrue, without any attempt to evaluate the evidence.

It is the Orson Hyde who faced such agonizing choices in 1838 (and afterwards) whom we do not get to know in Barron's treatment. Do we not thus lose sight of something of great importance? This kind of iconography strips men of their individuality and moral agency. If it is history, it is history closer to Puritan than to Mormon values. Orson Hyde was not only a man of great loyalty to the Church, but also a man of conscience who did not believe Danites belonged in the Church of Christ. Hyde's finest hour may have come here when he broke with group pressures to protest Danite wrongs. Afterward, in his history, Joseph Smith admitted Danite excesses and expressed some regret. It was perhaps this recognition that made it possible for Hyde to come back to the Church. To fail to perceive the moral dilemma facing Hyde in 1838 is to miss the man, the movement, the meaning.

BITTON, DAVIS. *Guide to Mormon Diaries & Autobiographies.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977. xi + 417 pp. $29.95.

Reviewed by Chad J. Flake, Curator of Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

A few years ago I took a class in which Samuel Pepys, the noted British diarist, was discussed at some length. Our teacher observed then that if one wanted to find a specific fact, a history book could be consulted; but it was in the diaries that the period came to life. This is certainly true of Mormonism with its seemingly inexhaustible supply of diarists. Mormons were encouraged early in Church history to keep records, and this advice has been reiterated several times in various ways, for example, in 1890 when Andrew Jenson toured the various stakes admonishing people to write autobiographies and to keep current diaries. But Mormon studies have been hampered by the lack of good bibliographies of retrospective materials. It is, therefore, with great anticipation that we have waited for Davis Bitton's *Guide to Mormon Diaries & Autobiographies*; and the published work is certainly not a disappointment. Some 2,894 items are included, which makes it, to date, the most significant bibliography of Mormondom.

In format, the bibliography lists the writer's name, the type of item (journal, diary, or autobiography; the distinction between journal and diary being explained in the preface), the dates, form (holograph, typescript, printed, etc.), followed by its location indicated by code. (I find the mixing of codes a bit irritating: If the code UHi for the Historical Society is taken from the Union List of libraries, then why isn't the code USIC from the same list used for the Church Historical Department, or Huntington Library designated CSmH instead of "Huntington." These are standardized codes, universally accepted and easily understood.) Following this coded location is a summary of the diary. A master index accompanies the text which the user will find invaluable.

Two areas merit criticism: scope, and the unevenness of the notes.

In the preface the author indicates the most important repositories of Mormon diaries to be Utah libraries; i.e., Brigham Young University, Church Historical Department, University of Utah, Utah State University, and Utah State Historical Society. Only these are given an exhaustive treatment, even here with some omissions. No attempt is made to update the 1971 Mary

Washington Bibliography of Manuscripts at Utah State University, which could have been accomplished with very little difficulty.

Specifically omitting the Huntington Library from the list of important libraries shows a lack of knowledge of how significant their holdings are. I checked a random sample from a list of diaries at the Huntington put together by the late Newburn Butt, the man responsible for Brigham Young University's typescript diary collection, and found that less than twenty percent of the diaries on his list appear in Bitton's bibliography. It should have been as easy to have these diaries searched by a student living in the area as it was to have the local institutions examined. A larger percentage of holdings in the Bancroft Library and the Library of Congress is included because there are available inventories to these collections.

The second problem, the unevenness of the annotations, is due partially to the fact that the raw data was collected by different researchers. The problem here is that one researcher would emphasize entirely different aspects than would a second one. But even more critical than unevenness are the items just plain missed. For the Arza Adams Journal, the note states that he returned to Nauvoo after the death of Joseph Smith. It does not mention that he brought with him important letters from John Taylor and Willard Richards. An interesting item from the Lucy Hannah Flake diary notes the practice among women of the nineteenth century of laying their hands on each other's head to pronounce blessings, bless pregnancies, etc.—not mentioned in Bitton's annotation. In the journal of Abraham A. Kimball, one gets a significant view of the problems of polygamy from the man's point of view. Polygamy is mentioned in the note, but some indication that he found it very hard—as, he says, did his father, Heber C. Kimball—should have been included. Also, the account of his term in the Utah Penitentiary, one of the most graphic in any diary, warrants only two words, while his getting drunk on the Fourth of July gets six.

If, however, the limitation of libraries involved and the use of different studies to do the research made it possible to publish the bibliography in 1977 rather than 1987, then one can live with these problems and be grateful that such an excellent bibliography is available to us now. We can always await volume two while making use of the present volume.

HAYDEN, DOLORES. *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790–1975.* Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1976. ix + 401 pp. $16.95

Reviewed by W. Ray Luce, an historian for the National Register of Historic Places.

Dolores Hayden's pathbreaking *Seven American Utopias* examines architecture, landscape architecture, and town planning in seven American utopian communities to see how the communities' physical facilities aided or retarded social interaction and larger community goals. The settlements examined range from the nineteenth century Shaker settlement at Hancock, Massachusetts, to the twentieth century Llano del Rio community of California and Louisiana which continued until 1938. The book shows familiarity with historical and anthropological as well as architectural secondary works and benefits from Ms. Hayden's familiarity with the impact of planning on utopian communities of the 1960s and 1970s. In many ways, the study is architectural history as it should be written, integrating a community's history with its design concepts which range from community planning and vernacular building forms to provisions for private and public spaces. She examines each community in terms of three dilemmas: the balance between authority and participation, community and privacy, and uniqueness and replicability.

Readers of *BYU Studies* will find greatest interest in Chapter 5, "Eden versus Jerusalem," the longest chapter in the book, which deals with the Mormon experience in Nauvoo. This chapter examines Mormon architecture from new perspectives and should influence most later studies on Nauvoo and Mormon architecture. Unfortunately, however, the study is often more suggestive than definitive and suffers from a limited familiarity with Mormon history and thought. As the chapter title indicates, Professor Hayden views Nauvoo architecture and planning in terms of a conflict between two goals: "Eden, a model of earthly paradise . . . a garden city of single-family dwellings," and "Jerusalem, a model of heaven . . . a cult center dominated by twin monuments, the temple and the prophet's residence." The interaction between the secular and religious ideals for the city of Zion, in theory and practice, is an important theme in Mormon architectural history which needs further examination. However, building a community of substantial houses surrounded by gardens is not necessarily in conflict with the building of a religious community, any more than present ad-

589

monitions by Mormon leaders to clean up houses and communities and plant gardens is in conflict with appeals for building funds for chapels and temples.

What is disturbing about Hayden's analysis is that she seems to view the two strains in great conflict without fully understanding the underlying religious motivation of the city. The ideal of the secular city (Eden) was not viewed as an abstract goal separated from the concept of a religious center, but as a method to realize the religious goal. The disagreement over the location of Nauvoo's business district, which Hayden uses to illustrate the conflict between "Eden" and "Jerusalem," for example, was much more a surfacing of growing religious disagreements over resource allotment (which she mentions) and issues such as polygamy than it was an abstract planning disagreement.

The same problem exists in her contention that the conflict between the two ideals was resolved in Utah with a victory of the secular city and a change in the function of the temple from a place of assembly to "a monument in the funerary sense, a tomb." Such a view does not understand the importance of the temple in later Mormon thought and ignores works such as Richard O. Cowan's *Temple Building Ancient and Modern,* which trace changing functions and plans of Mormon temples.

Hayden's chapter on Nauvoo does not fully develop two of the three basic themes she examines about all seven communities. Her discussion of public spaces in Nauvoo concentrates almost entirely on the temple and Nauvoo House, dismissing the Seventies' Hall and the Masonic Hall at one point as "two small institutional buildings." These two halls along with the concert hall, the grove, and such semipublic spaces as Joseph Smith's store played a much more important role in the public life of Nauvoo than she indicates, and it appears that the replication of these forms in later Mormon towns, far more than the creation of definite town centers in Utah fostered the later harmony between public and private space she notes.

Secondly, Hayden's section on the replicability of Nauvoo could have been much stronger. In fact, most of the early architectural history of Salt Lake City and much of Utah can be viewed as an attempt to reproduce Nauvoo. This includes not only the basic city plan but buildings ranging from religious and community structures like the temple, the Salt Lake Theater, and the social hall to private residences. While Hayden is right in noting that the stepped gables which seem to be the most prominent ar-

chitectural feature in the area restored by the Nauvoo Restoration were not transferred in mass to the Great Basin, settlers took another vernacular form directly from the Mississippi River town to the Intermountain West. Throughout Utah and Idaho are still found numerous examples of the "Nauvoo house," a simple rectangular building with a central hall, one or two stories high, one or two rooms wide, often with simple Greek revival details. These houses, patterned after the houses Church members remembered in Nauvoo were built long after the rest of the country had moved on to other styles.

The book's illustrations are excellent, including diagrams and plans for the Nauvoo Temple along with a wide variety of photographs and drawings. Two errors in illustration identification are, however, annoying. She identifies the Jonathan Browning house (Figure 5.10) as the James Ivins printing complex located across the street, and identifies Figure 5.34 as a contemporary view of the temple by C. C. A. Christensen. Since Christensen did not leave his native Denmark until after the temple had been destroyed, it cannot be considered contemporary in the same sense as the two photographs of the temple she also includes.

Such shortcomings, however, should not discourage use of the book by those interested in Mormon architecture and planning. The book examines important questions which have too often been ignored in studies of Mormon architecture. It is not a definitive study, but it is a very important book perhaps more for the questions it raises than for the answers it proposes.

KIMBALL, EDWARD L. and ANDREW E., JR. *Spencer W. Kimball.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977. x + 438 pp. $8.95.

Reviewed by Eugene England, associate professor of English at Brigham Young University, and Charles D. Tate, Jr., professor of English at Brigham Young University.

ON BEING HUMAN AND BEING A PROPHET

With the death of President Lee, many members of the Church wondered, as Elder W. Grant Bangerter expressed it in general conference last fall, "What will we do now? . . . We had never expected Spencer W. Kimball to become the president, and we had not looked to him for the same leadership evident in the life of Harold B. Lee. We knew, of course, that he would manage somehow, until the next great leader arose, but it would not be

easy for him and things would not be the same. 'O Lord,' we prayed, 'please bless President Kimball. He needs all the help you can give him' " (*Ensign,* November 1977, p. 26).

Since that time Spencer W. Kimball has announced the first additions to the canon of scripture in our century, has activated and nearly filled the First Quorum of Seventy, and has sought and received a revelation giving blacks the priesthood. With his call to "lengthen our stride," and by his own example, he has sparked an explosion of new energy and growth in the whole Church. In just four years, the number of full-time missionaries has increased fifty percent and convert baptisms have doubled. Organized Stakes of Zion have gone from 600 to nearly 1,000 and membership has increased from three to over four million. Half again as many temples are in process or announced. New countries, including Poland, have given the Church official standing; there is expectation that other countries will be opened and many more temples built and that his goal of 45,000 missionaries, many from other countries, will soon be met. That energy—that quickening spirit of expectation—pervades the Church, and there is a surge of faith that the Kingdom will indeed soon fill the whole earth and the Savior come.

Along with all this there is closer moral scrutiny, greater concern about inadequacy in others and ourselves, greater attention to homely fundamentals like getting married, working in the earth with our own hands, keeping our yards clean, writing journals, carefully examining our own lives and trying to improve. The Church, in just four years, has been profoundly influenced by the vision, the energy, the moral rigor and restless sense of inadequacy of President Kimball. And in the biography *Spencer W. Kimball,* Edward L. Kimball, a son, and Andrew E. Kimball, Jr., a grandson, have shown us with unusual and moving clarity the roots of these qualities.

As good as it is, this Mormon biography is not without weaknesses. It is not the best structured and does not contain the most elegant writing or best analysis. The chapter "Stake President" is weak in organization and sparse in detail, and the usual biographical challenge of theme versus chronology is badly resolved there and a problem elsewhere. Also, the book is not the best researched. While most biographies suffer from not having sufficient first person primary materials, this one relies almost wholly on them. We see how President Kimball perceives himself, but not enough of how others perceived him in the same situations or of

documentary evidence that would give the solidity of granite facts good biography needs.

Nevertheless, *Spencer W. Kimball* is a landmark in Mormon biography. It stands in relation to Mormon biography as Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* stands in relation to all English biography; it is the best so far and the first to take a great subject and give us the whole man, warts, divinity, and all, and thus make his life unavoidably and eternally part of our own. For the first time we have a book about an LDS Church president which is not mainly an attempt to *tell* us why he was or was not a prophet of God. Rather, it *shows* us, with remarkable directness and fullness, a human life, one in many ways like our own, which through long, painful struggles was touched by extraordinary experiences and influences that the reader can believe, with the authors, were from God.

The authors achieve this by firmly holding to their decision not to ignore any weakness or problem or exaggerate any strength. They say that in that decision "we were faced with no real test of our integrity as biographers, since our burrowing into the past only confirmed our personal impressions that this was a man of rare consistency, exemplifying in his private life the same virtues ascribed to the public man" (Preface, p. x). Nevertheless, the authors, as close relatives and faithful Mormons, and Bookcraft, as a semi-official LDS publisher, have demonstrated remarkable courage and ability in producing such a handsome, well-edited, detailed, and complete piece of work—and thus have shown the Mormon public how LDS biography has to be written now that it has come of age.

Spencer W. Kimball is the first Mormon biography to lead the reader so completely to genuine identification rather than to mere adoration or idolizing, to accept the prophet as a real model for his own human struggle. This is accomplished by the very openness and completeness with which the book deals with a prophet's own humanness and sense of inadequacy. It is the kind of book that probably could not have been published concerning a dead prophet. And it could only be published in the time of a living prophet of the profound humility and habitual self-examination of President—and Sister—Kimball, whose concern for truth and lack of personal protectiveness not only prevented censorship but provided, in their great volume of personal journals, correspondence, and oral history, the bulk of material for the book. As the authors say, "the whole undertaking was possible only because of their

willingness to talk and write openly about themselves" (p. x). In this demonstration that the humanness of a prophet can be shown without being either antagonistic or patronizing, both the faith of the Saints and Mormon literature and history have been well served.

That President Kimball has apparently come to feel the great value of teaching through the model of his own life is clearly seen in the unusually personal but highly effective sermon in the priesthood session of April Conference 1978, as he recounted the details of his own youth and past for both positive and negative example. For the many who have responded to this emphasis, *Spencer W. Kimball* provides a mother lode of detail. Those who have identified with the boy who was proficient with a slingshot but learned to respond to the singing of "Don't Kill the Little Birds" will warm to the teenager who usually worked hard but sometimes avoided chores by using his father's willingness to let him practice the piano instead, or who did not participate in "acts of vandalism" but still remembers painfully that he stood by and watched others perform them and did not speak out, who was expelled from school with the rest of the boys for insisting on a "sluff day," who has dark memories of a boyhood in a near-frontier desert country, including seeing two sisters die within a year (one, the tenth child, whom his father referred to as the "tithing child," given back to the Lord) and then, a year later, of seeing his mother sicken in pregnancy and slowly die, but who also remembers his father, the stake president, promising life to the near dead and serving selflessly, also among the Indians. We see the young man caught up enough in the coils of life that when he was himself called as stake president, he and Camilla spent that first Sunday night visiting "those with whom there had been some trouble [to] clear the slate so that he could go forward with free conscience" (p. 171). We see a young boy from a somewhat reserved background on a trip from Salt Lake City surprised when his uncle Joseph F. Smith stooped down in full beard and kissed each of his many children as they came home from school; then we see him as a newly called apostle, deeply moved when he visited Heber J. Grant, and the aged prophet, who was too weak to stand, drew him down into his arms and kissed him; and we see him eventually develop into the prophet who as he was leaving the third solemn assembly he had conducted that day, while all present stood in respect, noticed his son among the choir members and without hesitation or self-consciousness went to him, em-

594

braced, and kissed him. We see the man who could take delight in remembering that when he was called as an apostle and other well-wishers were saying how appropriate, even inevitable, the call was, an old cowpuncher who had watched him grow up declared what Spencer was feeling himself: "It's clear the Lord must have called you—no one else would have thought of you" (p. 198).

When he was called as an apostle, the first in the twentieth century from outside Utah, he was stunned, uncomprehending, reduced to uncontrolled weeping, even skeptical for the first time of the authorities' inspiration—until he spent a day on a mountain near Boulder, Colorado, and received a dream-vision of his grandfather, Heber C. Kimball, and an assurance that the call was divine. This anxiety over adequacy and worthiness continued, expressing itself in what he felt might be compensatory hard work, until in 1948, after pushing his car repeatedly through drifted sand while visiting reservations in Arizona, he was struck down with his first heart trouble. The enforced time in bed as he tried to recover only increased his anxiety: "There were just twelve apostles, he berated himself, and so much work to do. What good was he on his back? Even on his feet, he felt he was the least of them. Others were smoother, smarter, more efficient, better educated" (p. 251). So he went back to work too hard too soon and his heart trouble returned.

> One night he lay for eighteen hours in agony, his chest seized with pain. For long hours in his room he thought through his life. He told Camilla what to do with the investments and property if he died. He mused that "thousands of people in the Church are measuring the Church, their Church, by me. They look at me with my smallness, my ineptitudes, my weaknesses, my narrow limitations and say, 'What a weak Church to have such weak leadership.' It is one of the things that has brought me to my back now. I have tried by double expenditure of energy to measure up. . . ." (p. 253)

That last sentence, which may be taken for the motto of his life, gives special poignance to President Kimball's present call to lengthen our stride. We know now what it has cost him to lengthen his. But of course, he has also been blessed—the unexpected "false vocal cord" that grew in and allowed speech, the perfect surgery on his heart, the continual disciplined development of skills and perspective—and that is the lesson of his life.

We are surprised to learn that uncertainty over being drafted, then marriage, then being called into a stake presidency at age 29, kept him from finishing college, because we have been made fa-

miliar with the fruits, in his speaking, his decisions and his vision, of long self-education. We are even a little surprised to learn of the years of pain and trouble with apparent cancer in his throat, the biopsies and then the operation (he insisting that part of the vocal cord be left, despite the risk to his life, so that he could have some chance of continuing to serve with his voice), the difficulty and embarrassment of long silence and then learning to speak again in a new way and having to speak with a raspy voice to vast audiences—because the force of the content make us forget that the voice is unusual or even notice the special electronic aids. It is a surprise to learn of his suffering for years with carbuncles as well as with the severe recurring heart pains without slackening his pace or to recall the extremely risky open-heart surgery in 1972, because the long struggle and perseverance and the resulting blessings have brought him to a state of health and energy in his mid-80s that allows him to wear out younger colleagues and leave us all breathless in the whirlwind of his creative activity.

Part of the quality of that life revealed in the book is centered in the theme of moral rigor combined with persistent effort on behalf of the resistant or neglected soul. President Kimball's long service as an apostle on special assignment to deal with temple divorce and with the worst morals problems has sharpened his concern with repentance. We learn of night after night spent away from his family trying to help with troubled people; of seven hours with one couple trying to avoid divorce; of the telephone call from a distraught wife in California whose husband had deserted her and come to Salt Lake City, of Elder Kimball's locating him, making an appointment for the man to come to the office, and when he did not show up, going to the cheap hotel to sober him up, only to have the man disappear while being transferred from the hotel to Alcoholics Anonymous. And then, unwilling to give up, despite almost missing a train to Los Angeles for the temple dedication, the apostle walked up and down the alleys of Salt Lake City, in and out of bars and movie houses trying to find him. This particular man, we learn in the book, has been in and out of President Kimball's life through the years since, through relapse and reclaiming again and again, and we are left only knowing that the effort continues unabated. The book tells of his success in his special assignment to aid the progress of Lamanite members but also of his unpopular, courageously outspoken (especially for the early 50s) struggle against prejudice among Mormons: He declared to a white audience in Tucson that

in the story of the Good Samaritan "the robbed and beaten traveler ... is the Indian and we whites are either priest or Good Samaritan" (p. 258). He told the students and faculty at BYU that there were "too many Pharisees among the white men"; too many who worry about "unwashen hands ... too many who ascribe the degradation of the Indian as his just due ... too many curiosity seekers and too few laborers" (p. 274). He told a congregation in New Mexico to accept the Indians and Mexicans with "open arms and hearts and meetinghouses. God will bless you if you do; God forgive you if you don't" (p. 274).

The book tells of his feeling divine direction as he calls a stake president whom he does not know and whom no one expects to be called but also of his recording after a sermon, "I rambled and made a failure," or again, "I floundered miserably." Of two missionaries reconverting his brother whom he had tried to help and couldn't, of his willingness to stay up late when bone tired to answer the questions of a branch president's wife about her son recently killed in the war though a patriarch had promised him a mission and family but having "no answer for the unfathomable question." Of his administering twice to a man who had been blinded, without any physical effect—but how, "two months later, the apostle led the tall man, still blind, by the arm through a temple endowment, 'letting him see the temple with its rooms and paintings through my eyes' " (p. 216).

That kind of control and openness in a biographer takes enormous skill and we can be grateful that Edward and Andrew Kimball have the skill, but ultimately the power of this book as literature derives from the quality of its subject—the man's life, as well as the technique of selection and expression. For instance, the authors skillfully help us see that powerful complexity which prevents President Kimball from being boxed in by traditional categories. He was furious at the University of Utah *Pen* for reprinting articles in 1947 by authors who had been hostile to the Church and in the early fifties could take pride in being compared with Joseph Fielding Smith for his outspoken fundamentalism, especially in matters of sexual morality and dress standards (he called for "a style of our own" in a scathing denunciation of immodest worldly fashions at BYU in 1951). He could also be impatient with other General Authorities for their apparent foot-dragging on Lamanites or for certain fiscal policies, and on a trip through the Far East in 1960 could write, "I'd proselyte in Burma, but not in our conventional style. I'd go back to Paul's program

to some extent. Mission president who would go without his family and be prepared to rough it. No mission palace with a host of record keepers, typists, etc.... Establish the work by one of the 12. A mission president almost without portfolio" (pp. 328–329). He saw the work of a Baptist missionary couple who ran a home for twelve orphans in Karachi as "real Christian faith in action," and suggested that the first LDS efforts in Pakistan could well copy this pattern. (p. 330)

And we can see the prophet who pleaded with the Lord for many days in the upper room of the temple concerning blacks and the priesthood in the apostle who in general conference in 1953 denounced the racism of an anonymous letter he had received complaining about "an Indian buck appointed as a bishop—an Indian squaw to talk in the Ogden Tabernacle—Indians to go through the Salt Lake Temple.... The sacred places desecrated by the invasion of everything that is forced on the white race" (pp. 273–74).

It will take some time to fully assess the impact and significance for Mormon letters of the book *Spencer W. Kimball.* It is our hope here to convince Mormon scholars, writers, and teachers to read and recommend the book, and not to overlook it because it comes from the "popular press." We feel certain that the book will become a model for all of us who try to write about Mormon culture. It succeeds in making us feel about its subject, Spencer W. Kimball, as William Clayton felt when he first met Joseph Smith:

> He is no friend to iniquity but cuts at it wherever he sees it, and it is in vain to attempt to cloke it before him. He has a great measure of the spirit of God, and by this means he is preserved from imposition. He says, "I am a man of like passions with yourselves," but truly I wish I was such a man. (In *BYU Studies,* Spring 1978, p. 479)

DAVIES, J. KENNETH. *Deseret's Sons of Toil: A History of the Worker Movements in Territorial Utah, 1852–1896.* Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1977. 264 pp. incl. tables, photographs, and appendices. $9.95.

Reviewed by Dean L. May, assistant professor of history and director of the Center for Historical Population Studies at the University of Utah.

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. Pawar'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.

Index

Volume 18, Nos. 1–4
Fall 1977, Winter, Spring, Summer 1978
Compiled by
Gary P. Gillum
Harold B. Lee Library
Brigham Young University

AUTHORS

TITLES

604

BOOK REVIEWS

SUBJECTS